This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

LELAND·STANFORD·JVNIOR·VNIVERSITY

LELAND·STANFORD JVNIOR·VNIVERSITY

THE WORLD'S WORK

VOLUME XXX

MAY, 1915 to OCTOBER, 1915

A HISTORY OF OUR TIME

GARDEN CITY NEW YORK
DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
1915

227046

Copyright, 1915, *by*
DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY

STANFORD LIBRARY

J.

INDEX

(*Illustrated Articles. Editorials in Italics)

PAGE

ISING:
ing Out Business Ethics (Herbert S. ston) ... 559
, A Practical ... 733
Budget System ... 13

ny's Exit From Africa (Lewis R. Freeman). 689
Subsidy of Any Kind ... 267
e "Mule" ... 735
d *Difficult Task* ... 251
pic Stabilizer for Aeroplanes ... 245
niced to Make Residential Terraces ... 736
to Enforce Peace (A. Lawrence Lowell) .. 718
ut Device for "Party" Telephones ... 246
portunity ... 16
Expedition to China ... 513
d *the German Philosophy of Government*. 134
Business in a Changing World ... 508
Fortunes, The Instability of ... 21
Trade in War Time (James Middleton) ... 441
's Impressions in Russia, An (Robert R. ck) ... 709
Diplomacy in This Crisis ... 135F
table Motor Wheel for Bicycles ... 247
ican's Impressions in Russia (Robert R. ck) ... 709
obile Cableway ... 617
ic Vegetable Paring Machine ... 619
stitution for New York ... 15
s in Japan ... 19
ind of Car Ferry ... 121
ent of Military Savagery ... 134
ent Citizen ... 17
ent in Candy ... 148
al Aerophone ... 733
a the Eve of a War Book? (Theodore H. ... 274
Within and Without the Law ... 507
Navy:
Chiefs of the Army ... 652
Chiefs of the Navy, The ... 409
Parcel Rack for Railroad Trains ... 246
ess Nation by 1920" (John S. Gregory) ... 197
ebtors' Court ... 392
at from His Excellency Yuan Shih-Kai ... 452
g Up of the War at Sea ... 680
l" War (James Middleton) ... 205
Democracy ... 133

mba's Dismissal ... 631
ilitary Balance Sheet in Europe ... 673
e Cableway, An ... 617
rvice in Investment ... 518

of the Marne, The (E. V. Stoddard) ... 185
At Bay, The ... 305
Drive, The ... 83
ttached to Front of Tractor ... 495
rm, A Federal ... 13

ss Business in a Changing World ... 508
g Out Business Ethics (Herbert S. Hous- ... 559

NIA:
anama-Pacific International Exposition, The (French Strother) ... 337
rman Submarines "Starve England Out"? 402

ial Expedition to China ... 513
ement from His Excellency Yuan Shih-Kai 452
Fighting Blood Up (Willard Price) ... 725
's Hand in China (Carl Crow) ... 529
d of the Open Door ... 18
hting Blood Up (Willard Price) ... 725
vs. "Kultur" ... 133
ion Dumping and Spreading Wagon ... 245
ion Salesmen" and Red Tape in Foreign Walter F. Wyman) ... 614

PAGE

*Constantinople: The Key to Empire ... 165
Constitution for New York, A New ... 15
Coöperation: A Key to Foreign Trade (Walter F. Wyman) ... 490
Corrections ... 22
Cost of Congestion, The (Agnes Laut) ... 446
Cotton, Contraband and American Rights ... 632
Credit at Home and Abroad (Walter F. Wyman) ... 27

DEBTORS' Court, A Small ... 392
Democracy, A Test of ... 133
Diplomacy in this Crisis, America's ... 135F
*Disinfecting Apparatus, A Portable ... 620
Dr. Dumba's Dismissal ... 631
Does High Interest Mean Low Security? ... 273
Do We Really Owe Europe Anything? (Theodore H. Price) ... 238
*Dustless Motor Street Sweeper, A ... 494

*EDISON'S "Telescribe" ... 124
*Electric Vegetable Paring Machine, An ... 619
Electricity:
*An Electric Vegetable Paring Machine ... 619
*The Electrification of Everything (Frederick Todd) ... 696
*Electrification of Everything, The (Frederick Todd) 696
End of the Open Door, The ... 18
England:
A Summing Up of the War at Sea ... 680
Cotton, Contraband and American Rights ... 632
England's New Cabinet of "All the Talents" ... 321
Mr. Balfour and Imperial Defense ... 328
The Military Balance Sheet in Europe ... 673
What Lloyd-George Accomplished Against Liquor (Harry Jones) ... 433
England's New Cabinet of "All the Talents" ... 321
Export Trade:
"Combination Salesmen" and Red Tape in Foreign Trade (Walter F. Wyman) ... 614
Coöperation: A Key to Foreign Trade (Walter F. Wyman) ... 490
Credit at Home and Abroad (Walter F. Wyman) 27
Helping Foreign Merchants to Sell American Goods (Walter F. Wyman) ... 730
No Mystery About Foreign Trade (Walter F. Wyman) ... 366
Selling Exports "All By Mail" (Walter F. Wyman) ... 242
What is an Export Trade Worth? ... 386
Expositions:
*Panama-Pacific International Exposition, The (French Strother) ... 337

*FARM Tractor Driven Like a Horse ... 122
Federal Budget System, A ... 13
Federal Trade Commission and Business, The (Joseph E. Davies) ... 110
Fighting Hookworm in the Public Schools ... 393
Financial Leadership ... 14
France:
A Summing Up of the War at Sea ... 680
How Joffre and Foch Saved the French Army (E. V. Stoddard) ... 185
How the Foreign Nations Finance the War (James R. Merriam) ... 520
*Joffre and the New France (James Middleton). 35
"Our Joffre" (Eugene Etienne) ... 280
The Holding Campaign ... 581
The Military Balance Sheet in Europe ... 673
The War Against Drink in France (Arno Dosch) 428
*Frank A. Perret, Volcanologist (French Strother). 85
Free Speech and German Propaganda ... 510

GARY School System Moves East, The ... 391
*Gasolene "Mule," A ... 735
Georgia:
Lynching and Illiteracy ... 637
German Hostilities ... 127
German Philosophy of Government, The ... 133

PAGE

Germany:
Arguments Within and Without the Law 507
Can the German Submarines "Starve England Out"? 402
Dr. Dumba's Dismissal 631
Free Speech and German Propaganda 510
German Note, The 135J
Germany and the Monroe Doctrine 506
German's Exit from Africa (Lewis R. Freeman) 689
How the Foreign Nations Finance the War (James R. Merriam) 520
Mackensen's Drive 568
Our Relations with Germany 623
Pan-Germanism in the United States 135L
The Military Balance Sheet in Europe 673
The Teutonic Convalescence of Turkey 577
Why the World Is Against Germany 135A
Germany's Exit from Africa (Lewis R. Freeman) ... 689
*Giant Geared Locomotive Used in Kansas City 370
Government and Prosperity, The 264
Great and Difficult Task, A 251
Great Reforms Proposed for New York State 389
Great River, The (George Marvin)
*The War on the Mississippi (I) 45
*Controlling the Mississippi (II) 213
*The Sovereignty of the Mississippi (III) 469
*Navigating the Mississippi (IV) 584
"Guaranteed" Investments 396
*Gyroscopic Stabilizer for Aeroplanes, A 245

HAITI:
Helping Haiti (George Marvin) 524
Restoring a Republic 633
*Hand-Operated Bonding Drill 617
Helping Foreign Merchants to Sell American Goods (Walter F. Wyman) 730
Helping Haiti (George Marvin) 524
Herbert C. Hoover, Unofficial Diplomat 335
*Hill Sluiced to Make Residential Terraces, A 736
Holding Campaign, The 581
Hookworm:
Fighting Hookworm in the Public Schools 393
How Fast Can We Make Arms and Ammunition? ... 137
How Joffre and Foch Saved the French Army (E. V. Stoddard) 185
How the Foreign Nations Finance the War (James R. Merriam) 520
Hunger in Mexico 388

IMMIGRATION:
Immigration When the War Ends 636
Indictment of Military Savagery, An 134
*Innovation for the Drafting Room, An 493
Instability of American Fortunes, The 21
Intellectual Stimulus of the War, The (Theodore H. Price) 721
Intelligent Citizen, An 17
Intervention in Mexico 507
*Inventor of the Modern Submarine, The (Burton J. Hendrick) 284
Investment:
An Investment in Candy 148
A Wise Novice in Investment 518
Prejudice and Utility Securities 24
The War, Wall Street and Water 638
Investment in Candy, An 148
Iowa:
A New Kind of County Hospital (Walter A. Dyer) 605
Issues of the Next Election 632
Italy:
*Italy and the World War 295
Italy's Reasons (Owen Wilson) 29
The Holding Campaign 581
The Military Balance Sheet in Europe 673
What Italy's Armies Can Do 314
*Italy and the World War 295
Italy's Reasons (Owen Wilson) 29

JAPAN:
A New Era in Japan 19
China's Fighting Blood Up (Willard Price) 725
*Frank A. Perret, Volcanologist (French Strother) 85
Japan's First Democrat (Carl Crow) 150
Japan's Hand in China (Carl Crow) 529
Japan's First Democrat (Carl Crow) 150
Japan's Hand in China (Carl Crow) 529
*Joffre and the New France (James Middleton) 35
"Joffre, Our" (Eugene Etienne) 280

LATENT and Effective Strength 511
*Laying Cables With a Plow 619
League to Enforce Peace, A (A. Lawrence Lowell) .. 718
Let Every Man Prepare Himself 499
*Lining the St. Louis Water Tunnel With Concrete. 495

Literature:
The Intellectual Stimulus of the War (T H. Price) .....
*Loading Rails Into Ships .....
*Lock-Out Device for "Party" Telephones, A.
Lost Opportunity, A .....
Lynching and Illiteracy .....

*MACHINE That Makes Pies by the Thous
Mackensen's Drive .....
*Making Over New York's Constitution (Bu Hendrick) .....
*Man and His Machines. I .....
II .....
III .....
IV .....
V .....
VI .....
*Measuring the Gloss of Paper .....
*Mechanical Feeding of Boilers .....
*Mechanical Handling of Concrete in Dam C tion .....
Medical Expedition to China, A .....
Mexico .....
Mexico:
Hunger in Mexico .....
Intervention in Mexico .....
Mexico .....
Our Task in Mexico .....
Who's Who in Mexico (French Strother
Military Balance Sheet in Europe, The .....
Military Savagery, An Indictment of .....
*Miniature Panama Canal, A .....
Mississippi River, The (See The Great Rive
Mr. Balfour and Imperial Defense .....
Mr. Bryan's Retirement and Its Significance
Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, Unofficial Diplomat
Mr. Roosevelt and the Root of Righteousness
Mobilizing America's Inventive Genius .....
Monroe Doctrine:
Germany and the Monroe Doctrine .....
Shall We Defend the Monroe Doctrine ...
More Necessary Than Courage .....
More Tangible Pan-Americanism .....
*Motor-Cycle Fire Engine, A .....
*Motor Wheel for Bicycles, An Adjustable..

*NAVIGATING the Mississippi (George M
New Constitution for New York, A ....
New Era in Japan, A .....
*New Kind of Car Ferry, A .....
New Kind of County Hospital, A (Walter
New York:
A New Constitution for New York .....
*Making Over New York's Constitution J. Hendrick) .....
No Mystery About Foreign Trade (Walter F.

OHIO:
The Spread of County Libraries (Walter
*One-Man Track Grinder, A .....
One Year of the Great War .....
Open Door, The End of the .....
"Our Joffre" (Eugene Etienne) .....
Our Relations With Germany .....
Our Task in Mexico .....
*Outside Gas and Electric Meters .....

PANAMA Canal:
What the Panama Canal Is Doing (C.
*Panama-Pacific International Expositio (French Strother) .....
Pan-American Financial Conference, The McAdoo) .....
Pan-Americanism, More Tangible .....
Pan-Germanism in the United States .....
Peace Propaganda: Sentimental and Other
Pensions:
*Pork-Barrel Pensions. III .....
IV .....
The Pensions for Our Next War .....
Widows' Pensions .....
Pensions for Our Next War, The .....
Politics:
A Federal Budget System .....
A Lost Opportunity .....
Financial Leadership .....
Great Reforms Proposed for New York
Issues of the Next Election .....
Mr. Bryan's Retirement and Its Signifi
Republican Men and Measures .....
Pork Barrel Pensions (Burton J. Hendrick
*Making the Spanish War Pay (III) ..
*"From the Evidence Submitted" (IV)
*Portable Disinfecting Apparatus, A .....
*Portable Laboratory for Making Gas Test

PAGE

Searchlight, A 617
ed Cutter 370
and Utility Securities 24
..... 135
Freedom (Frank Marshall White) 114
:
oonless Nation by 1920" (John S. Gregory). 197
etotal" War (James Middleton) 205
ition and the War 3
ition in Russia (Stephen Graham) 438
ar Against Drink in France (Arno Dosch) 428
Lloyd-George Accomplished Against
or (Harry Jones) 433
Welding Helmet 369
and the Mazurian Lakes 65
aracter into the Counties (Walter A. Dyer) 605

AD Motor Cars 733
Men and Measures 266
a *Republic* 633
Prosperity, The 262
Centre and the Spirit of the Middle West
A. Dyer) 485
nsing 398

American's Impressions in Russia (Robert
McCormick) 709
aming Up of the War at Sea 680
etotal" War (James Middleton) 205
ition in Russia (Stephen Graham) 438
ral and the Mazurian Lakes 65
ear at Bay 305
ilitary Balance Sheet in Europe 673
ar of the Deserts and the Snows 73

Parcel Rack for Railroad Trains, A 246
onless Nation by 1920," A" (John S.
Gregory) 197
Act, The Unworkable 635
ports "All By Mail" (Walter F. Wyman). 242
Defend the Monroe Doctrine? 506
plomacy 631
tors' Court, A 392
rotest in Germany, The 388
g and Easy Dying (William C. Johnson) .. 194
ar Veterans:
ng the Spanish War Pay (Burton J. Hen-
) 99
County Libraries, The (Walter A. Dyer) .. 609
ive, The Big 83
From His Excellency Yuan-Shih-Kai 452
Dardanelles, The 318
s, The Toll of the 142
Up of the War at Sea, A 680

of the Next Election 632
War, A (James Middleton) 205
, Edison's 124
Convalescence of Turkey, The 577
at Bay 305
Spring Drive 83
of Congestion (Agnes Laut) 446
trification of Everything (Frederick Todd). 696
of the Open Door 18
al Trade Commission and Business (Joseph
es) 110
School System Moves East 391
ment and Prosperity 264

Peak of Channel Making 602
ent of the Marne from Sept. 5th to 12th. 188, 189
of Levees 231
Low Water Slope of the Mississippi 230
Artificial Bank Holds the River 601
ng Banks Destroy Levees 229
es are Undermined 233
Rain Falls 61

PAGE

*The Great River (George Marvin) I 49
II 213
III 469
IV 584
The Holding Campaign 581
The Instability of American Fortunes 21
The Intellectual Stimulus of the War (Theodore H.
Price) 721
*The Inventor of the Modern Submarine (Burton J.
Hendrick) 284
The Military Balance Sheet in Europe 673
*The Panama-Pacific International Exposition
(French Strother) 337
The Pan-American Financial Conference (W. G.
McAdoo) 393
The Pensions for Our Next War 390
The Return of Prosperity 262
The Socialist Protest in Germany 388
The Stubborn Dardanelles 318
The Teutonic Convalescence of Turkey 577
The Toll of the Submarines 142
The Unsatisfactory German Answer 384
The Unworkable Seamen's Act 635
The War Against Drink in France (Arno Dosch) 428
*The War Chiefs of the Navy 409
The War of the Deserts and the Snows 73
The War, Wall Street and Water 638
Toll of the Submarines, The 142
To the Citizens of the Seventh District of Virginia .. 511
*Tractor Driven Like a Horse, Farm 122
Turkey:
*Constantinople: The Key to Empire 165
The Military Balance Sheet in Europe 673
The Stubborn Dardanelles 318
The Teutonic Convalescence of Turkey 577

UNWORKABLE Seamen's Act, The 635

VIRGINIA:
To the Citizens of the Seventh District of Virginia 511
Volcanology:
*Frank A. Perret, Volcanologist (French Strother) 85

WAR Against Drink in France, The (Arno Dosch) 428
War by Inches in the West 312
*War Chiefs of the Army 652
*War Chiefs of the Navy, The 409
War Department, The 642
War, Wall Street and Water, The 638
What Good is a Country? 268
What Is an Export Trade Worth? 386
What Italy Gives the Allies 261
What Italy's Armies Can Do 314
What Lloyd-George Accomplished Against Liquor
(Harry Jones) 433
What the Panama Canal Is Doing (C. M. Keys) 362
Who's Who in Mexico (French Strother) 647
Why the United States Must Finance the War (Theo-
dore H. Price) 564
Why the World Is Against Germany 135A
Widows' Pensions 391
*Wild East of Europe, The (Burton J. Hendrick) 453
*Wind-Shield for Motor-Cycles 121
Working Out Business Ethics (Herbert S. Houston). 559

YOUR Government of the United States. 22, 145, 514, 642

INDEX TO DRAWINGS

Shifting Channel of the Uncontrolled Mississippi, The 602
The Mississippi Delta 58
The River's Grievance 60
The Trail of the Southwest Storm 59
The War Zone of the Mississippi 58
Three Forms of Levee Defenses 231
What the Mississippi River Does to the Railroads .. 62, 63

INDEX TO MAPS

as After 1913 459
as Before 1912 458
e of the Secret Treaty 458
a Boundaries As They Would Be If National
rations Were Realized 460
s in the Caucasus, The 76
ople and Its Surroundings 181
s on April 25th 319
s on May 25th 319
Theatre of the Austro-Italian War 315
acking the Mississippi 604
d Line of the Mississippi 234, 235
Theatre of War Feb 1st to 4th 66, 67
Theatre of War May 1st to 5th 561
Eastern Theatre of War May 21st to June 13th 81
Eastern Theatre of War July 4th to 10th 81
Forces Around Ægean and Black Seas 81
Germany's Stake in Africa 694
High Water Mark of the German-Austrian Attacks
Feb. 26th to March 20th 70, 71
How Sakurashima Joined the Mainland 87
Italian Theatre of War, The 583
Italy's Annexations and Ambitions 31
Japan's New "Spheres of Influence in China" 535
Mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates River, The 79
Operations on the Gallipoli Peninsula 578
Railroad Systems of the Opponents, The 575
Russian Battle Front April 1st to 25th 306
Russian Battle Front May 1st to 5th 307

PAGE
Russian Battle Front May 15th..... 310
Russian Battle Front May 23rd..... 311
Sixteen Thousand Miles of Idle Water Track..... 603
Strength and Distribution of the Belligerent Navies in the Autumn of 1915..... 685
Strength and Distribution of the Fleets of the Allies at the Outbreak of the War..... 683
Strength and Distribution of the German and Austrian Fleets at the Outbreak of the War..... 682
Territory the Allies Have Gained Through Supremacy .....
Turk's Move Against Suez, The.....
Water Defenses of the Dardanelles.....
Western Theatre of the War on May 23rd...
Western Theatre of the War on July 15th...
Where Turkey's Armies are Operating.....

INDEX TO AUTHORS

Crow, Carl 150, 529
Davies, Joseph E..... 110
Dosch, Arno 428
Dyer, Walter A.....485, 605, 609
Etienne, Eugene 280
Freeman, Lewis R..... 689
Graham, Stephen 438
Gregory, John S..... 197
Hendrick, Burton J.....99, 156, 284, 453, 545
Houston, Herbert S..... 559
Johnson, William C..... 194
Jones, Harry 433
Keys, C. M..... 362
Laut, Agnes 446
Lowell, A. Lawrence.....
McAdoo, William G.....
McCormick, Robert R.....
Marvin, George 49, 213,
Merriam, James R.....
Middleton, James .....
Price, Theodore H.....238,
Price, Willard .....
Stoddard, E. V.....
Strother, French .....
Todd, Frederick .....
Wilson, Owen .....
White, Frank Marshall.....
Wyman, Walter F.....27, 242, 366,

INDEX TO PORTRAITS

(*Portraits and other pictures in "The March of Events")

Aehrenthal, Count von..... 465
*Aldao, Dr. Ricardo C..... 9
Aleshire, Major-General James B..... 666
*American Submarines 129
*Atlantic Fleet 128
Badger, Rear-Admiral C. J..... 422
Barnes, Jr., William..... 551
Barry, Major-General Thomas H..... 661
Belknap, Commander R. R..... 426
Bell, Major-General J. Franklin..... 667
*Benson, Rear-Admiral William S..... 126
Benson, Rear-Admiral William S..... 413
Bieberstein, Marschall von..... 465
Bliss, Brig.-Gen. Tasker H..... 658
*Blue, Dr. Rupert..... 381
Blue, Rear-Admiral Victor..... 415
*Botha, General Louis..... 503
Boush, Rear-Admiral C. J..... 425
Brackett, Edgar T..... 551
Brown, Lieut. Wilson..... 413
Bryan, William J..... 417
*Bryce, The Hon. James..... 131
"Buffalo Bill"..... 653
*Bush, Irving T..... 380
Cadorna, Lieut.-Gen.. Luigi..... 296
*Caperton, Rear-Admiral William B..... 622
Caperton, Rear-Admiral William B..... 424
Castelnau, General 46
Chase, Capt. Volney..... 413
*China Preparing for National Defense..... 630
Cowles, Ex-Admiral W. C..... 418
Cramer, Major Charles F..... 103
Crowder, Brig.-Gen. Enoch H..... 668
Crozier, Brig.-Gen. William..... 663
Daniels, The Hon. Josephus..... 413
Dubail, General 47
Duke of the Abruzzi..... 296
Dyer, L. C..... 100
*Dynastic Ties of the Balkan Rulers, The.....254, 255
*Eighth Annual Conference of Governers, The..... 628
*Falkenhayn, Field Marshal Erich G. A. S. von..... 627
Fechteler, Capt. A. F..... 427
Fiske, Rear-Admiral B. A..... 422
Fitzgerald, John J..... 552
Fletcher, Admiral F. F..... 416
*Foch, General Ferdinand..... 132
Foch, General Ferdinand..... 46
*Fuller, Jr., Paul..... 501
Funston, Major-General Frederick..... 659
Galliéni, General 46
*Galveston During and After Its Recent Storm..... 629
Garrison, The Hon. Lindley M..... 654
Geahoff, M..... 464
Goethals, Brig.-Gen. George W..... 660
Gorgas, William C., Brig.-Gen..... 660
*Grant, Capt. Albert Weston..... 253
Grant, Capt. Albert Weston..... 423
Guthrie, The Hon. George W..... 417
*Hoetzendorf, Baron Conrad von..... 626
Holland, John P.....289, 290, 291
Holmes, Commander U. T..... 426
*Honorary Commercial Commissioners of China, The 259
Hood, Capt. "Jack"..... 426
*House, E. M..... 379
Howard, Admiral T. B..... 419
Joffre, General Joseph.....41, 42, 43, 45, 48
Jonesco, Take 461
Key, John A..... 101
King Carol of Roumania..... 463
King Ferdinand of Bulgaria..... 462
King Ferdinand of Roumania.....
Kingman, Brig.-Gen. Dan C.....
King Nicholas of Montenegro.....
King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy.....
Kitchener, Lord .....
Knight, Rear-Admiral A. M.....
*Lansing, Robert .....
Lewis, James Hamilton.....
*Liebknecht, Herr Karl.....
Liggett, Brig.-Gen. Hunter.....
Low, Seth .....
*Lowell, Pres. A. Lawrence.....
*"Lusitania" .....
*McAdoo, William G.....
McCain, Brig.-Gen. Henry P.....
McCandless, Lieut. Byron.....
McElroy, John .....
McIntyre, Brig.-Gen. Frank.....
*McKenna, Reginald .....
McLean, Rear-Admiral Walter.....
Macomb, Brig.-Gen. M. M.....
Mayo, Vice-Admiral H. T.....
*Members of the New Coalition Ministry of
*Miller, Chas R.....
Millerand, M. Alexandre.....
Mills, Brig.-Gen. Albert L.....
Mitchell, Walter .....
*Morgenthau, Henry .....
Nicoll, DeLancey .....
O'Brian, John Lord.....
O'Brien, Morgan J.....
*Pardo, José .....
Parker, Brig.-Gen. James.....
Parsons, Herbert .....
Pashitch, M.....
Pau, General .....
Perret, Frank A.....
*Polk, Frank Lyon.....
Queen Eleonore of Bulgaria.....
Queen Marie of Roumania.....
Queen of Italy.....
Queen of Montenegro.....
Quigg, Lemuel E.....
Roddenbery, Seaborn A.....
Rodgers, Capt. T. S.....
Root, Elihu .....
*Ryan, Walter D'Arcy.....
Salandro, Signor Antonio.....
Schurman, Jacob Gould.....
Scott, Brig.-Gen. Hugh L.....
Scriven, Brig.-Gen. George P.....
Shively, Senator .....
Simmons, Maurice .....
Sims, Capt. William S.....
Stimson, Henry L.....
Taft, William H.....
Taylor, Capt. David W.....
*Thomas, D. A.....
Venezelos, M.....
Vogelgesang, Commander C. T.....
*Von Hindenburg, General.....
*Von Mackensen, General.....
*Warburg, Paul M.....
Weaver, Brig.-Gen. Erasmus M.....
*West, Duval .....
Winslow, Rear-Admiral "Cam".....
Winterhalter, Admiral Albert G.....
Wood, Major-General Leonard.....
*Yuan Shih-Kai, President.....

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

CONTENTS FOR MAY, 1915

eneral Joffre - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Frontispiece*

HE MARCH OF EVENTS—AN EDITORIAL INTERPRETATION - - - 3

General von Kusmanek
King Victor Emmanuel of Italy
Dr. Richard P. Strong
Mr. Elihu Root
Mr. J. P. Morgan
Dr. Ricardo C. Aldao
Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne
The Launching of the *Pennsylvania*
Mr. Joseph Conrad

Prohibition and the War
A Federal Budget System
Financial Leadership
A New Constitution for New York
A Lost Opportunity
An Intelligent Citizen
The End of the Open Door
A New Era in Japan
More Tangible Pan-Americanism
The Instability of American Fortunes
Corrections

OUR GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES - - - - - 22
REJUDICE AND UTILITY SECURITIES - - - - - - - - 24
REDIT AT HOME AND ABROAD - - - WALTER F. WYMAN 27
TALY'S REASONS - - - - - - - - - - - - - OWEN WILSON 29
OFFRE AND THE NEW FRANCE (Illus.) JAMES MIDDLETON 35
HE GREAT RIVER - - - - - - - - - - GEORGE MARVIN 49
I—THE WAR ON THE MISSISSIPPI (Illustrated)
RZEMYSL AND THE MAZURIAN LAKES - - - - - - - - 65
HE WAR OF THE DESERTS AND THE SNOWS - - - - - 73
HE BIG SPRING DRIVE - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 83
RANK A. PERRET, VOLCANOLOGIST (Concluded)
(Illustrated) - - - - - - - - - - - - FRENCH STROTHER 85
ORK BARREL PENSIONS - - - - - - - BURTON J. HENDRICK 99
III—MAKING THE SPANISH WAR PAY (ILLUSTRATED)
HE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION AND BUSINESS—BIG AND LITTLE - - - - - - - - - - - JOSEPH E. DAVIES 110
RISONS OF FREEDOM - - - - - - FRANK MARSHALL WHITE 114
AN AND HIS MACHINES (Illustrated) - - - - - - - - - 121
USINESS TALKS - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Advertising Section*

TERMS: $3.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents. For Foreign Postage add $1.00; Canada 60 cents.
Published monthly. Copyright, 1915, by Doubleday, Page & Company.
All rights reserved. Entered at the Post Office at Garden City, N. Y., as second-class mail matter.

Unsolicited manuscripts are welcomed by the editors and are carefully read. They cannot, however, be returned unless they are accompanied by the proper amount of postage.

N. DOUBLEDAY, President H. S. HOUSTON, Vice-President S. A. EVERITT, Treasurer RUSSELL DOUBLEDAY, Secretary

DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
COUNTRY LIFE IN AMERICA THE GARDEN MAGAZINE—FARMING

HICAGO: Peoples Gas Bldg. GARDEN CITY, N. Y. NEW YORK: 11-13 W. 32d Street

GENERAL JOFFRE

"IN THE CONDUCT OF OUR ARMIES YOU HAVE SHOWN A SPIRIT OF ORGANIZATION, ORDER, AND OF METHOD; A WISDOM COLD AND CAUTIOUS; A POWERFUL SOUL WHICH NOTHING HAS SHAKEN; A SERENITY WHOSE SALUTARY EXAMPLE HAS EVERYWHERE INSPIRED CONFIDENCE AND HOPE"—PRESIDENT POINCARÉ

[See page 35]

THE WORLD'S WORK

MAY, 1915

LUME XXX NUMBER 1

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

WE ARE fighting Germany, Austria, and drink," recently said the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, "and, so as I can see, the greatest of these e deadly foes is drink."

year ago the sophisticated would have hed to oblivion the idea that the King, :hener, and Lloyd George should be ıching and practising prohibition, that Czar's government should have given the great revenue derived from the ıufacture of vodka, and that the cafés 'aris should sell no absinthe.

'opular education toward temperance had a steady growth. It has been n more effective than it appeared. ien war drove home the necessity of ional efficiency, almost the first thing countries of Europe did was to re- :e drinking. It was recognized that tions do not drink in harmless modera- n, and one country after another dra- ıtically testified that temperance and ıciency went hand in hand.

It would be just as patriotic to abstain ım drinking for the good of the nation peace as it is to abstain from drinking r the good of the nation at war. But war calls forth the unselfish qualities of mankind in patriotic service much more than peace. War is the visible sign of a crisis. The crises of peace may be just as real but being less apparent they call forth less patriotic self-denial. Only in Scandinavia has a nation-wide campaign of temperance succeeded on patriotic grounds. About the time of the separation from Norway, the Swedish temperance movement took on an intellectual and patriotic aspect, and within a few years the Swedes changed from among the heaviest drinkers in the world to the lightest drinkers. Temperance in Norway and Finland accomplished somewhat the same results.

In the last analysis prohibition to be successful must be popular. In times of crises personal sacrifices are popular and prohibition is accepted. In normal times there is more tendency to sacrifice patriotism and national efficiency for personal pleasure. The dramatic prohibitions of the war give an invaluable object lesson of the benefits of temperance and furnish an impetus to the long, long campaign to educate public opinion to the efficacy of national sobriety. These prohibitions are in one way the most striking social phenomena of the war.

Copyright, 1915, by Doubleday, Page & Co. All rights reserved.

GENERAL VON KUSMANEK (RIGHT)

WHO FOR SEVEN MONTHS DEFENDED THE FORTRESS OF PRZEMYSL AGAINST THE RUSSIANS.
THE ARCHDUKE CARL FRANCIS OF AUSTRIA ON THE LEFT

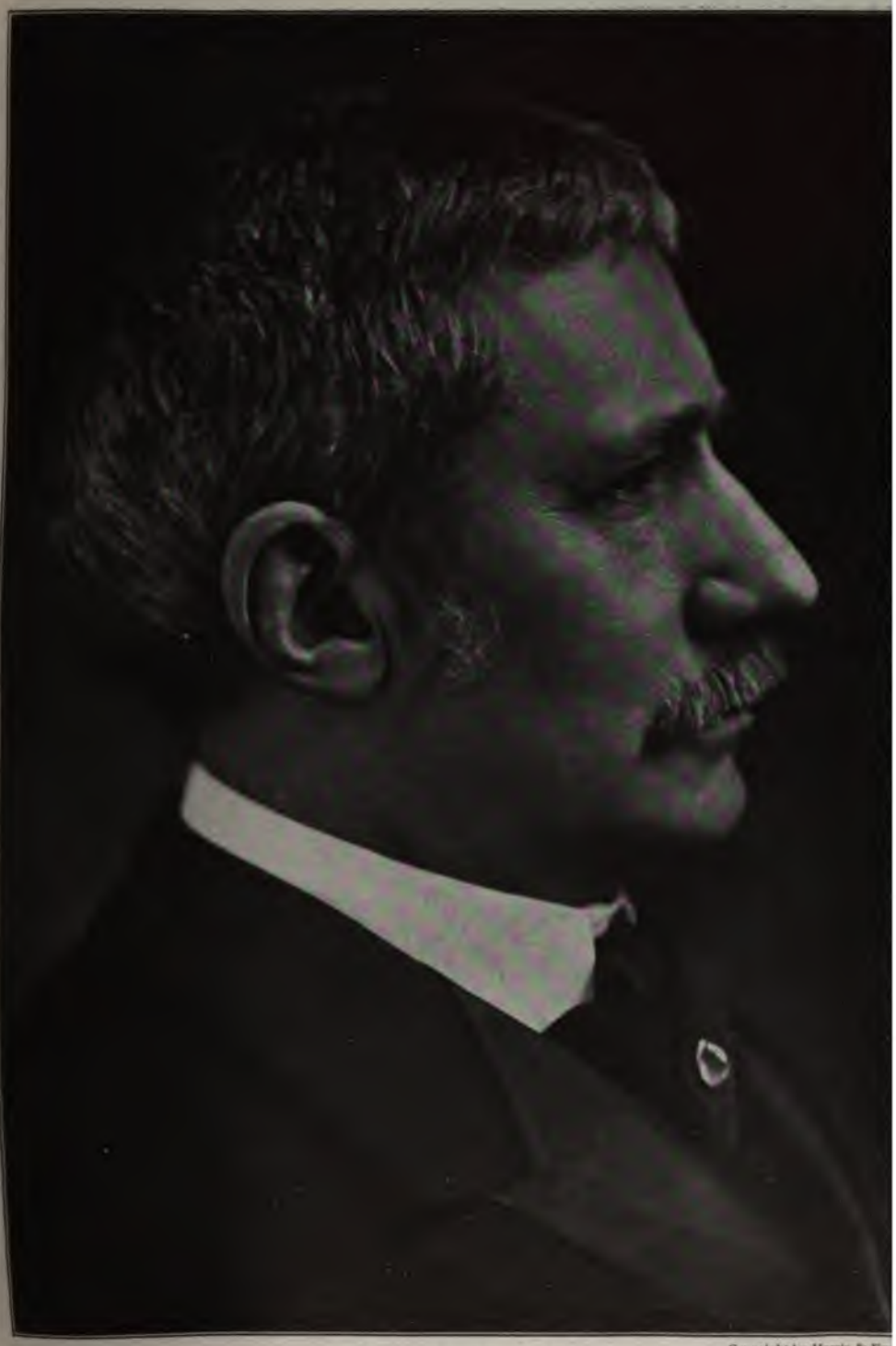
KING VICTOR EMMANUEL OF ITALY

WHICH HAS RECENTLY ACHIEVED PART OF ITS AMBITION TO BECOME A SEA POWER BY THE TAKING OF TRIPOLI AND WHICH NOW WISHES TO ESTABLISH ITS DOMINANCE OF THE ADRIATIC SEA BY SECURING A PORT IN *ALBANIA*

[See page 99]

DR. RICHARD P. STRONG

THE AMERICAN PHYSICIAN WHO HAS GONE TO SERVIA UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS, SUPPORTED BY THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION WAR RELIEF COMMISSION, TO COMBAT THE EPIDEMIC OF TYPHUS AND TYPHOID FEVERS IN THAT COUNTRY

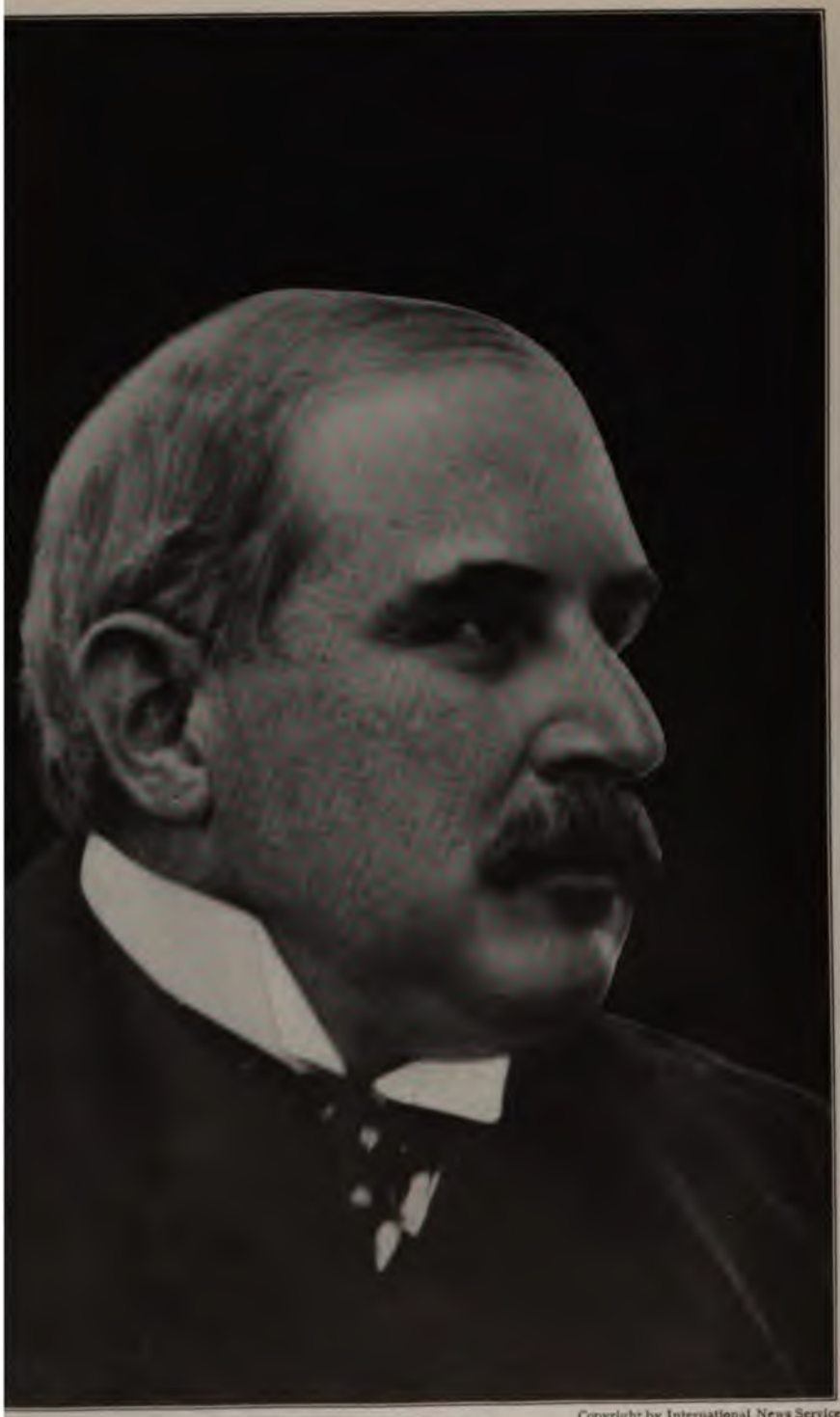


Copyright by Harris & Ew

MR. ELIHU ROOT

PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CONVENTION WHICH IS FRAMING A NEW STATE CON STITUTION, IN WHICH A STRONG EFFORT IS BEING MADE TO INTRODUCE THE BUDGE SYSTEM OF EXPENDITURES INTO THE STATE GOVERNMENT

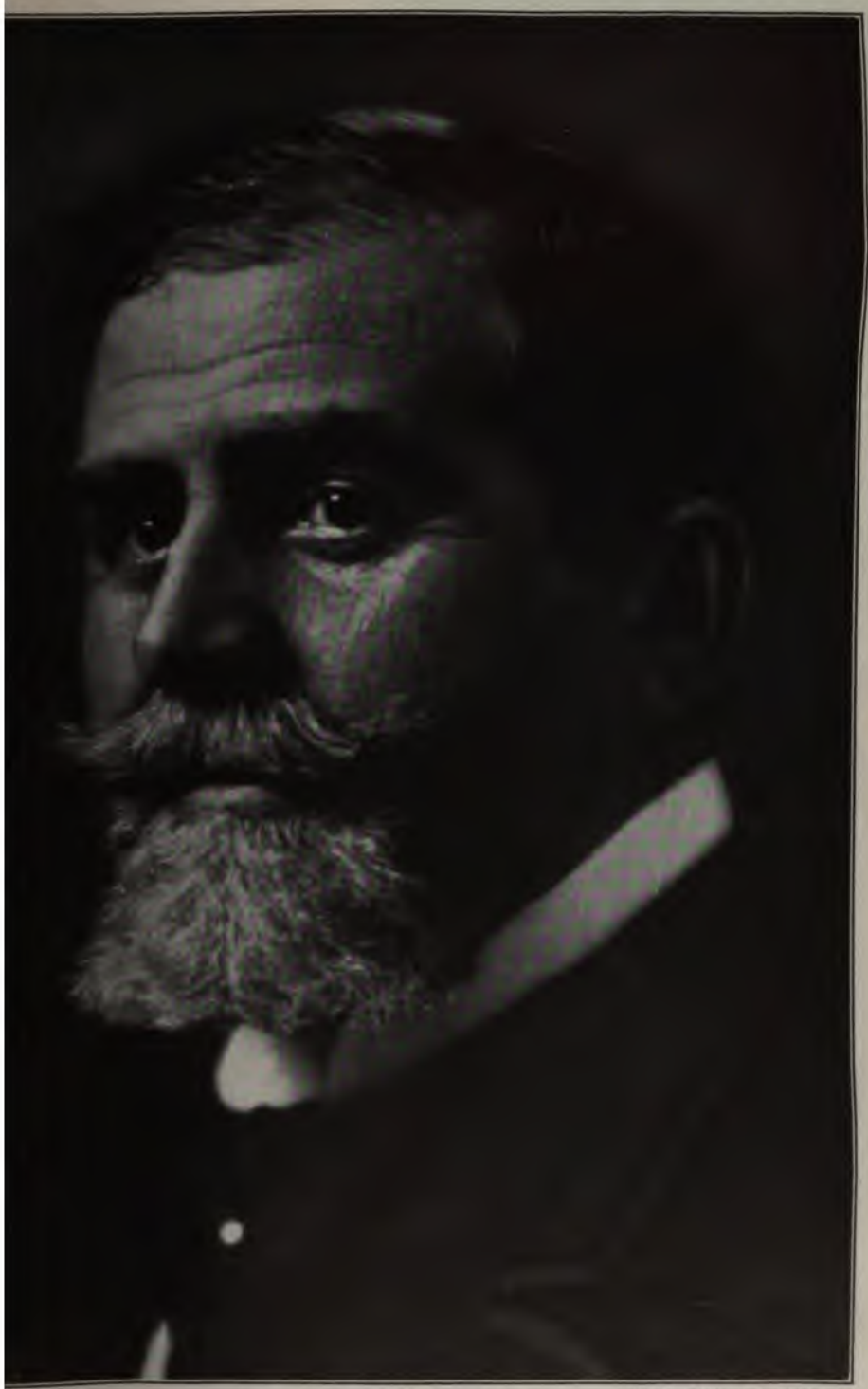
(See "The March of Event



Copyright by International News Service

MR. J. P. MORGAN

HAS LED IN THE ESTABLISHMENT IN THIS COUNTRY OF "CREDITS" FOR FOREIGN
OF MORE THAN $100,000,000. THROUGH THESE EMERGENCY LOANS, WHICH ARE
SED TO PAY FOR GOODS PURCHASED IN THE UNITED STATES, THIS COUNTRY'S IN-
IN INTERNATIONAL BANKING AND COMMERCE HAS BEEN GREATLY STRENGTHENED



Photographed by Pirie Macdonald

DR. RICARDO C. ALDAO

OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC AT THE PAN-AMERICAN
IAL CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON THIS MONTH, AT WHICH DELEGATES FROM THE
AN REPUBLICS WILL TRY *TO DEVISE* A MORE EFFECTIVE SYSTEM OF COMMERCIAL
OURSE *BETWEEN THE NATIONS OF* THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Copyright by American Press Assoc

MR. THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE

THE WARDEN OF SING SING PRISON WHO IS TRYING TO MAKE GOOD CITIZENS OF CONVI
BY HUMANE TREATMENT AND THE HONOR SYSTEM OF DISCIPLINE

(See pag

THE LAUNCHING OF THE "PENNSYLVANIA"

THE LATEST ADDITION TO OUR NAVY AND THE BIGGEST BATTLESHIP AFLOAT. THE "PENNSYLVANIA" IS FOUR KNOTS SLOWER THAN THE "QUEEN ELIZABETH", THE NEWEST BRITISH SUPER-DREADNAUGHT, BUT CARRIES TWELVE 14-INCH GUNS AS AGAINST THE "QUEEN ELIZABETH'S" EIGHT 15-INCH GUNS

Photographed by Will Cadby

MR. JOSEPH CONRAD

BORN A POLE, BRED A SAILOR, AND NOW ONE OF THE MOST FINISHED MASTERS OF ENGLISH STYLE OF ALL CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

FEDERAL BUDGET SYSTEM

1912 the Democratic Party made
nuch of Republican extravagance in
National expenditures. Their criticisms
justified. Now Republicans point to
ocratic wastefulness. Their criticisms
just also. Both parties are right.
are spendthrifts. Under present
itions it is idle to listen to economy
by either party. Congressman John
tzgerald is as good a watchdog of the
sury as "Uncle Joe" Cannon—and
as helpless.

it there is one change in the situation.
n "Uncle Joe" Cannon and Mr.
ney, of Minnesota, were watchdogs of
reasury there was a general impression
the system of waste under which the
ral money is expended was necessary.
public is rapidly getting into a mood to
nd, if waste cannot be stopped under
present system, that the system be
ged.

e system at present is somewhat as
vs: The various bureau chiefs make
ates of the money which they want
heir bureaus and submit them to the
tary of their department. The Sec-
y may know his department well
gh to mould these special pleas for
s into a well-balanced budget, or he
only be able to add them all together
pass them on to Congress. But as each
tary puts in his recommendation
out regard to the recommendations of
ther departments, there is little chance
they will together form a coördinated,
balanced plan of expenditure. The
is, the lack of system leads to a kind of
petition between the different bureaus
departments to see which can get
most money from Congress.

hen the departmental recommendations
h the House of Representatives they are
led among several committees. The
opriations for one department are even
led among several of these committees.
committees call before them, in secret
ons, not only the Secretaries of the
rent departments but all sorts of
au chiefs and lesser officials, each one
ding for his own particular item in the
opriation and quite often *disagreeing* with his superior's recommendations. All this, of course, would result in the utmost confusion and waste even if the committees were free to use their best judgment upon the mass of undigested, conflicting testimony which they get. But the members of the committees are not free to use their best judgment for the interest of the Nation. They are not elected by the Nation. They are elected by particular Congressional districts. They can get credit in their own districts by spending money in their home districts or credit with their colleagues by spending it in the colleagues' districts—a credit to be returned in a form usable at home. There is a tremendous pressure on every committeeman to spend more and more money. Moreover, as there are several committees, what one may save the others are likely to spend. And if a conscientious committee does recommend economy, as likely as not the House will not heed its recommendations. If the House does, it is by no means sure that theSenate will.

The appropriation measures which are not founded on the departmental estimates, such as the river and harbor, public building, pension bills, etc., are perhaps even more wasteful. Every representative who wants a pension, dam, or post-office building for his district introduces a bill for the purpose. All these bills are collected by the proper committee, which then decides what sum it has the conscience to recommend for expenditure, and divides that sum more or less pro rata among the bills presented. The more districts their recommendations take care of the more votes their recommendations are likely to get, for few Congressmen have political strength enough to vote against appropriations for their own districts and still be reëlected.

Such is the chaos out of which the appropriation bills emerge for the President's signature. If he refuses to sign them there is no money forthcoming to run the Government. If he signs them he becomes a party to the waste.

II

The public looking on and paying the bills is beginning to realize that this is a terribly costly chaos. The obvious remedy

is to find out who is responsible for the waste and reform his habits or get him out of office. But right there comes the rub. No one admits that he is responsible.

The bureau chiefs say that they have asked for only what they need, or if they asked for more it was because that is sometimes the best way of getting what is needed. The Secretaries can justly say that they are not responsible, for their recommendations are not often followed, particularly if their recommendations neglect the districts of the strong members of the committees. Each committee in Congress lays the blame on the departmental recommendations, or on the other appropriating committees. The House blames the Senate, the Senate blames the House, and the President can blame both of them.

The public, which pays the bills, can't get its hands on anybody who is responsible, unless it is the whole party that happens to be in power. To dismiss that will do no good, because the other party, so far as expenditures go, is the same thing under another name.

There have been some wonderful combinations of dummy corporations, operating companies, holding companies, etc., concocted in the business world which were so complicated that only a Philadelphia lawyer could tell who was responsible for the expenditures of the stockholders' money, but none of these has ever been as successful in dividing responsibility into extinction as the present method of making Federal appropriations.

The Federal appropriations are taken from money belonging to all the people of the United States. The members of the Congressional committees do not represent all the people of the United States. They represent the citizens of particular districts. There is only one person who represents all the people of the country. He is the President of the United States. He should be primarily responsible for the expenditure of the people's money.

To make the President responsible he must be given by law the right to prepare and introduce into Congress a budget of the Government's expenditures and any new bills necessary to raise revenue.

The spokesmen of the Administration should be given the right to present and defend this budget on the floor of the Senate and the House.

Both Houses should be forbidden to add items to the budget.

These specific recommendations were put forward tentatively two years ago by Mr. Henry L. Stimson, ex-Secretary of War. While he claimed no perfection for them it is certain that they embody the essential principles of a system for making our Government financially responsible to the voters of the Nation, and thereby stopping its waste and extravagance.

FINANCIAL LEADERSHIP

THERE are people who honestly fear a dictator and who "view with alarm" the encroachments of executive power upon the rights of the legislature. These people would rather have the Federal Treasury continue to spend money, without any one being directly responsible, than to give the President the power that must go with responsibility for these expenditures.

But these people are in the minority. The American public wants men in public life to take responsibility. The strength of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wilson is that they took the responsibilities of leadership in legislation. The great majority of the public have approved, and do approve, of this Presidential leadership and responsibility, and they are not afraid to extend it to the most vital question in the Government—its expenditures.

The majority of the members of the House of Representatives in all probability would oppose giving the President the power to be responsible to the public for the expenditure of its money, because it would seem to take from the House one of its powers—the control of appropriations. But the House does not control the appropriations now. The appropriation bills control Congress and their grip forces that body to a servility that largely reduces its power and prestige. Congress is in dire need of emancipation from the appropriations.

The average member of Congress works hard and yet many of them stay in Washington for long periods and learn little about

at questions upon which they vote. ason is they have not time to study il questions. So much of their time n up looking after their particular uents that there is little left to find out the business of the United States ral. So long as each Congressman roduce bills to benefit financially his or any of its inhabitants, there will a tremendous pressure to spend his this way. If he could tell his con- ts that the President prepared the s and that nothing he could do would em any special favors over the in- nts of any other district, he would o be a special solicitor at the Treas- partment and an employment agency Post Office. Once relieved of these burdens he could devote himself to airs of the Nation without being hat some claimant for his seat would e to get more largess from the l Treasury than he had obtained. em which prevented Congressmen being bargainers for local favors give them time to become well in- l legislators.

II

n a President, nowadays, takes mem- Congress into his Cabinet the public to condemn the choice as a "purely al appointment." Yet the strong f Congress should logically be the rs of the President in the conduct of overnment. They should have had experience than any one else. The they are not the logical choice is e public looks upon them as politi- and not as statesmen. The differ- that a politician is one who works petty advantages of his district that y continue to keep his seat in Con- while a statesman is one who works general good of the country. So s the present system of appropria- ontinues most members of Congress ever have time nor opportunity to e statesmen. The House of Repre- ves will not hold a higher place in blic estimation than it does now; it t develop many great national char- nor become a training school for t members or Presidents.

But a Congress before which the Administration had to present and defend its proposals to spend money would offer an opportunity for men truly to serve the country as a whole by the intelligent discussion of great questions. If the expenditures were discussed in public instead of behind the closed doors of the committee rooms, the public could tell which of its representatives were able and which were not. Under such conditions it would be natural and proper for the strong men of Congress to become the members of each succeeding administration and for Congress itself to rise in prestige and reputation.

The reason that Congress, and especially the House of Representatives, is not held in higher esteem now is not that it is not made up of able and honest men. It is. But the system under which they struggle nullifies much of that ability and honesty.

The budget system, which would emancipate Congress from the control of appropriations, was practically in effect in our Federal Government during Washington's administrations. It is now practised in various countries in Europe, in Canada, and in Australia. It has greatly improved the government of the city of New York, and it is being introduced in other cities. It was the best system we could devise for the governments we set up in Porto Rico and in the Philippines.

We brought back our own knowledge of sanitation from Havana to rid New Orleans of yellow fever. We might well bring back our ideas of statecraft from Ponce and Manila to rid Washington of its financial irresponsibility.

A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR NEW YORK

IN THE early part of April delegates assembled in Albany for the revision of the Constitution of the State of New York. Their task is to provide an organic law for a commonwealth three times as large as was the United States when the Federal Convention came together in Philadelphia in 1789. The New York State constitution shows a fundamental intelligence in those who originally framed it: it specifically provides that it shall be re-

vised once every twenty years. It assumes that political wisdom is not the exclusive possession of any one generation, that an intelligent state is a developing organism; and that a system of government is not innate, permanent, supremely wise, but that, like all other human conceptions, it can profit by experience.

At no time has this provision for a periodical self-examination seemed so justified as now. The American people have advanced enormously in a political sense in the last twenty years. In 1894, when the last revision was made, the people of New York had very little interest in the work of their convention. The delegates to this new convention, however, report that there is now a wide popular interest. Many civic bodies and private citizens have deluged them with suggestions. These suggestions indicate the political path we have trod in twenty years. Many new words, which the convention of 1894 would not have understood, have become living parts of our political vocabulary. Who, twenty years ago, would have comprehended such expressions as commission government, judicial review, initiative, referendum, recall, municipal home rule, short ballot—all problems with which this convention will have to deal? How many would have believed that, in 1915, the voters of New York State would be called upon to decide the question of extending the suffrage to women?

The New York convention, however, will have to deal with a problem that is even more fundamental. The delegates are already asking whether our whole American system, state and Federal, is not based on a huge misconception. Have the American people, who have shown a supreme intelligence in the management of business, failed in the one thing in which they promised to excel a hundred and thirty years ago—the art of government? In business the prevailing needs are directness, the fixing of responsibility, the quickest way to obtain the most efficient results; in our conception of government, however, the main purpose seems to have been to create a cumbersome procedure, to divide responsibility, and to assign the same duties to a variety of agencies. In a word, irresponsibility is the keystone of the American system. The classical name for it is a "system of checks and balances." It is also called the "separation of the powers." It was the idea which Hamilton introduced into the Federal Constitution, and which practically all the state constitutions have copied. Most middle-aged Americans learned, in their school books, that this principle of the separation of the three great powers of government—legislative, executive, and judicial—was something sacred, almost Divinely ordained, a safeguard without which their liberties would perish. Our political experience is beginning to show us, however, that this division of responsibility is opposed to all national conceptions of efficiency, and that it explains many of the failures and much of the corruption that have tarnished the American experiment. If you give half a dozen people the power to do a particular thing, and each one of them the right to undo what the others have done, the only result will be confusion and inefficiency. The success of the Presidents and governors who have taken the full measure of responsibility that the laws now allow, and the failure of those who have hidden behind the excuses afforded by the separation of powers, have led to a strong demand for the creation of a responsible governor in the new constitution.

A LOST OPPORTUNITY

IF THE constitutional convention seeks an illustration of what happens when a governor refuses to accept this responsibility, it finds one at its own doors—in the administration of Governor Whitman.

When Woodrow Wilson ran for governor of New Jersey, his opponent, a lawyer of the old fashioned kind, struck the conventional attitude and informed the people that, if elected, he would be a "constitutional governor." He meant that he would keep himself closely within his executive power, make no attempt to influence legislation, and solemnly approve or veto such bills as the legislature put before him. Mr. Wilson met this challenge in his usual unexpected fashion. He promised the voters that, if elected, he would be an "unconstitutional governor." He did not mean that

overrun the fundamental law; he ɛant that he would use such powers ıte constitution gave him to assert ɛ, active leadership. The voters their "constitutional" candidate ed their "unconstitutional" one. nonths ago Charles S. Whitman he governor of New York State. uffered largely from the criticism was merely an able prosecuting hat his general outlook on life was o the traditional teachings of his ı, and that he lacked political ion and aggressive leadership. r. Whitman became governor he ɛly set about, as though acting on rmined plan, to justify these crit- He put aside one of the most opportunities for leadership any ı public man has ever had and re- hin the shell of his constitutional le announced, almost in these very ıat he would be a "constitutional " The legislature had its job; ıtive had his constitutionally pre- uties; it would be high treason for ɛroach upon the other. He would ıpt to "coerce" the legislature, to h" upon its powers: let its derelic- ıpon its own head! He would re- l legislation, for the constitution he should do so; he would approve ills because that duty was clearly upon him; but he would not go f his sphere and "dictate." Evi- ɛsident Wilson's career had made ɛssion upon Governor Whitman. ew phenomenon had appeared in ı politics—that of responsible ɔ—had apparently escaped his on. Governor Whitman's con- ɛas purely lawyer-like and conven- ; a result the government of the lew York wandered about without ting hand. The people had elected lican governor and a Republican e to accomplish definite reforms; f having a compact organization, ɛcting mind in charge, it has had larly unfortunate specimen of the ıded beast.

ɔuntry is now saying that Mr. , regarded last January as a possi- dential hope of the Republican Party, has dismally failed. His failure to assert any positive leadership is the explanation. His whole administration, lacking an able steersman, has gone upon the rocks. In its last days, the several factions had to go outside their own ranks and summon to Albany ex-Senator Elihu Root. The disorganized legislature, finding no leadership in the officially chosen representative of ten million people, had to call in a private citizen to assume control. At the eleventh hour, Mr. Root had to help the legislators to organize a definite legislative programme. Sometimes, when a governor will not accept the opportunity for leadership, a Root will arise; at other times a Barnes, at other times a Murphy. A system that will allow one will also allow the others. Where a governor retires behind the defenses of "constitutional powers" the mantle of leadership falls on some unofficial person—a boss—with the courage to accept the responsibilities the governor feared. Certainly there could be no better object lesson to the framers of New York's new constitution of the necessity of strengthening responsible leadership in the state government than Mr. Whitman's failure to accept the opportunity that was his. And there could be no plainer object lesson to the governors of the other states of the results of a failure to take the leadership which the office of governor properly gives.

AN INTELLIGENT CITIZEN

A LAWYER in New York went into the real estate office of a friend one day recently and found posted up over the owner's desk a large sign on which was written the name of the agent and underneath it the following:

REPRESENTED BY

Woodrow Wilson	President.
James W. Wadsworth, Jr.	United States Senator.
James A. O'Gorman	United States Senator.
Peter J. Dooling	Congressman.
Charles S. Whitman	Governor.
Ogden Mills	State Senator.
Charles E. Wright, Jr.	Assemblyman.
John Purroy Mitchel	Mayor.
George McAneny	Pres. Board Aldermen.
Marcus M. Marks	Borough President.
Joseph W. Spencer	Alderman.
M. S. Grifenhagen	Sheriff.

The lawyer smiled. "You are pretty well represented, Jim."

"I'm not so sure," was the answer. "But I'm going to find out, and I'll tell you why I am going to find out. Coming back on the steamer I was telling a Swede how a real republican form of government worked. I talked it up pretty big, too. When I was all done he just laughed. 'You read him in a book.' 'Not at all,' I told him. I explained that he didn't know what he was talking about, that we'd been cleaning up our cities, putting the political bosses out of business, and in general getting our politics in better shape.

"Then he began by asking me who were the Senators from New York. I came through on that all right and I managed to remember the Congressman, but when that Swede got down to the state and local officials, I didn't know whether the City of New York had a budget system in operation or not, and I'd never heard of the Assemblyman or the State Senators that represent me. I must have seen their names on the ballot, but I couldn't remember any one of them.

"As soon as I got ashore I began to find out about the republican forms of government sure enough.

"I've got pretty nearly every one that represents me named and located, and now I'm going after their records. The papers tell me about the President and more or less about Senators O'Gorman and Wadsworth. I never heard of my Representative except when he made me a kind of something-for-nothing offer about free seeds at the Government's expense. I don't know which way a single state officer voted, on what questions. But I'm going to find out. I'm going to have the satisfaction of doing something distinguished. I'm going to be the one intelligent citizen in the United States. There's not one around here now, and I don't believe there's one anywhere else."

The unfortunate thing about it is that the real estate agent was very nearly right. There are very, very few men in the United States who perform all their duties of citizenship intelligently, and it is quite often true that the men who know most about their own private business know least about the public business that affects them. Yet a man has no reasonable grounds of criticism of the National, state, or county governments who does not even know who represents him or how his representatives have conducted themselves.

An atheist once twitted Henry Ward Beecher with the failure of Christianity. "Failure!" exclaimed Beecher, "it hasn't failed. It has never been tried." Much the same apothegm applies to representative government. It looks as if it might be successful. It might be a good thing to give it a trial — intelligently.

THE END OF THE OPEN DOOR

THE "open door in China" was the invention of the late W. W. Rockhill, who first used the phrase as an international concept in the year 1899. Mr. Rockhill was at that time director of the Bureau of American Republics, established in those days directly across the street from the State Department in Washington. Because of his previous years of exploration and long residence in China he was almost daily called into consultation on Chinese affairs with John Hay, then Secretary of State in McKinley's Cabinet.

John Hay adopted "the open door in China" and first announced it as a definite policy of this Government in his circular note of July 4, 1900, to the Powers concerned in the Boxer uprising. So far as the United States has any foreign policy, that utterance of John Hay's remains today its Far Eastern definition. As such it has overlapped four Administrations, weathered some diplomatic storms, and survived a great war. Now it is apparently approaching its end.

The open door in China means that the United States claims for its trade in that country an equal opportunity with the opportunities enjoyed by all other nations. That right this Government has reasserted at intervals during the last sixteen years. During that time it has been written into the treaties between this country and Japan. Successive Secretaries of State — Root, Knox, and Bryan — have affirmed it. Mr. Root, who saw its most troublous days, once remarked that it seemed an invidious performance to

go on holding a door open so long when so little trade went through.

It was not until 1909, indeed, that American commerce and finance showed signs of waking up to the opportunities shining through the door into China, patiently held open by the State Department. A syndicate of representative banks in that year went through into the promised land and, backed by Mr. Knox's dollar diplomacy, won equal participation in the railroad exploitation of Central China and the reorganization of the Empire's currency.

The present Administration, feeling that this loan leaned too much upon potential government support, withdrew its official support from the American bankers, whereupon the syndicate, thus abandoned to its private resources, withdrew from China.

For sixteen years this Government has been strenuously maintaining a policy without any very substantial returns. Not only have American commerce and capital been slow to avail themselves of the open door, but several times it has also been abundantly evident that American public opinion would not consider the resort to force in an attempt to keep a remote and infrequently used door from closing.

And now, with the nations of Europe engaged in a struggle which for the time being makes the Far East seem very dim, Japan seems to be proceeding with her ambition. The demands which the Japanese Government has recently made upon China mean that Japan intends: (1) to convert the province of Shantung, taken from Germany, into a Japanese sphere of influence; (2) to make Japanese provinces of South Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia; (3) to obtain a monopoly of the vast mineral wealth of the Yangtse Valley; (4) to gain control of China's war munitions, the policing of important Chinese territory, and an upper hand in the control of China's political, military, and financial affairs.

In short, Japan has set up with regard to China a super-Monroe doctrine. Our Monroe doctrine only closes the door to European territorial ambition. Japan's Monroe doctrine establishes a prior right in Japan over commercial and political China. To *Japan her Monroe doctrine is* vital. The Japanese people are prepared to fight for it.

Japan has taken this opportunity to gain for herself exclusive privileges for the exploitation of the Chinese. It is just the kind of world politics which in the long run breeds war, for such privileges are a source of grievance to the other trading nations of the world and a constant irritation to the people who are forced to allow themselves to be exploited.

Despite the "open door" policy we have no interests in China that call for anything more than a protest against Japan's action. The other great Powers are too much engaged to withhold the Mikado's grasping hand. China is left to cope with her acquisitive neighbor as best she may. For the present Japan's policy is likely to be successful. In the long run, however, for a nation to force itself upon people who do no want to be aided, exploited, and victimized, is not the way to create the kind of friendly feelings which enable people and nations to weather great storms.

A NEW ERA IN JAPAN

"WE ARE at the dawn of a new era —the voters have to bear this in mind." These are the striking and significant words of Count Okuma, the aged premier of Japan, in one of his speeches in the recent campaign which resulted in an overwhelming endorsement of his leadership.

What this new era is, is set forth in a letter recently received from an American resident in Japan. The writer, in speaking of the fall of the Conservative Cabinet a year ago, following revelations of graft in the navy, says:

> The senile elder statesmen appear to have lost their arrogance and come to realize the truth of the ancient Chinese proverb, "Heaven hears through the ears of the people." At any rate, the two houses of the Diet for the first time in the existence of the harmless body showed some signs of independence and refused to be dominated by the army and navy any longer. So the cabinet fell and Count Okuma, the Bryan of Japan, became premier. Less than a month before his appointment was announced, an issue

of his magazine was suppressed by the police because of its radical statements on governmental questions. Of course, Okuma will not accomplish very much. The clans and the bureaucrats are entrenched too strongly to be overthrown by any one premier. But his appointment gave the people a taste of power, and it isn't likely that they will forget it.

The democratic movement which is under way here now is no petty affair, though owing to social conditions and the rigid suppression of news its manifestations are not always clear. But it is very significant that the Japanese are beginning to talk about their Emperor just as we talk about Roosevelt or Wilson. The idea of the divinity of the Emperor is still taught in the official text books and is given a semblance of belief, but not by the educated Japanese. It is a well known fact that the present Emperor is weak both in body and mind, and his mental weakness is so apparent that it is noticeable at public receptions. A few years ago it would have been blasphemy to mention anything like that, but now it is a topic of conversation, and several Japanese have admitted it to me. As the whole government of Japan, its morals and its religion, rests on the supposed divinity of the Emperor, you may imagine what a great struggle there is ahead for this little country.

There is nothing flexible about the Japanese social and political organization. The divinity and supreme power of the Emperor cannot be circumscribed in any way without at once admitting the falsity of Japanese history, religion, and moral system. Nor can the Emperor retain his present power without that power being always at the command of the clans, whom the people are beginning to hate. So the irresistible force of democracy is moving toward the immovable prestige and power of the throne. There is bound to be a revolution here some day, and I doubt if the wise men of Japan will be wise enough to make it a bloodless one.

Perhaps this is a little too sombre a view of the situation, and yet there is no record in history of a people emerging from despotism, and working toward democracy, without bloodshed.

In any case the Japanese experiment is one worth watching, not as the effort of a "wonderful little people" who are different from the rest of humanity, but as another struggle for democracy by a people who, despite differences in race, religion, and history, have much the same problems to meet as the rest of us.

In the next issue the WORLD'S WORK will publish an account of the character and career of Count Okuma, the dominant figure in this new experiment in democracy.

MORE TANGIBLE PAN-AMERICANISM

ON THE 24th of this month the Pan-American Financial and Trade Conference will assemble at Washington. In its inception it was rather hasty and casual for the habits of our neighbors to the south. On the 12th of March the Secretary of State telegraphed instructions to our representatives in the twenty other republics which, with the United States, make up the Government of the Western Hemisphere. Thereupon each of these ministers or ambassadors, in the name of the United States Treasury Department, extended an invitation to the Government to which he was accredited. In each case the appointment of three delegates was suggested, one of them to be the minister of finance of the invited country.

As is the custom in all such cases every one of these Governments had been sounded beforehand and a great majority had expressed their willingness to send delegates. The great majority have likewise backed up this profession of willingness by definite acceptances. Although the invitation is issued by the Secretary of State in accordance with diplomatic usage, the conference will be conducted by the Secretary of the Treasury, and the United States Government will be the host of all the delegates during their stay in Washington and during their transportation to and from their own countries. For such hospitality the Sixty-third Congress, on the last day of its session, appropriated $50,000.

The object of this conference is to create better and more mutual arrangements for banking, transportation, and commerce between the republics of America. It is an object to be desired by every nation represented in the conference. But it will not be attained unless the financial and business interests of this country back up the Government in its attempt to establish a reciprocity of ideas and methods, and unless there shall be underneath all the

mutual interests of trade an animating spirit of good-will and friendliness.

The pervading weakness of our policy toward South America is its lack of tangibility. Sound in doctrine, it is not sufficiently supported by practical evidences of interest to give it generally accepted definition and reality.

The Pan-Americanism which formed one of the chief preoccupations of Mr. Root's direction of the Nation's foreign affairs, which has founded the Pan-American Union in Washington, and has inspired tomes of recorded intentions during many years of speech-making—remains to-day an intangible thing.

For its vagueness we are not, as a people or government, altogether to blame. While we have protested much and unintentionally patronized a little, the other republics have doubted much and coöperated little.

Mechanically the war has thrown the republics of America willy-nilly more closely together than ever before. But if the association is to become such an enduring one as will outlast the necessities of war it must be more than doctrinaire, more than mechanical. It must be made out of the tangible substance of healthy reciprocal trade and animated by the spirit of international good-will. This conference may be made the beginning of that tangibility.

THE INSTABILITY OF AMERICAN FORTUNES

IN THESE hurried times, one important happening in the American railroad situation has aroused little popular attention: that is the retirement of the Gould family from the control of the Missouri Pacific Railway. The Missouri Pacific is the holding company of the properties making up what is popularly known as the Gould System—the Western Pacific, the Iron Mountain, the Denver & Rio Grande, and the Wabash. The Gould retirement signifies that this "dynasty" has come to an end. The Goulds surrendered the control of the Western Union Telegraph Company to the American Telephone Company half a dozen years ago; in 1903, they gave up the Manhattan Elevated lines in New York City to the Interborough Railroad. Jay Gould died in 1892—only twenty-three years ago; and thus, in less than a generation, his children have lost all control of their inheritance.

The experience of the Gould family is not an isolated one. If we go back thirty years we find certain personal "dynasties" dominating nearly all great American railroad systems. The Vanderbilts controlled the New York Central and what are still known, by courtesy, as the Vanderbilt lines; the Garretts of Baltimore dominated the Baltimore & Ohio; the Goulds, the great railroad property which has just passed out of their hands; the Huntingtons, the Southern Pacific and its accessories; a group of important families in Boston controlled the Burlington System. Certain glacier-like economic forces have compelled all these families to surrender their properties. Whatever lessons the financial moralists may draw from these happenings, from a social point of view the phenomenon is significantly reassuring. It seems to imply that an aristocracy, on the European plan, cannot take root under American economic conditions. Aristocracies, of course, under all civilizations, ancient and modern, are always based upon wealth. Families of large consideration that lose their properties quickly return to their native soil. The European aristocracies in past centuries have owed their prestige to the ownership of land, the most available and stable form of wealth. There is one great difference between social distinction based on land and social distinction based upon more complicated forms of wealth, such as railroads. One family, under feudal conditions, could easily hold possession of land for generation after generation. Land is easily held, it requires no particular skill in management, and demands little personal oversight. No American family, however, seems able to control a railroad system from generation to generation. Railroads are held with the utmost difficulty. Their management demands the highest skill and personal attention; rivals are constantly looking for their trade; speculators can attack them in the stock market; all kinds of financial and industrial complications can force the prevailing interest

out of possession. The same conditions embarrass practically all forms of industrial wealth as it exists in the United States. We can find only one American family preëminently rich several years ago that is preëminently rich now. That is the Astor family. And this exception proves the rule, for here the family wealth, like the wealth of the medieval aristocracy, is based on the ownership of land.

Great American fortunes seem fleeting phenomena. Many observers explain this by the fact that we have, fortunately, no law of primogeniture; that all fortunes are thus inevitably divided instead of passing automatically to the oldest son. American millionaires, unlike those of Europe, also have the commendable habit of dispensing their wealth for educational and philanthropic purposes. These things play a part; the real fundamental reason, however, lies in our economic conditions. Commodore Vanderbilt, when he died in 1877, left his son, William H., the actual ownership of a majority interest in the New York Central Railroad. This heir held this property for only three or four years, then he sold nearly all his holdings and invested the money in United States bonds. His explanation enforces this same point: he wanted rest from his great responsibility and preferred to have his wealth in a form that did not demand his incessant, nerve-racking, personal attention. Our great railroad magnates, like certain medieval conquerors, had the genius for constructing huge empires which only men similarly endowed can hold intact.

CORRECTIONS

IN THE April number of the WORLD'S WORK there appeared two errors which it is hoped were either unimportant or obvious enough to have caused no misunderstandings.

The French ships *Suffren* and *Bouvet* were referred to as dreadnaughts. They are battleships of the pre-dreadnaught era. Lord Landsdowne was referred to as the Liberal leader of the British House of Lords. He is a Unionist.

YOUR GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE NEWEST PART OF THE GOVERNMENT

THE creation of a Trade Commission affecting all business, the centering of the control of our currency in the Federal Reserve Board, the tremendously increased importance of our foreign relations—these, among many other things, are turning public attention more and more toward the activities of the Federal Government. For this reason the WORLD'S WORK *has decided to supplement its customary discussion of governmental affairs and to publish each month one or more editorial articles about the activities of the Federal Government. These articles will be written by a member of the magazine's staff in Washington who will keep in close and constant touch with the men and measures of which he writes. The Washington office (in the Munsey Building) will also answer readers' questions about the work of any department of the government.*

DON'T worry," said Mr. Davies, referring to the new Trade Commission, of which he is chairman. "This is no inquisition."

In a special article contributed to this er of the World's Work, Mr. Davies lays emphasis upon the constructive possibilities of the new commission. A very practical specific beginning of such activities will soon be made in Chicago and New York. In these two cities hearings will be given to manufacturers and business men of all kinds, and particularly to the

small concerns, who may thus have a chance to make suggestions concerning the way in which they shall be overseen, regulated, or controlled in getting their fair share of the expanding foreign trade that has been opened up for this country by the European war. The idea in these hearings is to have something concrete to lay before Congress when it meets again. In their manner these hearings will be the exact opposite of the Industrial Commission hearings, in that their object will be not to find out what is "rotten in the State of Denmark" but what is healthy in the State of Trade. This first specific instance is right in line with what the commission hopes to make its characteristic policy, a new and important departure in government. The commission is out to "help business."

In the United States, now, 306,000 corporations are doing business. Of these, only 1,500 have a capital of more than $5,000,000. These 1,500 represent Big Business. Only 8,000 have a capital of more than a million. Experience shows that concerns capitalized at no more than a million usually have not sufficient power to adopt the unfair practices prohibited by the Clayton Law. But concerns whose capital reaches the five-million mark usually have the strength to transgress the rules of fair business, and a few of these have the inclination to do so.

In helping business all over the country the Trade Commission's activities will necessarily check these tendencies, which form the menace in Big Business. The chief ingredient in that menace is the vaguely understood term, "unfair competition." All over the country business men want to know what constitutes "unfair competition." The commission itself doesn't know what "unfair" means now. It has been created to define that term. In operation it must always remain an elastic term, to be applied in each separate case and on different grounds.

The main operation of unfair methods is, however, something like this: A big firm goes to work deliberately to exterminate competition. Its motive is not primarily the organization of trade, but for the moment it sets aside profit and loss for the destruction of competition. Then, after competition is removed from the field, by increased rates a successful monopoly recoups the money lost in the campaign of extermination.

"But," a good many people say, "why doesn't the Sherman Law check this kind of thing?" Only when enough corporations get together to constitute a conspiracy in restraint of trade does the Sherman Law apply. When conspiracy can be shown, then the Sherman Law applies. Whenever it is a case of only one corporation, power now rests in the Trade Commission to investigate, to define, and to rule.

There is nothing in this rule of the commission under the Clayton Law that is antagonistic to bigness. A company can grow to be any size and may make any profits it can, and all with the encouragement of the commission so long as the company's business methods are fair.

The functions of the commission approach those of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It will require mutual care and forbearance on the part of both bodies to unwind trade questions from their complexity with transportation problems. Similarly in another direction the commission overlaps the field of the Department of Justice. It will require some mutual adjustment to determine just where the jurisdiction of the department ends and that of the commission begins. But so far as the Trade Commission can be effective in enforcing the law it can work more quickly and cheaply than the Department of Justice, which has to do its work through the courts. Moreover, the commission can warn men away from unfair practices without causing them the expenses of a lawsuit, and maybe damages, or making them run the risk of going to jail. Yet its decisions are not final. They are subject to review by the courts.

Hedged on both sides by these two already established departments of government, the commission is also backed up by a trade advisory committe of nine, appointed by the United States Chamber of Commerce. On this committee business men are in the majority. It is neither lopsided with law nor biased with sociology. If the new commission in the first months of its existence can properly define its

functions without duplication of work with regard to the rest of the new government, and if it can find a close coöperation with this subsidiary committee of business men its usefulness ought to be assured.

Rated on the basis of capital stock it has a much greater responsibility than either the Interstate Commerce Commission or the Federal Reserve Board. It has under its jurisdiction 38 billions of the Nation's invested wealth as against 22 billions controlled by the Interstate Commerce Commission and 3½ millions of bank stock under the Federal Reserve Board. It is a big responsibility, a big job materially.

It is even a bigger job economically and socially. The Trade Commission, if it lives up to its opportunity, must keep alive healthy industrial expansion, encourage investment, hold out rewards for ambition, and encourage trade and competition which is the essence of our accepted theory of business.

So, dedicated to high purposes, the Trade Commission has begun at Washington very soberly and quietly to accept its challenge and make good. The burden of proof rests upon it.

In its last days the Sixty-third Congress confirmed the appointment of Mr. Davies, Mr. E. N. Hurley, Mr. W. H. Parry, and Mr. W. J. Harris. Senator Gallinger of Vermont prevented the confirmation of Mr. G. Rublee, one of the best equipped of the five men whom the President nominated. Mr. Rublee now holds his position by a recess appointment.

The Democrats say that this eleventh hour opposition to the Trade Commission can be traced to party apprehension. They point out that the idea of a trade commission was in its initiation a Republican idea. It was in the Republican platform at the last election, although framed therein for the regulation of monopoly, not, as the act finally passed, for the regulation of competition.

A trade commission was also in the Progressive platform. It was not in the Democratic platform. Very interesting, therefore, was the apparent about-face in the Republican ranks during the last few months of the session.

But the Trade Commission isn't going to stand or fall because of mere party favor or prejudice. Now that the Administration has fashioned the clay of this new instrument of government and the Senate has breathed into it the breath of life it must find its permanent justification with the business men of the country at large.

The business world and the general public await its deeds with great interest. This was the tone of the last meeting of the National Chamber of Commerce, held in Washington, February 3d-5th. The attitude of business, big and small, was well epitomized at the Merchants' Association dinner in New York, in February. "Our ships lie at anchor," said the chief speaker on that occasion. "Give us a sailing chart we can trust, and we will set sail for the Harbor of Confidence and Prosperity."

PREJUDICE AND UTILITY SECURITIES

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *will publish in this part of the magazine an article of experiences with investment and the lessons to be drawn therefrom.*

A MAN who wrote to the WORLD'S WORK not very long ago sent a list of his securities and asked whether there were any changes that might be suggested to strengthen his general investment position. His purpose in making the inquiry, he said, was not so much to check up on the intrinsic merits of the various securities that he had as to determine whether, in the investment of several thousand dollars of surplus funds which he expected to have in the next few months, it would be advisable to adhere to the general

on which his present holdings had been
mulated.
s list represented a very substantial
tment, divided in about equal propor-
among first mortgages on farms in his
state, bonds of second and third class
of the Middle West, and high grade
ad bonds. The average yield of in-
on the investment as it stood was a
more than 5 per cent.
said that he had a natural predisposi-
toward mortgages, but that a prelim-
canvass had convinced him that he
d probably be unable now to find in the
ities which he especially favored any
measuring up to his requirements.
ad found municipal bonds highly satis-
ry. On account of the mortgage situa-
therefore, he was more than half in-
d not only to invest the additional
s in municipal bonds but to substitute
for the railroad bonds, whose safety
pposed would not be questioned, but
e depreciation during the last year had
him more or less uneasiness.
ere were several obvious suggestions
ake to this man's inquiry. One of
was that no really good reason ex-
why he should not indulge his fancy
ortgage investment, despite the fact
the supply of first class loans in the
ities with which he happened to be
iar had temporarily run out. He
t, for example, avail himself of the
ties of experienced and trustworthy
gage bankers in other sections of the
try with the assurance of being able,
ut a great deal of difficulty or delay,
otain additional investments of that
icter which would fulfil his specifica-
, however exacting they might be.
other suggestion was that as a matter
ictly conservative investment practice
were few grounds on which one might
ise his notion that it might be well to
municipal bonds greater consideration,
ially since his temperament seemed to
for a quiet investment without any
et possibilities. Doubtless he had ob-
d that municipal bonds of the same
lent grade as those he already held
be had on better terms now than
he had made his original purchases.
were lower in price on the average,
because they had been affected by some, though not all, of the influences accountable for the depreciation of the railroad issues.

He was unquestionably right about the safety of the railroad issues, and on that account it was suggested that in all probability he would find at some time a more favorable opportunity to sell, if his general attitude toward them did not happen to change meanwhile.

Still another suggestion was that it might not, after all, be a good idea for him to narrow his choice of investments down to only two or three general classes, and that one important resource for diversification which he had apparently left untouched was in public utility bonds.

A week or ten days after the receipt of the Investment Department's letter, the man wrote again to say that he had found the suggestions in regard to the mortgages and the municipal and railroad bonds at once interesting and helpful, but that he thought he might have allowed his gratitude to be taken for granted, had it not been for the fact that he was prompted to make some comment on the suggestion in regard to utility investments.

He was prejudiced against this class of securities, he said—doubtless in many respects unreasonably so—but, on the whole, he had what he believed to be a very good reason for his attitude. The reason was, as he expressed it, "the pernicious practice that has been indulged in so widely these last few years of mere trading in public utility equities"—the practice of "securing charters from states with lax incorporation laws, forming holding companies for the purpose of buying all or a majority of the stocks of public utility companies, good, bad, and indifferent, at almost any price irrespective of real value, and then issuing against these stocks anywhere from three to four times the capitalization of the purchased companies."

He recalled that many of the foremost authorities on the engineering and operating side of utility enterprise had admitted the great danger in the multiplication of securities, made possible by the holding company device, and that representative bankers in public utterances had repeatedly laid emphasis on the financial axiom that

"the relation of total capital to total income involves principles which a holding company can no more transgress with impunity than the original corporation." Such warnings, he supposed, had probably curbed the practice to a considerable extent, but he thought the situation still left the investor with a burden of responsibility for discrimination in the selection of utility securities far greater than he ought to be called upon to bear.

This investor's position toward public utility investments is in many respects well taken. There have been many instances in which holding companies in this field of enterprise have transgressed the principles involved in the proper relation of total capital to total income, although most of them have thus far been able to put off their days of reckoning. But aside from the comparative ease with which it is possible nowadays to draw the fundamental distinction between the security that honestly represents the intrinsic value and earning power of a well established operating property and the security that represents mere equities of greater or lesser strength, there are good reasons why the attitude of investors generally toward public utility securities as a class should be one of confidence rather than of blind prejudice.

One of the principal reasons is that the public service commissions generally, in the exercise of their powers of supervision, have become more and more insistent upon the recognition of the "public good," particularly when dealing with combinations of utility enterprises. For example, a case on which the commission of one of the New England states has recently reported may be referred to briefly.

It appeared that the stocks of two small properties operating under this commission's jurisdiction had been acquired two years or more ago by a single individual who had placed them in a holding company organized under the laws of another state. The holding company subsequently petitioned the commission for authority to issue stocks and bonds, for permission to engage in business in certain towns, and for an order authorizing the transfer of the properties of the two separate companies. It was proposed that the holding company was to issue immediately its own securities to more than twice the amount of the combined capital of the two operating companies, but the commission found that this amount was in excess of the fair value of the properties and dismissed the petitions on that ground, as it pointed out, "without considering any other branch of the case."

An appeal was taken by the petitioners to the Supreme Court of the state and the matter was subsequently recommitted for the commission "to find and certify whether the proposed consolidation at a proper capitalization will be for the public good, and if so to determine the amount of stock and bonds which is reasonably requisite for the purpose." In ordering the case back to the commission, the Court had suggested that such a combination as was proposed might or might not of itself be of public advantage without reference to any question of price or capitalization.

This, the commission admitted, might be true in many cases, but it held that the case in point, so far as the evidence showed, was a capitalization transaction pure and simple; that it was not the case of a consolidation of competing corporations where, in the absence of any other evidence, it might be found that the elimination of the cost of continued operation and maintenance of duplicate plants would result in savings from which the public might ultimately benefit; and that there was no suggestion in the evidence before it of any advantage to spring from the common ownership and common management which could not be enjoyed under the previous ownership. It adhered, therefore, to its original decision and refused to sanction the consolidation.

There is, of course, a much broader scope to the possible advantages of the holding company form of public utility organization than is here suggested. It scatters the risk, provides more skilful engineering and more efficient operating management, and by broadening the market for the securities lowers the cost of capital. These are among the other advantages which the investor in holding company securities has every right to insist shall be satisfactorily demonstrated to the commission sanctioning the issuance of the securities and to the bankers who stand sponsor for them.

CREDIT AT HOME AND ABROAD

BY

WALTER F. WYMAN

The WORLD'S WORK *will publish every month an article dealing with the concrete problems of the increase in our export trade. The magazine is led to do this by the evident widespread interest shown all over the United States in the possibilities of export trade, and the specific interest in this subject shown by the readers of this magazine in the answers to a circular letter sent to a group of subscribers, most of whom are not directly connected with manufacturing or exporting, in all parts of the country.*—THE EDITORS.

THE following letter from a Providence manufacturer brings up several points which affect not only his but practically all export business:

For more than ten years we have had a small number of customers in foreign countries. These are all the result of our prestige in the domestic market and in every case the initial order was the result of an unsolicited inquiry. This small foreign business has all been on a cash-in-advance basis, thus involving no credit risk. Recently one of these customers, to whom we have been shipping in steadily increasing quantities since 1902, has asked us to extend six months' credit on account of the war, and advises that they will be unable to continue to purchase on a cash basis.

We need the business, which is profitable and of staple commodities in substantial amounts. This particular firm has ordered and paid in advance regularly, and their letterhead shows that they have branches in eight cities in India in addition to their Bombay house which does the ordering. Beyond this we know nothing of them.

Our credit man feels that we should not make shipment of the order conditional on six months' time because, to his mind, after paying cash in advance for so many years, a request for credit indicates a less favorable financial condition.

As we have previously stated we really need the business, and if we could be assured of payment the six months' credit would not be too great a concession.

What can you suggest?

The test of any export merchandise problem is a direct comparison with a similar domestic condition. The laws of commercial exchange have not changed since the first two men met and bartered. The fundamental principles involved are identical in foreign and domestic trade, while the surface differences vary as they come in contact with varying conditions.

Let us suppose that a company's sales have been confined to territory east of the Mississippi, and that for Bombay we substitute San Francisco. The first step toward the solution would then be simple, for it would be obvious that on a purely credit problem the standing of the risk should be determined.

Because one can turn to San Francisco in Dun and Bradstreet and have the eye greeted by symbols that designate financial responsibility and reputation for prompt payment, the average American manufacturer would feel perfectly at home in such a case, even though the sale involved was a thousand miles beyond his regular trade territory.

Precisely the same procedure should be followed with a customer in Bombay, substituting for a symbol in Dun or Bradstreet the search for credit data, on which their credit symbols are based. No firm is good simply because its name is preceded by AAA1; its right to credit is determined by its Character, Capability, and Capital.

There are on file in this country hundreds of thousands of credit reports on foreign firms, not mere symbols, but actual information on the vital three C's mentioned above from which any credit man can determine, to his own satisfaction, the right of the foreign seeker for credit to be granted his request. The National Association of Manufacturers has thousands of credit correspondents abroad,

the Philadelphia Commercial Museum operates a most extensive credit information bureau, while from the domestic credit agencies operating their own foreign branches for the very purpose reports identical in nature with domestic sheets are obtainable.

Let us, then, assume that from these sources, coupled with the references appearing on the letter-head of the Bombay customer, we learn that the firm is long established, possesses a capital of $300,000 to $400,000, and, while accustomed to pay cash in order to obtain every discount, is considered a good risk because of the personal and business character of the members of the firm. Add to this the fact that the business enjoys the reputation of being well conducted and has steadily advanced, and the customer becomes a highly desirable one from every selling and credit angle.

But even such a report does not necessarily mean that it is wise to extend six months' credit on an open account or even on a draft payable six months from the date of shipment.

The order is for $4,500 worth of goods, which is a normal six-months' supply.

The customer can hardly expect the manufacturer to finance him without interest (which six months' credit would approximate), but in such conditions as now exist he can expect a reasonable amount of time to turn over enough of the order to pay largely from his proceeds, and he should, and doubtless would, be willing to compromise by having the payment dates defined, for which purpose an open account is a clumsy makeshift.

To prove the point that it is possible to ignore any fancied fundamental differences between foreign and domestic trade, it is fair to assume that if the customer were in San Francisco and of the same standing the manufacturer would be willing to accept 10 per cent. in cash and six notes, each for 15 per cent. of the order, these notes payable at 30, 60, 90, 120, 150, and 180 days, and that, furthermore, such terms would be entirely acceptable to the San Francisco customer.

Suppose, therefore, that the Providence manufacturer cabled his customer, offering to make shipment of the order on such a basis.

There is every probability that the Bombay customer would accept the goods on the same terms—a sight draft for 10 per cent. on delivery and six other sight drafts for 15 per cent. of the order maturing thirty days apart, attached to the bill of lading.

The initial 10 per cent. will cover freight, insurance, and other transportation charges on the goods. With this and the first three 15 per cent. drafts the customer will have paid 55 per cent. of the total at the end of ninety days. By the time he is again ready to order, his indebtedness will have been about 85 per cent. cancelled. This method is the suggestion of an expert in foreign finance, and is endorsed by the organization he represents.

A few words comparing notes with "sight drafts attached to bills of lading," or "sight drafts attached to documents" as they are often called, will remove all mystery from the suggested method.

A note is merely a written promise to pay a stipulated sum at a specified time. A time sight draft is exactly the same thing! Instead of addressing a shipment to a customer in Bombay it is merely marked with his name or shipping mark. The steamship company will not deliver it to him until he presents proof of ownership in the form of bills of lading, and these, with insurance papers, etc., are mailed to a Bombay bank attached to drafts made out as stated above.

In order to get the papers which will enable the customer to obtain the shipment the bank will insist:

1. That he pay the draft drawn at sight (presentation) for the 10 per cent.

2. Sign (accept) the six drafts, due at thirty-day intervals.

These written promises to pay are nothing but notes which the bank holds and collects when due, remitting as paid, and cancelling the draft at the same time.

One of the greatest arguments against the use of open accounts in export trade is that the failure to meet obligation at maturity is not known except to the buyer and seller, whereas failure to meet a matured draft directly affects the merchant's standing in his own city, as well as his reputation for prompt payment of other import transactions.

ggestion is made that, after having
or cash in New York for a number
, it may be a reflection on a
's financial responsibility to ask
t. This is a fair deduction in or-
ircumstances, but in the existing
is due to Europe's war it is hardly
r general application, particularly
dit reports prove customers to be
ibted responsibility and unblem-
iness reputation.

ht, for example, be that the cus-
ere in a position to take advantage
ble rates of exchange and for this
id not want to make remittance
ne of ordering.

ter settling the case of the Bom-
omer it would certainly be wise
Providence manufacturer to go
ind secure full reports on every
ustomer so that he could wisely
dit facilities in other cases where
ds showed that usual orders are
icoming, or could give immediate
on other requests for credit.

been the experience of nearly
m that investigates its export
ies that many prospective cus-
r their products have more capital
y themselves, and this occurs so
y that it furnishes a very tangible
n of the common, but ill based,
at foreigners are irresponsible.

It cannot be too frequently stated that credit is a personal and not a national characteristic, and that as no credit man would think of passing an order for credit simply because it came from a city in which his firm had enjoyed a fortunate credit experience for many years, neither should a firm in Bombay, Alexandria, or Valparaiso be denied credit on a feeling that business honesty is confined to the United States.

It is perfectly natural and perfectly correct that any credit man should refuse to pass orders without reliable information on the firm which sends them, but if a business decides that it needs a greater volume it should be the duty of the credit department to coöperate by placing itself in a position to secure information which will enable it to give prompt service to foreign buyers.

There is hardly any manufacturer who is not willing to extend credit of some nature, provided the buyer furnishes evidence of his business morality, financial resources, and ability to conduct his own business satisfactorily, or gives proof that he has had transactions on credit with other manufacturers which have resulted in prompt payments on his part. These are fundamentals of credit and, as fundamentals, apply as much in Bayonne, France, as in Bayonne, New Jersey, or in London, England, as in London, Ontario.

ITALY'S REASONS

OICE BETWEEN ALLIES AND FRIENDS—HER AMBITIONS IN AFRICA AND THE EAST—THE EVENTS BEHIND HER PRESENT POSITION

BY

OWEN WILSON

'ALY there have been many people
o have predicted that we shall one
r be obliged to choose between our
ances and our friendships."

These are the words of Signor Tom-
toni, the Italian Minister of For-
iirs, in his speech to the Cham-
:puties in 1906.

uld not then, of course, satisfy
o made this prediction by saying what Italy's choice would be, but he admitted the possibility of such a choice in his next sentence:

"Well, so long as the Triple Alliance will continue in the peaceful rôle which is its characteristic, and so long as the Powers who are our friends will persevere in the peaceful policy they are now following, we shall not have to choose nor to decide."

The inference is plain. If the other

members of the Triple Alliance or the nations which Italy called friends did not keep the peace she could make her choice between them. The terms of the Triple Alliance bound Italy to go to the aid of Austria-Hungary or Germany if they were attacked by a continental Power. But if Germany or the Dual Monarchy were the aggressors, Italy was not bound to go to their assistance. Moreover, it was expressly stipulated that in no event was Italy to be forced into war with England. The Alliance, therefore, amounted to binding Italy to help Germany and Austria if they were attacked by Russia and France.

But Italy had another and most important set of foreign relations. In this same speech, and on many other occasions, Signor Tittoni stated the cardinal principles of Italy's foreign policy:

"To maintain and consolidate the Triple Alliance, to maintain and consolidate our friendship with France and England."

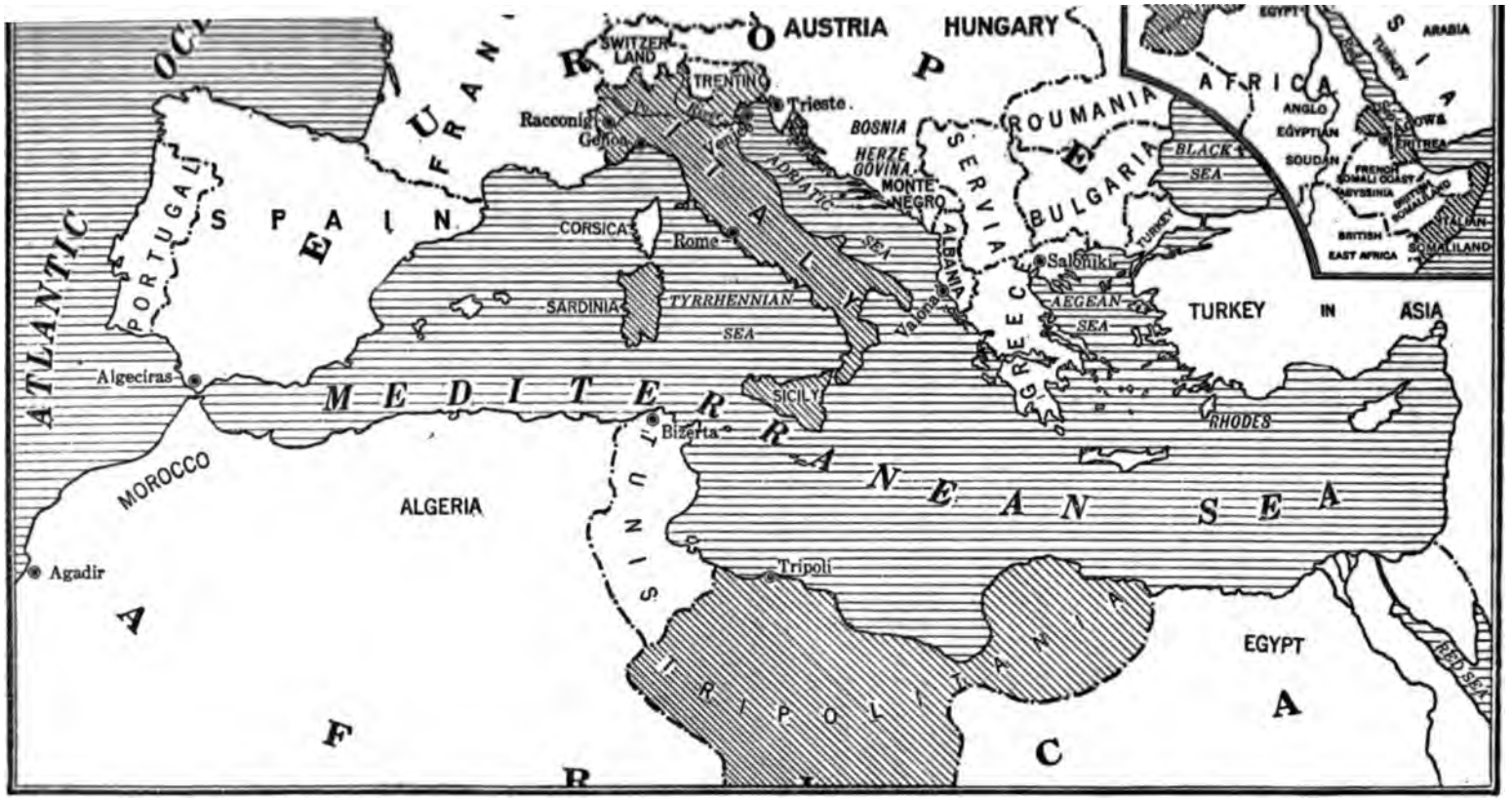
The extreme care with which, year after year, the Italian Ministers of Foreign Affairs reiterated the equal importance of their Alliance and their friendships was also an indication that the Italian Government did not consider itself exclusively bound to the Alliance. It considered as equally important its agreements with France and England, agreements which have in large measure been lost sight of in the American discussion of the Italian position.

From the day that Italian unity was achieved the Italians have had blazoned in their minds a picture of the ancient grandeur of Rome when its influence dominated the Mediterranean and the Adriatic and its people ruled in North Africa. Ancient Rome was not made in a day nor did the modern Italians expect to reëstablish the ancient empire over night, but there were parts of the ancient programme that seemed possible of accomplishment and which had, and have, a tremendous appeal to the Italian imagination; that is the acquisition of territory on the North African Coast, and with it a powerful position in the Mediterranean; ports and a sphere of influence at least on the eastern shores of the Adriatic and thereby the dominance of that sea. And a part of the Italian nation at least has longed for the acquisition of Trieste and the Trentino, with their Italian populations, as France has longed for Alsace and Lorraine. Alsace and Lorraine are by no means altogether French. Neither is the Trentino altogether Italian. More than half the people of Trieste are Italian, but in the surrounding country which belongs with the port there are almost no Italians.

Yet perhaps the ambition to redeem the Italian peoples of Trieste and the Trentino sits nearer the Italian heart even than the fulfilment of their other dreams. But its accomplishment has always meant war with Austria; either some other nation must pull these chestnuts out of the fire for Italy or she must get them from the Dual Kingdom herself. For Austria could never give up without a terrible struggle the Trentino, with its fortified heights dominating the valley of the Po and all northern Italy, or Trieste, for it and the neighboring ports of Pola and Fiume are Austria's chief outlet on the sea. They are also the terminals of the railroads leading to Vienna and Budapest. Without these ports Austria-Hungary would be nearly as landlocked as Switzerland.

The sentimental longing for the "redemption" of the Italians under Austrian rule has its practical side in the strengthening of the frontier to the north and the opening of the Balkan peninsula to Italian influence.

In 1877, the great Italian statesman Crispi, then President of the Chamber of Deputies, said to Bismarck: "We Italians cannot ignore the Eastern Question. If the Great Powers were to agree to abstain from all conquest in the Balkan provinces, and decide that the territory taken from the Turks should be left to the native populations, we should have nothing to say. But it is said that Russia, in order to conciliate Austria, has offered the latter Bosnia and Herzegovina. Now, Italy could not permit Austria to occupy those territories. In 1866, as you know, the kingdom of Italy was left without frontiers in the Eastern Alps. If Austria were to obtain new provinces, strengthening her position in the Adriatic, our country would



ITALY'S ANNEXATIONS AND AMBITIONS

ERITREA AND SOMALILAND, ANNEXED IN A PART OF AFRICA DOMINATED BY ENGLAND, AND TRIPOLITANIA, TAKEN FROM TURKEY WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM ENGLAND AND FRANCE, THE GREAT MEDITERRANEAN POWERS. TRIESTE AND THE TRENTINO, AUSTRIAN TERRITORY DESIRED BY ITALY BECAUSE OF THEIR ITALIAN POPULATIONS; AND VALONA, NECESSARY FOR THE ITALIAN CONTROL OF THE ADRIATIC

be caught in a vise and exposed to invasion at the pleasure of the neighboring empire."

To this Bismarck replied:

"If Austria took Bosnia, Italy could take Albania, or some other territory on the Adriatic."

Yet the year after this conversation the decision of the Berlin Congress was that Austria was invited to administer Bosnia and Herzegovina and to supervise the ports and shipping of Montenegro. Italy got no compensating territory on the Adriatic. Italy was not strong enough herself and had no friends of sufficient strength to enable her to get a better bargain. Her ambition for a place in the Balkans and control of the Adriatic seemed to be losing ground, and the "vise" which Crispi feared would threaten invasion had become a reality.

The next blow which Italian ambition suffered was in the other realm of her dreams—North Africa.

In 1881, France seized Tunis, a part of the North African Coast which had figured largely in the Italian hopes of conquest. Again Italy lacked the power and the friends to object. One after another her ambitions seemed to be melting away and she sat by, alone and helpless to preserve them.

In 1883, Italy ended this impotent isolation. She entered the Triple Alliance, and thereby made a defensive treaty with Austria, her most dreaded neighbor, who still held the Italians of Trieste and the Trentino and whose pacific penetration of the Balkans was the greatest bar to Italy's Adriatic and Balkan ambitions. It was a curious alliance and one which one Italian Foreign Minister after another has had to defend against popular feeling. Yet it seems as if their defense was justified, for the alliance kept the peace between Austria and Italy probably better than any other method that could have been devised. In the words of an Italian statesman, Count Nigra, "Austria and Italy can only be either allies or enemies." If Austria has not paid overmuch attention to the interests of Italy as an ally, it is doubtful that she would have paid any more attention to the interests of Italy as an enemy, especially if Italy had maintained its isolation. Crispi's solution of the E problem so far as Italy was concerne to get on the friendliest possible with her most probable enemy.

Furthermore, the alliance gave I new prestige and position among tl tions of the world.

With this done, she turned her att to the furtherance of her African aml In 1882, England had suggested that help in restoring order in Egypt. Ita clined, but in 1885 accepted the E suggestion that she help pacify the S This was begun by occupying poi the Red Sea. The colony of E was formed and a protectorate org over a part of Somaliland. In 1896 ever, Italy suffered a severe defeat hands of the Abyssinians which her colonial ventures for the time During these eleven years (1885-1896) gressive colonial policy in Africa, Ital followed the same policy of making f with her chief rivals that she had ad in the Balkans. While making th rangements with England about th Sea district, Italy did not forget T which would be of infinitely more coi cial and strategic value to her, but she was afraid to seize without the ba of some of the other great Powers.

In 1890, Crispi wrote privately to Salisbury:

"If we had Tripoli, Bizerta" (the F naval base in Tunisia) "would no be a menace for Italy nor for Grea tain."

The British Prime Minister did n pose the idea but suggested that Italy

This letter was written when En and France still looked with jealousy each other's colonial enterprises anc time when Italy herself had just decl tariff war against France. Durin English and French rivalry, Italy wa posed to be the more friendly with En but this did not prevent her from m Mediterranean arrangements with F in 1892 and again in 1900 and 1902.

England still had her main battl in the Mediterranean at this time. control of the Mediterranean an adjustment of British and French in Africa had not been settled.

aloofness of these two countries made it difficult for Italy to make her own Mediterranean plans on a sound foundation.

"Matters were at this stage," said Foreign Minister Tittoni, "when there began to be rumors of the possibility of an understanding between England and France. Italy's greatest interest was to participate in this understanding and not to be excluded from it, all the more as other commercial and industrial concessions . . . tended to exclude the possibility of Italian activity. . . . It was natural, therefore, that a frank and loyal understanding with England upon the most vital questions concerning the development of our African possessions should take shape. . . .

"In the meantime, while Italian and English delegates were in conference at Rome, negotiations had begun at London between France and England for the solution of all outstanding colonial questions, so that just when Italy was about to come to an understanding with England, the Anglo-French Colonial Agreement of April, 1904, which radically changed the relations of the two Powers and was thus the beginning of the *Entente Cordiale*, was published. . . .

"Italy had to choose between these two alternatives: to participate in the agreement with France and England, or to act alone, counting upon herself only. In the latter case she would have let Ethiopia (Africa) be divided, both as to political and commercial influence, between France and England, and would have found herself in the condition of having nothing to offer, everything to ask, and of being unable to obtain anything by her forces alone."

So in 1906 the Italo-Anglo-French Convention was signed in London, a kind of Mediterranean Triple Alliance.

In the words of Mr. W. Morton Fullerton, in his "Problems of Power:"

"The general result of that [Italian] diplomacy had been to assure to Italy—not in spite, but because, of her apparently conflicting engagements to the members of two reciprocally hostile European groups—a position superior to that of any of the European Powers, not excepting England."

A test of this independence came even before the Convention which formally marked its beginning was signed. Italy saw the interests of her allies and her friends clash in Morocco.

In 1905, the Kaiser landed in Tangier and stiffened the backbone of the Sultan of Morocco to resist the demands for reform made by France in a territory which the French looked upon as particularly under their influence. Germany demanded that, not France alone, but a Conference of the Powers should decide on the reforms. Germany had her way, and in 1906 the Conference was held at Algeciras, in Spain.

"A host of legends," says Prince von Bülow in his "Imperial Germany," "has arisen around the attitude that Italy adopted at the Conference at Algeciras. It has been asserted that at Algeciras Italy left us in the lurch, or even that she played a double game with us, and this idea gave rise amongst us for a time to a totally unfounded mistrust of Italy's loyalty to the alliance. The fact is that on a few minor questions Italy voted with the Western Powers and against us. These votes were cleverly taken up by the French press, and were presented to the world as an indication that Italy would renounce the Triple Alliance and enter into friendly relations with France. In other and more important questions Italy supported our point of view at Algeciras, and furthered our wishes."

In this same year, 1906, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs was telling the deputies that Italy's policy was "to maintain and consolidate the Triple Alliance; to maintain and consolidate our friendship with England and France."

The split votes of the Italian delegation at Algeciras did not mean that Italy would renounce the Triple Alliance, but it was an indication that Italy was in friendly relations with France. This combination, this dual policy, left Italy very free to choose.

Prince von Bülow himself remarks:

"Italy most certainly has interests that lie outside the sphere of the Triple Alliance. We ourselves have interests that lie beyond the scope of the Triple Alliance policy, and Austria does not lack them either."

Since 1907, when the members of the opposition suggested to Senator Tittoni that Italy would one day have to choose between her allies and her friends, a chain of events have occurred which have a large effect on that choice.

In 1908, Austria-Hungary announced that it had changed its administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina to annexation.

"One can hardly understand this attitude of Austria," said the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs in explaining his acquiescence in this move, "when one considers that she had herself proclaimed with the other Powers the principle established in the 'Protocol' of the London Conference of January 17, 1871.

"Here is the text of that declaration:

'The Plenipotentiaries of Germany, England, Austria, Italy, Russia, and Turkey together recognize as an essential principle of the right of nations that no Power can free herself from the engagement undertaken by treaty, nor modify its stipulations, without the consent of the contracting parties by means of a friendly understanding.'

"It was, therefore, natural that I should at once recognize the opportunity of a Conference and that I should in this have found myself of one accord with Mr. Isvolsky (the representative of the Czar), who was on his way to Paris, London, and Berlin to arrange its programme.

"Should Italy have done more? Could she protest, as many have suggested? I do not think so. The protest, to be serious and efficient, should have been accompanied by the determination of enforcing it with the coercive means should it have passed unheeded. These are the only protests which have any importance, and the only ones which are worthy of a great nation. But I have heard no one suggest we should have recourse to these means, and events have shown that, had we done so, we should have been alone."

The other great Power besides Italy most affected by Austria's move was Russia. The meeting between Senator Tittoni and Mr. Isvolsky was not without results despite the fact that Austria, backed by Germany, ignored the Russian and Italian indignation over the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. When the Czar and Victor Emmanuel met at the Italian town of Racconigi in 1909, they laid the foundation of an *entente cordiale* based on their common objection to the German and Austrian domination of the Balkans. If Italy could not count on the Triple Alliance to protect her Balkan interests, she could at least make other arrangements for the purpose.

Such arrangements were, of course, tending toward the making of the choice between her allies and her friends, or at least the friends of her friends, for at this time, as now, France and Russia were closely bound together.

Early in 1911, the German Government sent the gunboat *Panther* to Agadir, a port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, within easy reach of the trade routes which pass through the Straits of Gibraltar. Germany was not satisfied with her relative position to France in Morocco. The acquisition of Agadir would greatly strengthen Germany's position. But in the negotiations which followed the *Panther's* exploit England and France stood firm and while Germany received compensations elsewhere in Africa she obtained no foothold on the North African Coast. In this settlement, viewed by both sides as a diplomatic victory for France and England and a reverse for Germany, Italy rendered her ally no aid.

Immediately after the Agadir incident, in the summer of 1911, it was generally believed that Germany intended to make good the setback in Morocco by a sudden occupation of Tripoli. If this was intended Italy forestalled it by herself declaring war on Turkey, capturing the city of Tripoli, and claiming Tripolitania. Her friends in the Mediterranean voluntarily acquiesced in this while her "allies" on the continent were in no position to interfere.

Italy's alliance had not protected her interests in the Balkans. Her friendships, on the other hand, had made possible the realization of her ambitions in Tripoli.

Before the war with Turkey was over the contrast was heightened. England and France had watched the bombardment of Tripoli without interference, but when the Italian fleet began to bombard the

ish city of Valona, in Albania, it was ıptly warned off by Austria.

the fall of 1912, when Italy was about ɔnclude peace with Turkey, and the an States were awaiting that event to k Turkey without interference, there up again the question whether should choose between her friends ıer allies. If the Triple Alliance were renewed by June 28, 1913, it would . In the strained relations between ria and Italy its lapse would certainly involved great risks. Moreover, by mber it was apparent that the Turks, hom Germany and Austria had been ting, were being badly defeated, so that Austrian penetration of the Balkans d have to reckon with a victorious a, Montenegro, and (as then seemed) ıria. So with the Austrian menace alian interests in the Balkans some- reduced, the Triple Alliance was re- d early in December, 1912.

t this renewal did not change the ıcter of the Alliance. On the settle- of the war between the Balkan States, Austrian and German influence suc- d in getting Albania made a separate under a German prince. Although the prince did not last long and Italian troops are now at Valona and elsewhere in Albania, the giving Prince William of Wied a kingdom was a German-Austrian plan to keep Italy from realizing her dreams of controlling the Adriatic as well as to keep the Russian influence from blocking Austria's penetration of the Balkans.

Such was the situation when the world war broke out. Italy had gained her North African colony, her troops still held many of the Ægean Islands captured from Turkey, including Rhodes, with its great strategic value, threatening both the trade routes to the Dardanelles and those to the Suez Canal. These islands, according to the settlement made in London, are not to be held by any of the great Powers, but pending certain adjustments the Italian troops are still there. Shortly after the war began Italian troops landed in Albania to preserve order, and this time Austria was too busy elsewhere to warn them off.

Italy went far toward the goal of her ambition without choosing between her allies and her friends. There still remain Trieste and the Trentino and the crystallization of her budding dominance of the Adriatic.

JOFFRE AND THE NEW FRANCE

FRENCH PEASANT WHOSE "THREE SILENT YEARS" REFORMED THE FRENCH ARMY AND MADE POSSIBLE THE GREAT VICTORY OF THE MARNE —THE PRESENT IDOL OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE

BY

JAMES MIDDLETON

SINCE the days of Napoleon, France has produced no such remarkable phenomenon as Joseph Joffre, the generalissimo of the French army in resent war. Probably not one Ameri- n a thousand had even heard his name ar ago. In fact, Frenchmen thems knew him little better. Their only ion when his name was mentioned July was one of slight resentment. When the time had finally arrived, in 1911, to reform the archaic French military organization and appoint a real commander-in-chief, the whole French mind and heart turned toward General Pau, the one-armed survivor of the Franco-Prussian War. The Cabinet and the army heads themselves indorsed this popular demand. While France was eagerly preparing to applaud Pau's elevation it was suddenly informed that Gen. Joseph Joffre had accepted the

appointment. Who was this great unknown? The newspapers made rather disagreeable comments. Once more, we were informed, politics had taken possession of the army. General Pau was a monarchist; General Castelnau, who also had great claims, was a reactionary and a clerical. Joffre, the newspapers soon discovered, was a Protestant in religion, a Free Mason, and an ardent republican. These facts, of course, explained his preferment. In a few months, however, when Pau and Castelnau, both on Joffre's recommendation, received the next highest appointments and set to work enthusiastically to assist the new general in his mighty task—to prepare the French army for the daily expected attack of Germany—the real truth became public property. The fact was that the Superior War Council had offered the headship of the army to Pau, who had refused it. No patriotic Frenchman, he declared, had any right to accept this great post when such a man as Joffre was available. An astonished country learned that only one consideration had caused this strange selection: Joffre, in the opinion of the military experts, was the one man in France best fitted for the work.

Thus General Joffre is a portent in more senses than one. His personality and his success embody the miracle of the new France. His appointment indicated that a new inspiration controlled the Republic: the inspiration of patriotism. Politicians had cast aside the intrigues, the cynicism, the many degenerating influences of several years, and had centred all their efforts on saving their country. Already there had been many signs that France was about to experience a new birth: General Joffre's accession to the supreme command symbolized this regeneration. Certainly there was little in the man that typified the popular French hero. Sober as a Puritan, bourgeois in his habits, industrious, rising at five and going to bed at ten, hardly appearing in public except for an occasional horseback ride in the Bois with his greatly beloved step-daughters, this white-haired soldier hardly suggested the long expected military leader of *la revanche*. Even his career as a soldier had little of the imaginative quality that fires the average Frenchman. Joffre had spent the larger part of a lifetime as a fort builder, a railroad constructor, a colonial administrator, and a professor at the War College; he was an authority on guns, ammunition, aeroplanes, automobiles, telephones, telegraphs, and other similarly uninteresting details of modern warfare. Indeed, the more Frenchmen learned of their new Commander, the more he seemed to possess certain of the traits of the hated German. Efficiency was his constant theme; instant preparation for war, the one topic upon which he could really grow eloquent. "To be prepared in our days," he had said in an address made at a reunion of his old school fellows of the *École Polytechnique*—almost his only published utterance and one which sums up his whole theory of modern warfare—"has a meaning which those who prepared for and fought the wars of other days would have great difficulty in understanding. It would be a sad mistake to depend upon a sudden burst of popular enthusiasm, even though it should surpass in intensity that of the volunteers of the Revolution, if we do not fortify it by a complete preparation. To be prepared to-day we must assemble all the resources of the country, all the intelligence of her children, all their moral energy, and direct them toward a single aim: victory! We must have organized everything, foreseen everything. Once hostilities have begun, no improvisation will be worth while. Whatever lacks then will be lacking for good and all. And the slightest lack of preparation may spell disaster."

A PEASANT OF THE OLD FRENCH BREED

After the Battle of the Marne, President Poincaré summed up the qualities which had made it a great French victory in the following message to Joffre: "In the conduct of our armies you have shown a spirit of organization, order, and of method, whose beneficent effects have influenced every phase from strategy to tactics; a wisdom cold and cautious which has always prepared for the unexpected, a powerful soul which nothing has shaken, a serenity whose salutary example has everywhere inspired confidence and hope." That these qualities control the destinies

rance to-day sufficiently illustrates change in the national spirit. The omenon is easily explained: The France is not the France of Paris, of fus cases and Caillaux scandals; it e France of the industrious, thrifty, -living French peasant. This peas- vitalized France and made her once a great nation after the disaster of

It manifests its influence once more eneral Joffre; indeed, this new com- ler has not only its spirit but its body. birthplace, at Rivesaltes in the East nees, is in the French province which most distant from Paris — the same n, it may be noted, in which the French statesman, Delcassé, was ; his ancestors for generations were ers and his father was a cooper. That as one of eleven children shows that amily represented the ideals of old- oned France. Joffre is, therefore, ly "Jacques Bonhomme" who pos- the homely national traits in such dance and power that in him they constitute genius. If he lacks per- ity, he has something even more tial to the chief performer in the est military drama in history, and is character. Thus, far from being, ome commentators have insisted, y French at all, Joffre really possesses qualities which have made France rdy nation for a thousand years.

GENTLE AND STUDIOUS SCHOOL BOY

vesaltes, where Joffree was born in , is one of the places that know him

It lies near the boundary of Spain; eople are a mixture of French and ish; Joffre himself, who has some ish blood in his veins, still loves to the Catalan dialect. Plenty of people ivesaltes still recall their old school- of fifty years ago as a modest, intelli- blue-eyed, blonde-haired boy. The icteristic that has remained the most ng memory is the boy's gentleness and tness of temper. Certain more mascu- spirits rather looked down upon him; uffered somewhat from the juvenile in that is usually the portion of a boy is popular with his teachers. There nothing about Joffre then, as there is not now, that suggests certain characteristics of the section where he was born. The south of France, the Midi, is synonymous with the enthusiast, the loud-talker, the dreamer, the braggart, the bombast, the romancer rather than the cold doer of realities; there was nothing of the Gascon, however, about Joffre. He was regular, methodical, clear-brained, and rather general in his interests. As a school boy in Rivesaltes and at Perpignan, where he afterward went, he was direct, industrious, extremely wide-awake, and he showed a wide range of interests, excelling perhaps in mathematics. At fifteen he astounded his parents and friends by announcing that he intended to compete for the *École Polytechnique* in Paris, a great training school for artillery officers — an ambition that seemed rather exalted for the barrel-maker's son. However, he persisted, and passed fourteenth in a class of 132. According to his sister, to whom even now, when at the front, Joffre sends a daily note, he would have obtained an even higher rank except for one fact: he passed a poor examination in German, a language to which he had an apparently prophetic aversion. His examination papers are still extant, and, according to those who have seen them, are models of neatness, clear thinking, and precise knowledge. Joffre's high standing brought him one embarrassing honor at the Polytechnique: he became sergeant of his class, and responsible for its discipline. As he was the youngest boy in the hall, and as his nature was not of a domineering kind, this responsibility proved a troublesome one. The boy who was ultimately to command more than three million men had the utmost difficulty in asserting his authority over a dozen or so turbulent youths. However, he made good progress, distinguishing himself again by the unpicturesque qualities of sobriety and hard work. But events did not let him finish his course. The Franco-Prussian War broke out: Joffre, then eighteen, was called from his studies and made a sub-lieutenant in a Paris fort. Though he accomplished little as a soldier, "l'année terrible" left its indelible impression on his mind. In spite of a natural easy-going nature, emotional intensity is

part of his deepest being; and Paris, writhing in its agonies, formed a fitting preparation for the task he is facing to-day.

FORT BUILDER, RAILROAD CONSTRUCTOR

From now on Joffre's career followed humdrum lines. Promotion came in due course; after each advancement he loved to return to his old friends at Rivesaltes and talk over old times in his beloved Catalan dialect. He married as a young man, but was early left a widower; the fact that he had no family responsibilities added to his usefulness, as the Government needed his services in the colonies. Merely cataloguing his several appointments shows the range of his activities. In the early '70's he spent two years in the engineering force at Fontainebleau, doing important work on the new fortifications of Paris, Montpellier, and in the Pyrenees. In 1885, he went to Indo-China, having attracted the favorable attention of Admiral Courbet, where he built the defenses of Haut-Tonkin. He constructed the railroad from Kayes to Bafoulabé in Senegal, and the defenses at Diego-Suarez in Madagascar. In 1887, he was professor of fortifications at Fontainebleau; in 1894, secretary to the *Commission des Inventions*, and afterward Director of Engineering for the Ministry. As commander of an army corps at Lille and Amiens he gained an intimate knowledge of the country where he now has to do so much fighting. All these things, enormously important as they were, brought little popular fame, though they gave him the Legion of Honor and other distinctions; his one blast into public notoriety was in 1893, when, as commander of a native column in Africa, he planted the French flag upon Timbuctoo. This was really a distinguished exploit. Colonel Bonnier, who commanded the main line, had encountered disaster; thirteen of his officers and Bonnier himself had been killed. Joffre had been ordered to ascend the left bank of the Niger from Segu to Timbuctoo, and take possession of the land which still remained independent of France. He went about the expedition in his usual methodical fashion, studying the country and its method of warfare, and had already made good progress in his task when he received news of Bonnier's death. Joffre then reorganized the whole expedition, made a march of about 500 miles under great difficulties, and entered Timbuctoo victorious. He fortified the place in great detail, organized the administration, and established satisfactory relations with the natives.

By 1911 Joffre had secured a place on the *Conseil Supérieur de la Guerre* (Superior Council of War) a body of eleven men from whom the Commander-in-chief, in time of war, would be selected. His life as an engineer and teacher, even his Timbuctoo success, hardly seemed to explain this great distinction. The fact was that, unknown as he was to Frenchmen, his character and genius had profoundly impressed his own associates, as well as several successive ministries of war. At this time Joffre was fifty-nine years old; his blonde hair, his blonde moustache, and his heavy eyebrows had now become entirely white. His large, massive head, his square face and jaw, his great chest, his powerful frame, suggested the prime qualities which his associates had come to recognize—vigor, strength, and a powerful initiative. This was not the frame of the French dilettante or of the comic opera dragoon; this was the true military giant. There was about him something perhaps even ponderous; but it was not heaviness, it was power; big as he was, he moved noiselessly and effectively. It was a body that submitted itself to the test of all climates and emerged sound and triumphant. His face, reflective, kindly, and his blue eyes, attentive, pensive, still reminded one of the gentle peasant child of Rivesaltes. The decency of his personal life—he had married Madame Lozès and adopted her children as his own—in itself was a distinction; "Joffre the monk" some called him, referring to his abstemious daily régime. He could do only one thing better than work and that was sleep; it is said that, the night following the darkest reverse of this war, that of the battle of Charleroi, this imperturbable Frenchman slept as peacefully as a baby. Indeed, his anatomy is absolutely lacking in nerves. Long before the present crisis revealed him as a

f few words, Joffre had become as the "taciturn"; and he had the onding virtue—he was one of the steners in the army. His tolerance iving suggestions and his wisdom rating the good from the bad had e impressed his friends. For, im- as his exterior seemed, his spirit tremely flexible; and his inquiring ansacked all the archives for new He learned much from the Ger- whose scientific methods he admired; shall see, his answer to the German n of efficiency was a desire to make ench soldier even more efficient. sibility was apparently his breath steadiness and determination, his traits. Very likely, Joffre lacks ation; but he has foresight, which aps even more important in modern . He is rather a Wellington than a on; a steady-going, never-stopping e, rather than a brilliant improviser. ith him, is not a riot, but an orderly oned process. The great general the man who readily meets emer- , but who makes them impossible ance preparations. Probably Joffre ly one fiery emotion, and that is ism—a steady, burning devotion to . Great as may be his victories, can never become a Napoleon, a n horseback; such ambition and s he has are all for his country, which s with the simple-hearted faith of the -going peasant.

HE FRANCE OF 1905 AND 1910

derful it may seem that France, in hould have turned to such a man as sible savior. The thing would not een possible ten years, even five before. The period from 1905 to owever, had witnessed the develop- of a new France. Until 1905, the e, sober-minded Frenchman had to despair of his country. This renchman was writing books on the "crisis," French decadence, and tural inferiority of the Frenchman e Anglo-Saxon; one of the best of these books bore the title of g France." Several national scan- Panama, Dreyfus—had seared the national conscience. A movement for the separation of Church and State had degenerated into a miserable hounding of nuns and the peculation of church money. France had no respect for its legislative chamber; it regarded it merely as a collection of political jobbers; the way one ministry rapidly succeeded another indicated the apparent collapse of parliamentary institutions; the presidency, under Loubet and Fallières, had commanded little popular esteem. In 1905, "the detestable year," France, in retiring its courageous Foreign Minister, M. Delcassé, on threat of a war with Germany, an act that virtually implied an abdication of sovereignty, had suffered its greatest humiliation since 1870. All kinds of social evils were eating into the body politic; alcoholism had become a prevailing national vice; French babies were becoming almost as rare as French churchgoers; syndicalism, sabotage, and apaches were daily terrors. The nation was living under a perpetual menace; the feeling was that the German army, pressing the frontiers, was momentarily looking for an excuse to spring; this time, Frenchmen felt, it would carry out the Bismarckian programme and "bleed the nation white." Probably the impotence which Frenchmen were feeling against the approaching doom explained the existing pessimism and anarchy. New schools of strange, degenerating thought grew up, preaching anti-militarism and anti-patriotism; "what does it matter, after all," said Gustave Hervé, one of its leading thinkers, "whether we are Frenchmen or Germans?" As a result of these ideas, the French navy, under Pelletan, had shrunk to insignificance, and the French army, under André, had lost all striking power. One day Aristide Briand courageously attempted to arouse the Chamber of Deputies to the real conditions, an appeal which the Socialists and miscellaneous radicals received with banging desks, whistling, howling, hooting, and uncomplimentary epithets. "I am going to tell you something," shouted Briand above the din. "If, in order to put our frontiers in a condition of defense, it should be necessary to overstep the bounds of

legality, very well, we will overstep them!" The scene illustrated the anarchistic state of France; it also indicated that a spirit was rising that would redeem it.

A similar condition of affairs had existed in 1868. Then a Prussian war daily threatened France, but pessimism and political degeneracy had almost destroyed all patriotic feeling. One day Marshal Niel rose in parliament, pictured the impending doom, and demanded that the empire make adequate preparations for defense. "You would make a barracks of the whole of France!" shouted an opposing member. "Look out," shouted Niel in reply, "that you don't make it a cemetery!" Two years afterward came Sedan. Three years after Briand's courageous defiance, however, came, not another Sedan, but the Battle of the Marne. The decadent republic, unlike the decadent empire, had once more asserted the ancient spirit of France, and of this regeneration Joffre was both the symbol and the instrument. In 1911, the Kaiser displayed once more his contempt of France by sending the *Panther* to Agadir. In 1913, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg declared in the Reichstag that "that which Bismarck feared has now arrived; France no longer fears us!"

JOFFRE'S "THREE SILENT YEARS"

What had happened that had caused this amazing change in the national life? If necessary, we could trace the signs of rejuvenation in numerous directions, social, literary, and political, even in the field of sports; the rejuvenescence of the army, however, is perhaps its most forcible expression. Historically, the period from 1911 to 1914 is likely to be known as the "three silent years of Joffre." Other men than Joffre, of course, contributed to the work; indeed, a happy fate had given France three great patriotic leaders—Joffre, Millerand, and Poincaré—at the precise moment when she most needed them. Poincaré, Premier of France, now its President, Millerand, Minister of War, Joffre, Commander-in-chief of the army—this is the patriotic triumvirate that saved the nation. Weekly these men, usually assisted by Pau and Castelnau, held meetings, all directed to one end: the preparation for the expected German attack. The world little understands the demoralization that existed in the French military situation in 1911. The nation distrusted the army; the army distrusted the nation. The army had no soul, no *esprit de corps;* the grossest insubordination prevailed, not only among the officers, but among the men. Political intrigue for years had demoralized the service, where promotion was not a matter of merit but of wire-pulling.

Joffre's very first reform destroyed the most corrupting influence. The anti-clerical cabinets, which had preceded that of Poincaré, had introduced their prejudices among officers and soldiers. There prevailed a detestable system of spying, popularly known as *des fiches*. Under this the civilian prefects and mayors made semi-annual reports to the Ministry of War on "officers suspected of disloyalty." This "disloyalty" merely signified that the officer in question was accustomed to go to Mass. It remained for Joffre, the Protestant, and Millerand, the free-thinking Socialist, to destroy this system; an officer's religious inclinations, they declared, were his private affair. The system of *des fiches*, or civilian spying, was abolished. Joffre also informed the officers that promotion in future would go purely by merit. He astounded France by dismissing several generals, some of them his personal friends and associates, simply on the ground of incompetency. He did this kindly, as was his nature, and in a way that did not publicly humiliate them; the firmness of his hand, however, was apparent and exercised a most salutary influence. He established a commission, in which politics was far removed, for passing upon the claims of officers to promotion. "The real worth of candidates," read its announcement, "and only the consideration of the general good will guide the Chiefs assembled to appreciate and classify military men of all grades."

A consolidation of responsibility was effected all along the line. In Joffre himself the army had its first Supreme Commander-in-chief since the founding of the Third Republic. The responsibility

ffre assumed he now extended to his
nates. He gave his sub-generals
te control over their inferiors; he
hese, in turn, complete authority
ıose below them.
same time he held
ll to an absolute
tability for their
nds. An officer
iled in his duties
ately lost his posi-
ne who succeeded
tablished funda-
claims to pro-
. By increasing
activeness of bar-
ife, Joffre created
spirit among the
He increased re-
ent in Algeria,
the officers to
so that they
not only their
pecialties but
other branches
service; artillery
became expert in
y, infantry men
lry, and the like,
e that events have
d, since cavalry
e now so generally
ning service in the
s. Joffre strength-
ıose new depart-
-telephones, tele-
automobiles,
nes—that seem
to exercise a de-
influence in the
For the first time
generation the
army became pos-
not only of ma-
trength but of a
Again, for the first
years, as detach-
ıassed through the
s—frequent pa-
as one of Joffre's
o popularize the
-there arose cries
l'armée! The
people and the

soldiers formed one another's acquaintance, and the mutual distrust melted away. The new spirit of the army was the spirit of Joffre; like him it became industrious, courageous, determined, self-possessed, methodical, tenacious, calm, painstaking, patriotic, ready, at a moment's notice, for the supreme task that daily grew more imminent.

Germany, as Von Bethmann-Hollweg's remarks disclose, appreciated the change, and was making the usual thorough German preparations to challenge this new France. Her great advantage lay in the fact that she had 65,000,000 people, while France had only 39,000,000; against every improvement in French efficiency she could hurl her brute force of large numbers. The Kaiser, therefore, answered Joffre and Millerand by repeated increases in his armed forces. He added to them by new laws in 1911 and 1912; the greatest increase, however, came in the very year, 1913, that had witnessed the virtual redemption of the French military morale. Joffre's "three silent years" had apparently accomplished their end: France breathed easier as she glanced toward her menaced frontiers, but now another terrible blow came from across the Rhine. This was the new army law of 1913. In this law Germany made her greatest military effort since 1871. "God has assigned to the German people a place

IN TOUCH WITH RANK AND FILE

BY PERSONAL INSPECTION, MADE POSSIBLE BY HIS AUTOMOBILES, JOFFRE KEEPS IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE WIDESPREAD FRENCH LINE

in the world and a rôle in history," said Von Bethmann-Hollweg, discussing this law, "which demand continual sacrifices.

Copyright by International News Service

RECEIVING DISPATCHES

THE GENERAL-IN-CHIEF IS A MASTER OF DETAIL AND A PREACHER OF EFFICIENCY

Our pride should make us bear them with a good heart." The divine purpose back of this particular measure was to increase Germany's striking power on the French frontiers. It was to make Germany irresistible during that "first month" of hostilities—the period which, according to German plans, would decide success or failure. This is the one important point in considering this measure. For the first month or six weeks France would have to depend almost exclusively upon herself; after that, so it was figured, the Russian forces, having mobilized, would compel Germany to divide her forces. For that first month, however, nearly the whole military power of Germany could assail France; if she could not withstand the onslaught, then the Republic would be lost. But Germany and France, in this great tussle, would have to depend almost entirely upon their "effectives"; that is, their active standing armies, the parts kept momentarily ready to take the field.

In 1913, before this new law was passed, Germany had 720,000 men ready for this emergency and France had 485,000 to receive the shock. Fighting a defensive campaign and protected by fortifications, this smaller army, in competent hands,

Copyright by International News Service

THE WAR LORDS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE

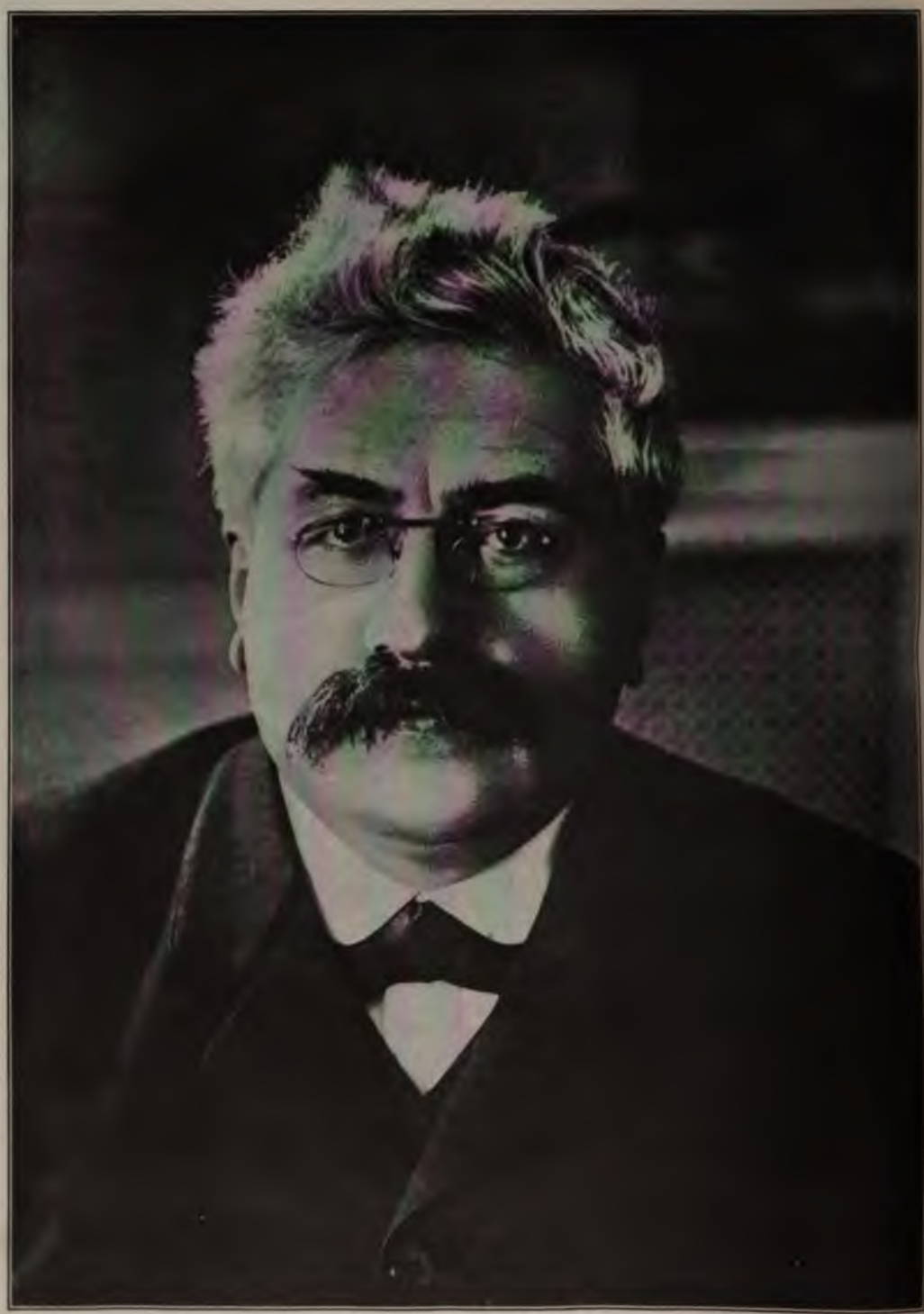
KITCHENER, CALLED BY HIS COUNTRY TO MAKE A NEW ARMY. MILLERAND, RE-CALLED TO THE WAR PORTFOLIO, WHERE HE HAD SPONSORED THE REFORM OF THE FRENCH ARMY THAT MADE IT READY FOR THE PRESENT CRISIS

might very possibly halt or delay the German advance until the Russians had their armies at the German border. Upon this fact, and upon Joffre, France had been depending. The German law of 1913, however, besides providing an enormous number of new officers, artillery, cavalry, and equipment, suddenly increased the standing army to 820,000 men, a change that required a non-recurring expenditure of $270,000,000 and a recurring expenditure of $47,000,000. History had known no such financial sacrifice as this; it showed a determination to make war on France and to make war quickly. Joffre and his associates suddenly found themselves face to face with the problem of meeting this onslaught of 820,000 men, backed up by millions of reserves, with about 485,000. These figures spelled only one thing: the ruin of France. These changes, as Joffre and the military experts figured, would materialize in a great German striking army by the spring of 1914. Therefore, the war, they said, would come in 1914! France had only one brief year to make ready.

On March 4, 1913, the Superior War Council assembled at Paris to discuss this great national *crisis. M. Poincaré, now* become the President of France—probably the most respected President in the history of the Third Republic—presided; Joffre,

THE MODERN CHARGER

JOFFRE IN HIS TRIPS CATCHES MANY A MUCH NEEDED NAP IN HIS AUTOMOBILE



M. ALEXANDRE MILLERAND

WHO AS MINISTER OF WAR FOR FRANCE IN 1912 MADE INTO LAW JOFFRE'S PLANS FOR THE REFORM OF THE ARMY. HE CLEARED IT OF POLITICS AND FAVORITISM

GENERAL JOSEPH JACQUES CÉSAIRE JOFFRE

PREPARED THE FRENCH ARMY TO MEET WHAT HE CONSIDERED THE INEVITABLE CONFLICT AND IS NOW DIRECTING THE MACHINE HE CREATED

COMMANDING THE ARMIES OF THE NORTH

"FOCH IS THE GREATEST STRATEGIST IN EUROPE, AND THE HUMBLEST"—JOFFRE

Pau, Galliéni, Castelnau, and other great military chiefs were present. Upon one point the facts were plain. France could

GENERAL CASTELNAU

JOFFRE'S FIRST ACT AS GENERALISSIMO WAS TO MAKE CASTELNAU THE FIRST SUB-CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF

Copyright by International New

GENERAL GALLIÉNI

ONE OF JOFFRE'S ASSOCIATES IN THE REJU OF THE FRENCH ARMY

not reply to this German challenge numerical increase. Already she h tually all her available men enrolled. was the tragedy of the French situ the unpleasant fact that Germany' lation was one third larger than h The practical result was that Germ keep up her large forces, drew only cent. of her effective young men i army, whereas France drew 82 pe Hence Germany, economically an mercially, already had a great ad over France. No, poor France more young men to draw upon; th only one thing that she could do. Germany and France kept their men two years in active service, exc cavalry and artillery, for which t man period was three. The on that France could get more men i standing army was to increase the service from two years to three; way, without increasing the total

GENERAL PAU

NE-ARMED VETERAN OF 1870, ONE OF THE TO DISCERN THE MILITARY GENIUS OF JOFFRE

ldiers, she would have just one third men instantly ready for war. In , this would give France an army on frontier of about 600,000, against nany's 820,000; enough, Joffre ad- l, to hold back the German masses in first critical month. This is the ning of this famous "three-years' law," h figured so largely in the press a le of years ago. The change meant expenditures and a cruel sacrifice for ice; taking these young men out of the ness and industrial life of the nation nother year would weaken the coun- economically, still more to the advan- of Germany. France had the alterna- of this three-years' law, however, or nal ruin. It was characteristic of the France that, despite the opposition ertain radical elements, the nation mined to make the sacrifice. This -years' law, in the opinion of most ary experts, is what saved the day.

Copyright by International News Service

GENERAL DUBAIL

WHOSE DEFENSE OF VERDUN BROKE UP THE ORIGINAL GERMAN PLAN TO TRAP AND DESTROY THE FRENCH ARMY

How pitiful now look the speeches, the books, and the newspaper articles written at that time against it!

"There is something," said the preamble to this law, "which dominates all contingencies, which triumphs over all hesitations, which governs and decides the individual and collective impulses of a great and noble democracy such as ours, namely, the resolute will to live strong and free and to remain mistress of our destinies." This fine spirit, manifesting itself in Joffre, Millerand, Poincaré, and others, is what made France powerful in those early *September days.* After the successful German army, with its paws fairly on Pari suddenly wheeled and met the greate defeat Germany has suffered since Napo eon, the villagers about Auteuil, whe Joffre has his home, came and covered t steps to his house with flowers. This w

JOFFRE AND MILLERAND, THE MAKERS OF THE NEW FRENCH ARMY

the first silent tribute from the people France to the man—one of themselves who had saved the nation. It marke not only their gratitude for the past b their confidence for the future. As t peasants of Rivesaltes, Joffre's old hom say: "What should we fear, even France is at war? Haven't we got o Joffre?"

THE GREAT RIVER

I. THE WAR ON THE MISSISSIPPI

FOURTEEN HUNDRED MILES OF EARTH DEFENSES AGAINST AN ENEMY THAT HEEDS NO RULES OF WAR—A STRUGGLE THAT SAPS THE RICHES AND STRENGTH OF THE COUNTRY

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

THE great river always declares war before beginning open hostilities. It gets the Weather Bureau to do the declaring. Sometimes a week, sometimes two or three weeks, or even a month beforehand, the declaration is made. All along 3,000 miles of battlefront the defenders have certain warning.

But once started, the river obeys no rules of war. No Huns of Asia were ever so merciless as the sullen "Father of Waters" and his tributary allies as they sweep out of the North on their irresistible way to the sea. Not one of the states along the path of their recurrent raids has its neutrality respected. Blindly and far more ruthlessly than the invaders of Belgium, the river attacks all humanity, combatants and non-combatants alike, recognizing no rights of property. No lives, houses, or churches are immune.

Von Kluck's gray torrent of Germans poured out of the Rhine provinces over neutral Belgium and hostile France, demolishing towns and wrecking husbandry right up to the gates of Paris. That human flood happened once in forty-four years. In the same period the great river allies, Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri, have annually threatened peaceful millions living on their banks. Fourteen times since 1874, while peace has been maintained in Europe, have these half-civilized rivers declared unprovoked war and devastated areas along their fertile valleys many times

THE BELEAGUERED CITY OF BELLAIRE, O.

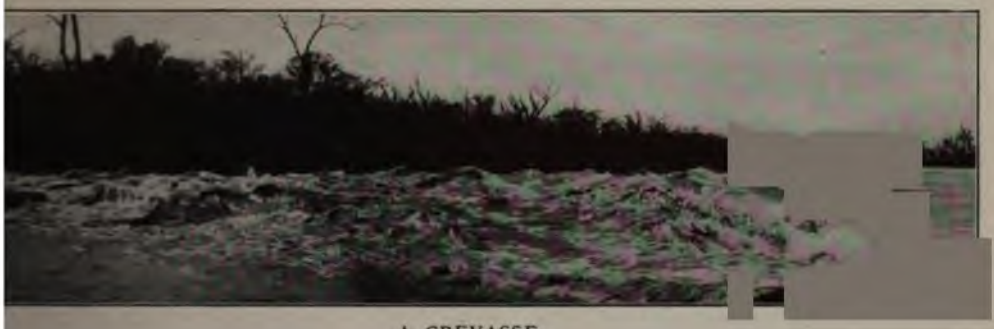
"INVASION BY FOREIGN NATIONS IS AN UNCERTAIN POSSIBILITY: INVASION BY FLOODS IS AN ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN FACT"

greater in extent than the whole territory covered by the German inundation of last August from Liège to the Marne.

The European Allies were prepared for Germany's invasion and stopped it. The United States, almost as unprepared for

THE SEAPORT OF CAIRO, ILL.

PART OF THE FORTY-MILE-WIDE INLAND OCEAN WHICH IN 1913 SEPARATED THE WESTERN SHORE OF KENTUCKY FROM THE EASTERN COASTLINE OF MISSOURI



A CREVASSE
THE RIVER BREAKING THROUGH THE LEVEE DEFENSES

iver's fourteen serious incursions as have been and are for a not impossible gn invasion, have never stopped one Invasion across the Atlantic by gn nations is an uncertain possibility; sion by floods within our borders is an lutely certain fact. The people of this try, aghast at the cost of militarism urope, go on paying, year after year, nnities of millions of dollars exacted ie militarism of their rivers. These in- nities are a sheer loss.

ie Government has "whittled the hills anama" and dug and governed a clear rway through foreign soil to link the ns together. Yet in the very heart of wn territory its arterial waterways re- misgoverned and uncontrolled.

e have spent ten years and $350,000,000 anama. We shall all benefit thereby. time and money well spent. The same time and money wisely spent would bring enduring peace along our rich river valleys. The money thrown away all these years into hostile flood waters would have bought that peace twice over. Thirty-one out of the forty-eight states would benefit directly from such a peace. Indirectly we should all benefit from it. But that is another story. This is the story of the recurrent war and its waging. Why we are still at war, the extent of our unpreparedness, and the terms of peace will be taken up in subsequent articles.

Mr. A——, of Helena, Ark., picked up his morning paper in New York and read this "special flood bulletin" from the Weather Bureau at Washington:

The river situation will be critical from Cairo to the mouth of the Mississippi. If the levees hold, the floods will doubtless be the greatest

THE DEBRIS OF BATTLE
A BARN CARRIED HALF A MILE, BANKED WITH SILT, AND HALF DESTROYED

MAROONED IN THE WAR ZONE

of which the Government has record. The water now in sight is sufficient to give Memphis considerably more than 40 feet within the next ten days. At Helena a stage considerably above 50 feet is indicated.

April 3, 1913

Mr. A—— owns real estate behind the Helena levees and is interested in a big development project at Elaine, five miles inland on the Frisco Railroad. He packed his bag and took the afternoon train back to Arkansas. As he did so he was exactly in the situation and in the frame of mind of a reservist called to the colors, if you substitute for the emotion for the flag and all it represents the similar emotions of local patriotism and intense self-interest.

As his train ran south through Jersey and westward across Pennsylvania he noticed, through rain-blurred window-panes, water standing in the meadows and sluicing down the ruts of red clay roads. In the hills, when his express roared over steel bridge-girders, he caught glimpses below of swirling yellow streams hurrying onward. The enemy was mobilizing.

Mr. A—— remembered the campaign of the year before when the river had honorably declared war in the same way. He had read the declaration that time right at the front, in the Helena paper, ten days before the main assault struck his city. And the Weather Bureau then, eleven days ahead, had hit the flood height almost exactly. "Fifty-five feet five inches on the gauge," said the weather scout on April 11th. And on the morning of April 22d the river's insatiable muddy lips ate up on the white gauge to 55.3, just one-sixth of a foot below the warning.

NON-COMBATANTS

WHO SUFFER DANGER, LOSS, PRIVATION, AND DISEASE AS DO THE VICTIMS OF THE EUROPEAN WAR IN SERVIA, POLAND, AND BELGIUM, AND WHOSE RELIEF SWELLS BY SEVERAL MILLIONS THE INDEMNITIES PAID BY THE STATE AND NATION TO THE MILITARISM OF THE RIVERS

But the 1912 campaign was fought in February, when the Mississippi Valley was full of clouds and darkness and rain and

THE PATH OF THE INVADER

local causes of floods. The Weather Bureau simply corroborated local impressions then, adding scientific accuracy. This time, when A—— got back to his native town, he found the valley bathed in April sunshine, the river flowing its appointed way within its banks. Two weeks of bright, sunny weather followed, with the exception of one day in Arkansas and across the way in Mississippi as the records will show. But all this time, in between the two beleaguered states, the river kept rising day after day until it topped the banks, rimmed, and then broke over, the levees. Heroic work night and day by the defenders kept the river out of the city.

The people all along that section of the river have very strongly the impression that they were then attacked, and are continually being menaced, from afar. What happened in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana between March 23 and March 27, 1913, all but obliterated Helena, Ark. It all but obliterated Cairo, Ill., at the head of the Delta where the Ohio flows into the Mississippi. And far down at the other end of the Delta, a thousand miles south by the windings of the river, it nearly made a panic-stricken Venice out of New Orleans.

The brown waters that came to lap around Mr. A——'s sand-bags crowning the Helena levees chewed away the crumbling banks of the St. Francis Basin upstream in Missouri and roared through the crevasse at Hymelia, in Mississippi, downstream, ran out of trout brooks in the southwest corner of New York, rose in springs in the North Carolina mountains, or drained from arid lands in New Mexico on the Santa Fé trail. Melting snows in the forests of Yellowstone Park and melting ice in the lakes of northern Minnesota annually send their marching contingents

AFTER THE BATTLE

HOW THE BED OF A CREVASSE LOOKS AFTER THE RIVER HAS CARRIED THE LEVEE ENTRENCHMENTS, AND AFTER THE WATER HAS SUBSIDED. THE RECURRING LOSS IN LAND VALUES, CROPS, AND BUILDINGS PUTS A HEAVY HANDICAP ON THE WHOLE FLOOD COUNTRY

UPPER PICTURE: REFUGEES ON THE LEVEE; AN ENGINEER AND HIS SECTION GANG'S EFFORTS TO HOLD THE RAILROAD AGAINST THE RIVER; AND THE CITIZENS OF CAIRO, ILL., KEEPING THE ENEMY OUT OF THEIR CITY WITH THE WATER 54 FEET ABOVE THE NORMAL LEVEL (LOWER PICTURE)

FIGHTING THE RIVER

FIFTEEN HUNDRED MEN WORKING NIGHT AND DAY TO HOLD THE LEVEE AT REMY, LA., 1913—A PART OF THE THOUSANDS WHO ARE ANNUALLY "DRAFTED TO THE COLORS" IN EFENSE OF THEIR LIVES AND PROPERTY ALONG THE BANKS OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND ITS RIBUTARIES

to steal away soil from a dozen riparian states and with it make new land out in the Gulf of Mexico. *Of the water that damages the lower Mississippi Valley region less than one per cent. comes from the states damaged by these floods.*

When the engineer at the War Department drew his careful lines to indicate the same lines. They surrounded all the war chart of Europe, reaching from Ireland far to the east of Warsaw, and overlapping from Königsberg in East Prussia clear across the Mediterranean on to the African coast.

These are some of the reasons why what is alluded to in Congressional debates as

"LOUVAIN"

MAIN STREET, DAYTON, O., SHOWING THE VANDALISM OF THE INVADING RIVERS WHICH SWEPT ACROSS OHIO AND INDIANA IN 1913, DOING $300,000,000 WORTH OF DAMAGE IN THOSE STATES ALONE

entire drainage basin of the Mississippi River (page 58), more than half the total area, 59 per cent. to be exact, of the country was left outside. Inside the lines are 1,240,050 square miles. This is the extent of the country involved in the periodical invasion of the United States. It represents an enormous concentration, a vast field of operations.

On a map of Europe drawn to the same scale the same obliging engineer traced the

the "Mississippi problem" is an interstate problem. To call it "Mississippi" is merely to give to a problem which involves the waterways of thirty-one states the name of its most formidable part.

The enormous extent of the territory draining into and through the Mississippi Valley partially explains the recurrence of flood. The Mississippi River with its more than fifty tributaries forms a drainage system 13,000 miles long. Adequate

mal purposes, abnormal conditions overtax this drainage system in its : condition. Abnormal conditions, onstitute the other main ingredient causes of war and explain the grievance. Just as over-population ongestion in cramped boundaries Japan to war in 1904 and helped e Germany to war in 1914, so in the inter and early spring each year uate provision for the run-off of ; snows and pouring rains makes ling enemies out of peaceful friends ies.

Weather Bureau at Washington, announces the rivers' intentions un- y, explains very clearly the reasons eir lawlessness. On the east the ous drainage area, just described, ressed by the continuous chain of ppalachians. Against their east- ace most of the moisture carried by from the Atlantic is driven and back eastward to the sea. Simi- n the western slopes of the Rockies, wall in the other side of the Missis- asin, Pacific winds drop the greater f their rains to make westward- ; streams. In the landlocked North, small showers occur from airs g over the Great Lakes, there is no of serious flood grievance. From uth and southwest spring winds, with moisture, draw up unimpeded h the long river valleys of the con-

The Weather Bureau's charts of big flood year since 1874 show that variable direct cause of war in the of the Mississippi and its main nts is the "southwest storm," so- because it is first observed in definite ion over the southwestern part country where it has moved in from aribbean, the central Pacific, and lf of Mexico.

s we have a grand vicious circle of al law. The Gulf of Mexico, which tely must receive back the rainfall wide area laden with the burden of has levied from unwilling tributary is itself the source of that rainfall.

aordinarily consistent is the "south- torm." It always follows a north- ack, covering the lower valleys of the Missouri and upper Mississippi, the entire watershed of the Ohio River, and the long western tributaries south of Cairo. These storms are almost invariably preceded by falling, snow-melting temperatures and followed by deluges of rain as the colder air of their inland journey precipitates reservoirs of moisture from their heavy clouds. Every stage of their advance is watched and reported by the scouts of the Weather Bureau, and by the precipitation along its route the Bureau's experts at Washington can accurately foretell just what the river will do: whether there is to be armed neutrality or open war.

Ordinary spring rains are apt to fill the Ohio and Mississippi bank-full. In 1912, six southwest storms in succession within a period of nineteen days fell upon the bank-full lower Mississippi and sluiced off the frozen ground of the Ohio's tributaries.

In 1913 four of these storms hit the Ohio Valley between the afternoon of March 23d and the morning of March 27th, literally soaking the states of Ohio, Indiana, and the adjacent territory with practically continuous torrential rains. In 1912, a flood unprecedented in volume was the river's answer. In 1913, a tidal wave swept through Zanesville, Columbus, Dayton, and Cincinnati, almost joined hands with a Missouri crest, also on the war-path, clear across the junction city of Cairo, and then made high-water records on almost every river gauge between Cairo and the Gulf, the exceptions being due to the breaking of levees and consequent local lowering of the flood plane.

Both years were exceptional. But similar weather conditions have produced similar river results in 1907, 1903, and five times in the decade preceding. Similar weather conditions may confidently be expected in the future. They are inevitable. No man-devised expedient can ever affect this ultimate cause of floods. The river's periodical grievance will go on forever as certainly as spring follows winter, as certainly as moisture, like smoke, "goes upward, as man is born to trouble."

What man can do is to deal with his continental drainage system. He can perfect it. He has made a peaceful union of oceans by severing two continents to make

THE WAR ZONE

DRAINAGE BASIN OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, INCLUDING 31 STATES, A MILLION AND A QUARTER SQUARE MILES IN AREA, A TERRITORY GREATER IN EXTENT THAN THAT INCLUDED IN ALL THE EUROPEAN THEATRES OF WAR

THE "DELTA"

SHOWING THE EXTENT OF THE FORTIFICATIONS (LEVEES) AND BREAKS MADE IN THE LEVEES BY THE FLOODS OF 1912

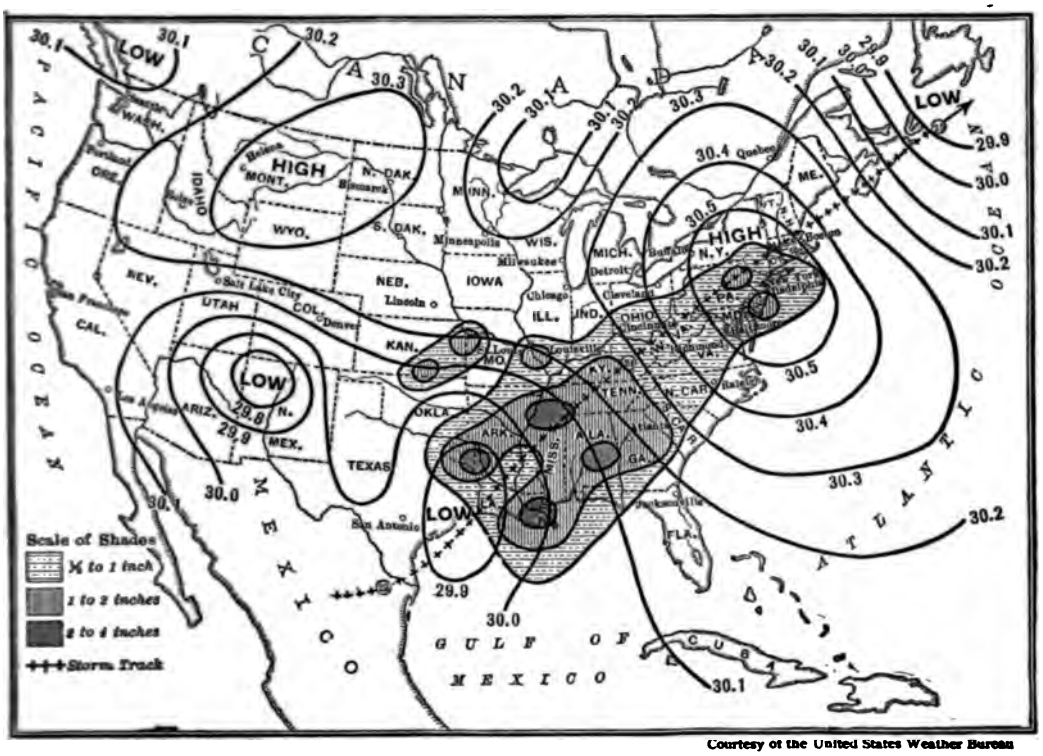
THE "DELTA"

SHOWING THE TERRITORY INUNDATED BY THE FLOOD OF 1913. THIS IS THE PERIODICAL BELGIUM OF THE MISSISSIPPI

a channel for their waters. The same amount of trouble will keep the waters of the Mississippi off the best part of his continent, peacefully in their channels.

When the southwest storms have done their work and war has been declared, fighting begins promptly in the upper tributaries. In 1913 the rivers really jumped across Ohio and Indiana. The Muskingum, Scioto, and Miami charged across those states as the Germans did across Belgium. In the same way the Kaw and Kansas fell upon Kansas and Missouri in 1903. But when the main column of the Ohio, absorbing its confluent streams, reached the Mississippi at Cairo it encountered determined resistance from that point to the Gulf. For two generations most of the Delta along this hostile border has been an entrenched camp, levees taking the place of trenches.

People who live outside of territory subject to periodical inundation have only



Courtesy of the United States Weather Bureau

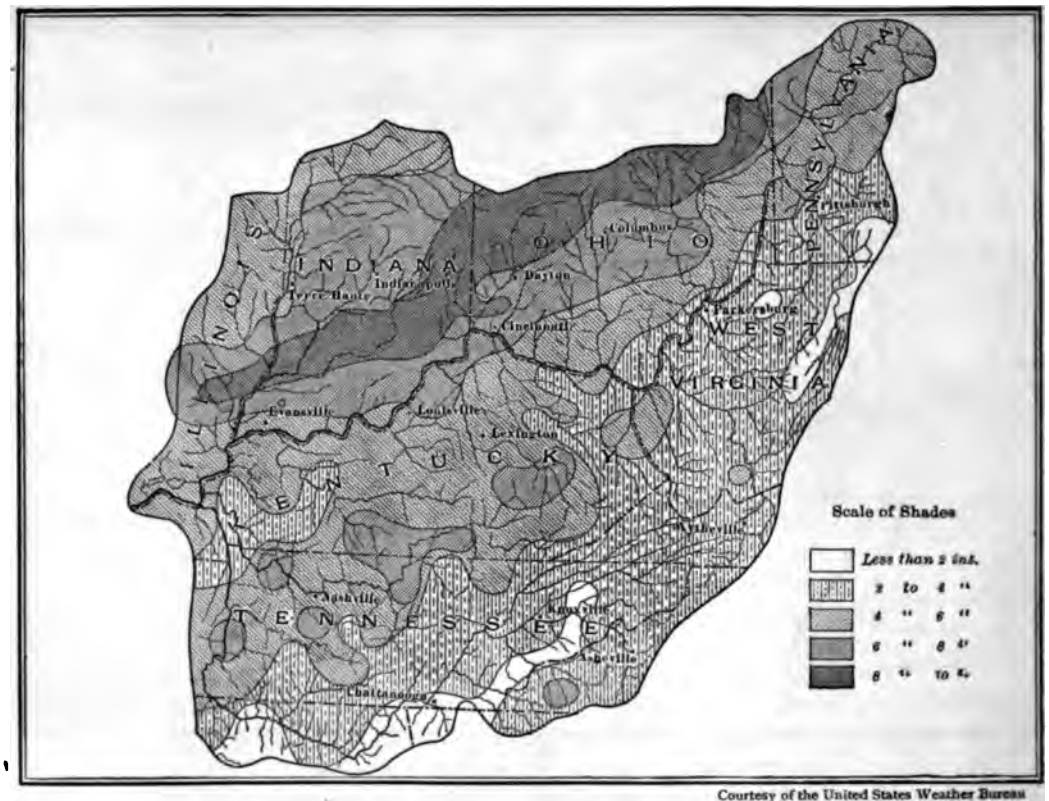
THE TRAIL OF THE "SOUTHWEST STORM"

WHICH MAKES THE FLOODS. FIGURES ON THE RADIAL LINES ARE BAROMETRIC READINGS, SHADING SHOWS PRECIPITATION IN INCHES, AND THE NUMBERS ON THE STORM TRACK ARE DATES OF THE MONTH

a very faint idea of what constitutes a flood. A flood of the Mississippi is really a series of disasters, starting up the Missouri or Ohio but reaching maximum proportions at the junction city of Cairo. At a point about a mile below Cairo, the Ohio, normally about a mile wide, and the Mississippi, half a mile in width, flow together. In flood-time a great tide sweeps across their containing levees until an inland sea, sometimes forty miles in width, separates the western shore of Kentucky from the eastern edge of Missouri, covering the southern tip of Illinois. But that water is not finally disposed of there. It has to crowd back into the narrow channel of the Mississippi and work its way down to break through other levees at points below. Thus the same body of water passes on down a thousand miles of winding river, bringing disaster in turn to one community after another, during a period of a month or even six weeks of uninterrupted peril.

One of the reasons that people living in immune states fail to grasp the gravity and magnitude of a Mississippi flood is their ignorance of its process. Instead of the popular impression of water rising and rushing quickly out to the Gulf, the crest of a flood, like the crest of a wave, moves steadily downstream, attacking towns and cities along its course. When Hickman, Ky., is fighting for its life, Natchez is going about its business on a normal river. When only capillary attraction and prayers in the churches seem to keep the Mississippi out of New Orleans, the American Egyptians at Cairo (you must say "Kayrow" in Illinois or be regarded with suspicion) are cleaning the Nile mud out of their streets and changing back from a seaport to a river town. But it is all the same flood.

Like every silt-bearing stream, the Mississippi builds its own banks higher than the surrounding country. For with every overflow the heavier burden of the soil in solution is dropped nearest to the overflowed channel. All the drainage, there-



Courtesy of the United States Weather Bureau

THE RIVER'S GRIEVANCE

WHY THE OHIO DECLARED WAR IN 1913. THE UNPRECEDENTED RAINFALL OF MARCH 23 TO MARCH 27, INCLUSIVE, 1913, WHICH BROUGHT ABOUT THE TIDAL WAVE IN THE VALLEY OF THE OHIO AND ITS TRIBUTARIES AND LATER IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI

fore, from these automatically formed watersheds flows at first east and west away from the main channel, only to be caught up later by tributary rivers and brought back again to the parent stream at a point many miles to the south.

With an extraordinary exactness, war conditions, as we are reading about them now, are produced in flood-time over most of that thousand-mile front from Cairo to the Gulf and very frequently in the extended theatres of river warfare reaching up into Kansas and Pennsylvania. The railroads in the states attacked, often the heaviest losers, suspend their passenger and freight services and turn their armies of employees into organized corps to fight, to repair, or to relieve distress. The United States Army sends its engineers and commissary officers out to take charge of construction and supply problems a good deal more complicated than those which might be created by an invasion of Mexico. The Red Cross provides its units as in war-time. Business stops, traffic stops, regular living stops. Communities pass under a kind of martial law. Every able-bodied man, from convict to bank president, is pressed into service.

And the river wins nearly every time. It never bluffs. Every time it exacts and gets its tribute of ruin, and claims its heavy indemnity of loss; but not without some magnificent fighting.

The front pages of flood-time newspapers from New Orleans, Memphis, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh at first glance look very much the way papers in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston did last August and September. Every journal has its "correspondents at the front." Change "trenches" to "levees;" change "Uhlans," "Germans," "divisions," etc., to "river," "water," "levees," "crest," etc., and the rest of the language in flood-time is about the same as that in war-time.

For example, one man telegraphs his paper from Cairo, Ill., March 31st:

The crest this morning was 5.31 and the river still rising. Seven companies of the Illinois Guard detrained at 7 A.M.

Another man wires from Evansville, Ind.:

The Illinois Central embankment on the Indiana side of the Wabash broke this morning, letting a wall of water through into the lower Wabash Valley, which swept farmhouses and buildings to destruction. Five thousand feet of track was ripped out of the Louisville and Nashville, cutting us off from the North and West.

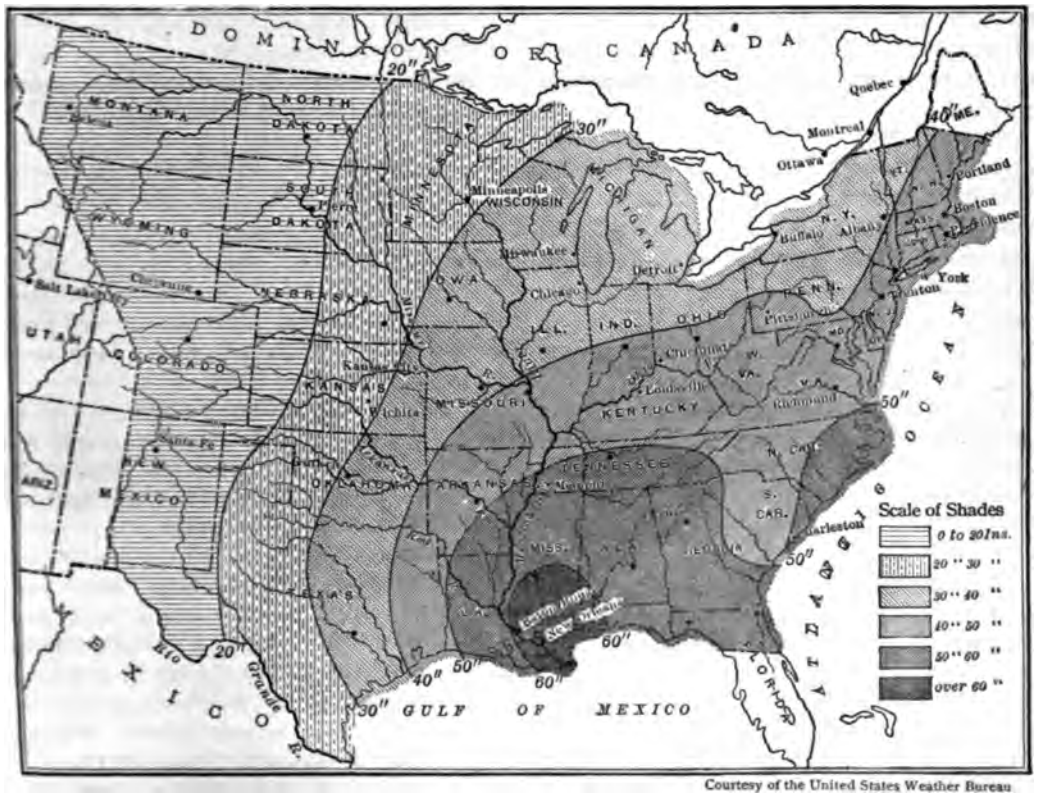
Natchez, April 26th.

Artonish levee at Deer Park, 50 miles below here, went out last night. About 20,000 acres are under water. Streets of Natchez are crowded with cattle and refugees coming from places back of Vidalia.

Kansas City, June 1st.

Stage of water 35 feet and still increasing rapidly. Twenty thousand people made homeless and all the horrors and dangers of a terrible flood confront this community. All public utilities except the gas companies have been put out of service. Sixteen out of seventeen bridges over the Kaw are down. Business generally demoralized.

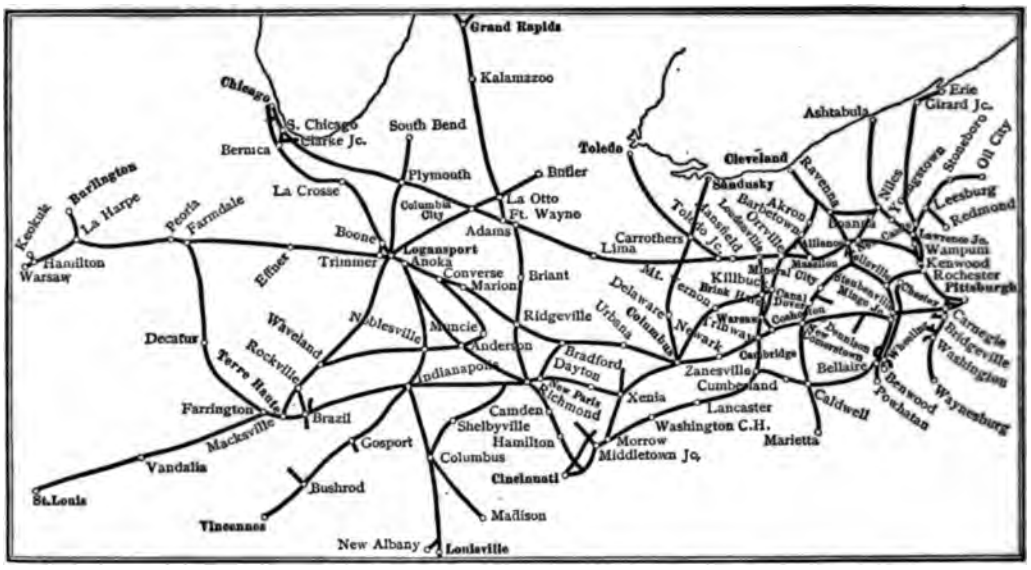
The Army engineer directing a regiment of 1,500 Negroes at Remy, La., sends word to headquarters at Baton Rouge that, after holding his advanced lines by desperate work for two nights and a day against persistent attacks from the river—which "shifted and whirled in closer and closer, until the sucking pools undermined us and toppled fifteen feet of old levee, sacks and all, into the river"—he is compelled to fall back to a secondary position behind a new levee rampart, still several inches below flood level, which his battalions are sweating to bring to grade in time. And in the same New Orleans paper which prints this dispatch appears a call



Courtesy of the United States Weather Bureau

HOW THE RAIN FALLS

NORMAL ANNUAL PRECIPITATION IN THE DRAINAGE AREA OF THE MISSISSIPPI. WARM WINDS FROM THE GULF DROP THEIR BURDEN OF MOISTURE AS THEY DRAW NORTHEASTWARD OVER THE INCREASINGLY COLDER LAND OF THE INTERIOR



I. WHAT THE RIVER DOES TO THE RAILROADS

BEFORE THE FLOOD. PENNSYLVANIA LINES IN COMMISSION MARCH 24, 1913. THIS CHART SHOWS THE RAIL POWER OF ONE OF THE FORCES ALLIED AGAINST THE FLOODS

for help from a division commander further upstream who says that his army of laborers have been "fighting the river waters for three days on less than half rations."

Here is Quartermaster-General Normoyle, U. S. A., directing his forces from successive headquarters at Hickman, Ky., Memphis, Tenn., and Baton Rouge, La., and reporting to General Wood, his Chief of Staff at Washington:

There are some 1,500 refugees at this point (Memphis). At Hickman there are at present 2,800 refugees and more coming in daily. Steamer *Nokomis* from St. Louis with 20,000 rations for Hickman has been sent in charge of Captain Logan to relieve distress along the Arkansas line.

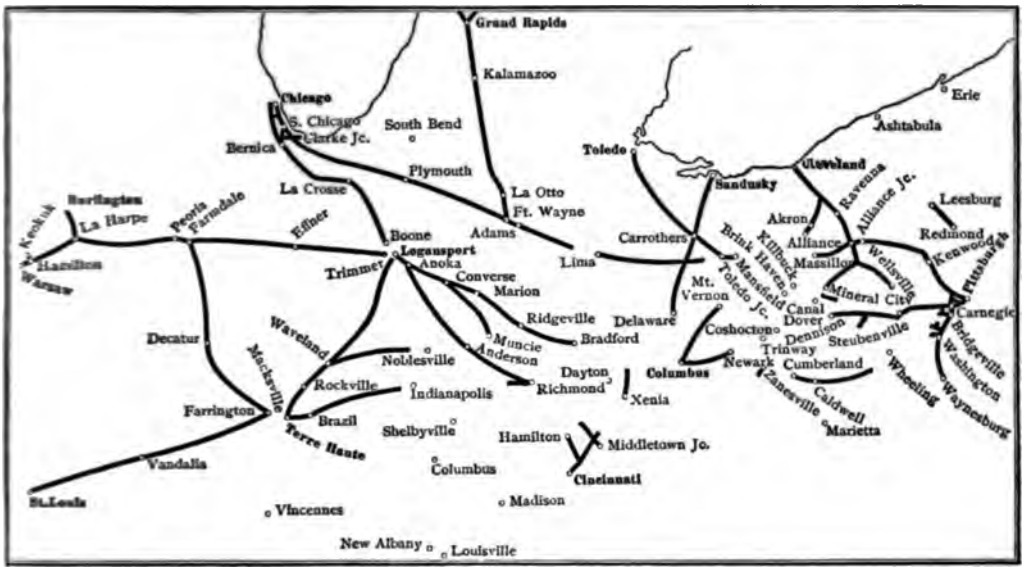
Relief work well in hand. All people in danger now rescued and are being fed according to needs. At least 7,000 residents flooded out of this district. Feeding 2,000 people in Charlestown and East Prairie, including about 500 from New Madrid. Made inspection trip across country 12 miles east of here yesterday in gasolene boat, . . . etc.

Your wire (to Lieutenant Hanna) requesting 500 tents. Sorry have not a single tent left here. I realize necessity for tentage but we must remember that we also have 25,000 to look after on the levees in the lowlands. As your camps are on high ground it is hoped that committees will utilize permanent shelter there.

Torras crevasse now backing into Morganza and down to neighborhood of Livonia. Every effort is being made to get people out of country. Estimated that about 5,000 head of stock and 10,000 people left in danger zone to be supplied by me.

When, in March, 1913, there fell on the Ohio watershed in less than four days more than four months' rainfall, the railroads in that territory, and thereafter down both banks of the Mississippi, were scrambled like eggs. Land where highways, electric lines, and railroads had been constructed became the beds of rapids and lakes. And this was a new kind of lake—lakes traversed by rushing currents so powerful that during the zenith of their existence no ordinary boats could live in them. One of these terrific lakes tore out a 60-foot steel girder from a railway bridge at Delaware, O., carried it downstream a quarter of a mile, and left it on a hillside.

In peace-time a great many railroads try to serve this alluvial country. The experience of the Pennsylvania, here cited, is not unusual. It is typical of every railroad in a big flood fight. In 1913, its lines in Ohio and Indiana were literally



II. WHAT THE RIVER DOES TO THE RAILROADS

AFTER THE FLOOD INVASION. BREAKS SHOW WHERE THE TRACK WAS PUT ENTIRELY OUT OF COMMISSION. ALLIES COMMUNICATIONS DESTROYED MARCH 28, 1913

shot to pieces. Seventy-four steel bridges were either entirely destroyed or made unsafe for the passage of trains. Tracks and embankments were wiped out, passenger and freight trains marooned, and the telegraph and telephone systems put out of commission. And at the same time, automatically, about a million and a half human souls became dependent upon what was left of the railroad to bring them the help they needed.

So the railroad went to work and organized a general staff in Pittsburgh. There were no eight-hour days after that, no coming home in the evening, no meals with the family. A railroad army of 61,000 men was washed back on to its haunches, its companies and regiments isolated. But that army took the field just the same, and fought just as pluckily and, at the height of the flood, against just as heavy odds as any of the troops now engaged in Flanders or Poland.

Talk to the men who were in that fight if you think this statement is an exaggeration. The enemy in this case was a natural force instead of a body of armed men. But no fanatical corps of French or English or Germans could have fought so relentlessly, inscrutably, mercilessly. The flood's object is plain destruction, blind fury exerted against animate or inanimate objects. Like a living, hating creature it charges everything in its path, sullen, implacable, irresistible.

For the first thirty-six hours every man in the railroad and the citizen armies, fighting tireless waters in Ohio and Indiana, was on constant duty. After that they averaged about eighteen hours a day individually until the danger was over.

Down the Mississippi Delta, from Cape Girardeau to New Orleans, the first-line flood-fighting is organized by levee districts. There are twenty-two of them in that territory and altogether their defenders hold 1,493.3 miles of levees on both sides of the river, protecting 26,569 square miles of the richest land on the continent. Very frequently the defense is directed by the levee boards which tax their local districts for the maintenance of its protection and employ resident engineers to keep up the works in times of peace and to direct the fight against the river when it comes swirling down the valley.

The Delta archives make a great epic of these fights. We shall have a lot to say later on about these and other phases of the levee boards' activities. Most of them have traditions reaching back over many campaigns. Our friend A—— and his

fellow Helenes had five and a half miles of Arkansan front to hold, and with true Greek spirit they held it—held it like a Thermopylæ some of the time with the water higher than the levees. But the river, balked by their sand bags, broke through a few miles below and nearly wiped out the boom town of Elaine, which had only two years before been patiently created by citizens of Helena out of the wilderness made by former floods.

Across the river old Major D——, the veteran of many a long river fight, commands nearly a hundred miles of the best levees in the valley. Riding along them in peace-time they look like the fortifications of Verdun, so broad and massive they are. When high water comes down the river the thousands of taxpayers in the Yazoo Basin, who have been growling against the Major's tribute money, rise up and call him blessed. For those ramparts, which have set a standard in levee construction, have resisted every attack of the Mississippi's record invasions. The Major divided his ninety-eight and a half miles of fortified front into ten divisions, assigning to each a reliable citizen high-water fighter. As chief of staff he remained constantly in the Levee Board office at Clarksdale, and during the ten days of active fighting was never once out of the sound of a telephone night or day, except for the few minutes spent in walking between his office and his lodgings.

"I believe," he wrote afterward in his report, "that no general ever fought a battle with a more faithful and reliable army than was under command of the chief engineer in this high-water fight."

The tops of Major D——'s standard defenses cleared every assault by more than two feet. But the enemy dug for him, as troops do in siege operations. The river attacks in force straight ahead at the breastworks in charge after charge. But it also attacks its enemies' positions by mining under them. The former attack is the straight rise of the river, and so terrifying and irresistible does the assault become to the defender that men have sometimes crossed the river and cut the opposite levees, upstream from their own positions, so as to divert the enemy's attack.

Against such human allies of the river the men who are working to save their own dykes keep armed sentinels patroling them, with orders to shoot any one approaching the levees at night from the river side unless they can satisfactorily account for themselves.

But the most dreaded attack is the unseen underground work of flood water. As the stream rises, its lateral pressure against its retaining banks increases enormously. Subjected to this pressure even the standard levee reveals imperfections. Water seeps into gopher holes, along the roots of rotting, hidden tree stumps, or insinuates by the weak foundations of bad levee construction.

First evidences of this unseen attack occur in sloughing banks of levees on their reverse, inland slope, or in what are called "sand-boils." In the latter case river water under high pressure filters through strata under the levee foundation and, seeking to find its own level again inside the dyke, breaks through the surface at first like a small, clear spring. Sometimes these dreaded springs arise as far as a quarter of a mile inland from the levee, but generally within a hundred yards of the embankment. Both of these insidious attacks are countered in the same way by the defenders. Heavy bags of soil are piled on top of the sloughing area or banked up around the edges of the "sand-boil." When this action is taken promptly and sufficient weight can be brought to bear to equalize the river's pressure, the enemy is balked. But unless the defenders are prompt when untiring muddy water begins to appear in a "sand-boil," or wet dirt slides down from the crest of the levee into the sloughed area below it—then, suddenly, the river comes through.

That moment is a dramatic one in these stubborn battles. The break, in river parlance, is called a "crevasse" and the story of the crevasses of the Mississippi make up the story of the unending war. A big crevasse is one of the impressive things in Nature. How impressive it is may be realized from this careful statement: With the exception of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, Niagara Falls is the most impressive thing in American landscape: Just

double the amount of water that goes over the Falls at Niagara, per minute or hour, roared through the famous Nita Crevasse. At Beulah, Mississippi, water topped the sand-bags on April 17, 1912, and within two hours the crevasse was 3,000 feet wide and a new-born river, deep enough to float seagoing steamers, was flowing through it.

Nothing can be more appalling than great bodies of water in motion. Those who have seen towering seas loom high over the decks of a floundering steamer in mid-ocean, those who have watched from below a whole green river come toppling over the Canadian Falls, may know how these dwellers by the river feel when, over the tops of their last sand-bags, they watch the yellow Mississippi still rising or, miles away inland, hear the ominous roar of a big crevasse.

INDEMNITIES PAID TO THE RIVER

Governor Cox of Ohio estimated that the population affected by the 1913 flood in Ohio alone numbered 1,250,000 souls and that the direct money loss was about $300,000,000. The United States Weather Bureau estimates that the total loss caused by the flood of 1912 from St. Louis to New Orleans exceeded $78,000,000, and this is irrespective of the losses sustained that year by the railroads outside the Mississippi Valley, which were nevertheless directly affected by its floods.

Damages capable of being estimated in dollars and cents vary in detail a good deal in the different big flood years, but they do not vary much in degree. It is well within the ascertainable and proven records to say that the money lost as a result of floods on the Mississippi and its main tributaries would have built two Panama Canals, and half of the loss might have made further disastrous floods by this time, if not impossible, at least improbable. This is a broad and an emphatic statement, but it will be the effort of this series of articles to support it.

The kind of damages that cannot well be assessed lies in the effect of recurrent disasters upon the population of these rich, alluvial valleys. They lie in small investments annihilated; in the discouragement of men who, having struggled to get a home and a living for themselves and their families, see all that they have so patiently accomplished swept away. The river not only saps the levees, it saps the strength, the energy, and the ambition, of those who live behind them.

PRZEMYSL AND THE MAZURIAN LAKES

THE EBB AND FLOW OF THE RUSSIAN TIDE IN POLAND—DISASTER IN THE NORTH AND SUCCESS IN THE SOUTH—THE STRATEGIC VALUE OF GERMAN GAINS IN NORTH POLAND BALANCED AGAINST RUSSIAN ADVANTAGES GAINED AGAINST AUSTRIA

POLAND is a glorified see-saw. One end extends over the northern swamps and lakes which lie across the East Prussian border. The other end reaches into the passes of the Carpathians. The fulcrum is at Warsaw. Upon this plank balance the best military brains and brawn of three nations.

In studying this eastern theatre of war we cannot rightly value events in the south without reading them by a northern light. Similarly the success or failure of what happens on the Russian-German front must eventually be determined with regard to the situation on the Austrian-Russian front.

Across Poland north and south stretched, on the first of April, three distinct lines, two of them invisible in geography, but all of them vivid in strategy. One line, the easternmost, ran from Danzig, on the Baltic coast of Prussia, to Cracow, in the Moravian Pass of the Carpathian mountains. It was the line of Russian desire. The central line extended unevenly from Memel

THE EASTERN THEATRE OF WAR—FEBRUARY 1ST

AT THIS TIME THE RUSSIAN ARMIES ADVANCING FROM KOVNO AND BIELOSTOCK HAD REACHED THE LINE OF THE INSTER RIVER AND THE MAIN DEFENSES OF THE MAZURIAN LAKES CENTERING AT THE GERMAN FORTRESS OF LOETZEN. EACH OF THESE ARMIES WAS OPPOSED BY TWO GERMAN ARMY CORPS, WHICH THEY WERE DRIVING BACK. IN THE MEANTIME GENERAL VON HINDENBURG CONCENTRATED THREE ARMY CORPS NEAR INSTERBURG AND THREE SOUTHEAST OF ALLENSTEIN, THE CONCENTRATION OF THE LATTER BEING SCREENED BY CAVALRY DIVISIONS WHICH EXTENDED FROM PLOCK TO JOHANNISBURG. ALONG THE FRONT FROM THE VISTULA RIVER TO THE CARPATHIANS SOUTH OF TARNOW ATTACKS AND COUNTER ATTACKS WERE BEING MADE TO HOLD THE OPPOSING TROOPS IN POSITION. THE AUSTRIANS, AIDED BY THREE GERMAN CORPS, PREPARED TO TAKE THE OFFENSIVE ALL ALONG THE LINE. THE RUSSIANS HAD SUCCEEDED IN PUSHING THROUGH BUKOWINA, NEAR THE ROUMANIAN FRONTIER, AND HAD REACHED THE PASSES LEADING INTO HUNGARY IN THAT REGION

and Tilsit, on the Baltic, to Tarnow, in Galicia, 80 miles west of Przemysl. There was a big bulge in the north where the Germans had pushed eastward round Ossowiec, a corresponding concavity westward, where they were held near Lodz and Lowicz, west of Warsaw, and a long curve thence southeastward again into the Carpathians. This was an actual line drawn with intrenching tools by blood and sweat and gunpowder. Its waverings came from the unequal pressure upon it of armies balanced against one another.

Beyond the easternmost border of East Prussia the third line reached south through Bielostock, and Brest-Litovsk into Bukowina. This was the line of German desire.

The Germans were trying to straighten their actual line into the direction of that desired by taking Bielostock and thus, by

FEBRUARY 4TH

I FEBRUARY 4TH THE GERMANS TOOK THE OFFENSIVE IN EAST PRUSSIA. THEY SENT CAVALRY AROUND SSIAN KOVNO ARMY'S RIGHT FLANK WHICH BLEW UP THE MAIN RAILROAD BRIDGE AT WILWISZKI AND AT ME TIME VIGOROUSLY ATTACKED THIS KOVNO ARMY IN FRONT AND ON BOTH FLANKS. THESE OPERATIONS) THE RUSSIANS TO RETREAT. THE RUSSIAN ARMY, ADVANCING AGAINST THE MAZURIAN LAKES, AND AT IME MIXED UP IN THIS INTRICATE AREA, WAS ATTACKED BY THE GERMANS FROM THE INSTERBURG CON-ATION ON ITS RIGHT FLANK, FROM JOHANNISBURG ON ITS LEFT FLANK, AND BY THE MAZURIAN LAKE GER-UMY CORPS ON ITS FRONT. AFTER A NINE-DAY BATTLE THIS ARMY (THE RUSSIAN TENTH) WAS PRACTICALLY YED AS A MILITARY BODY. THE AUSTRIANS ATTACKED ALL ALONG THE LINE, WHILE IN BUKOWINA THE NS WERE DRIVEN BACK TO CZERNOWITZ AND ACROSS THE PRUTH RIVER. THIS MOVEMENT HAD SCREENED E ASSEMBLED NEAR SZIGET, WHICH NOW TOOK UP THE ADVANCE ACROSS THE CARPATHIANS TOWARD LAU AND HALISZ WITH THE OBJECT OF ENVELOPING THE RUSSIANS' LEFT WING AND CAPTURING LEMBERG

ening their communications, compel rement by the Russians occupying aw. They had partially succeeded in bjective and were besieging Ossowiec. Russians, trying to straighten their westward, had succeeded in taking ysl. Thus Germany's success in orth was balanced against Russian s against Austria in the south.

The city of Przemysl is built on both banks of the San River, which is a swift-flowing stream forded with difficulty at that point. Like Liège, it straggles over several low hills which were crowned with cupola forts similar to those in Belgium but which were more useful, in this instance, because of the inability of the Russians in the early part of the siege to bring

sufficiently heavy ordnance against them. Its strength was very much increased by the construction around it of an intricate and well-built line of trench defenses, making it at once an entrenched camp and a fortress. Its fall was probably eventually due to the coöperation of American-made ordnance with starvation.

The siege of Przemysl was remarkable in several respects. It was the longest in modern times; longer than Ladysmith, Port Arthur, Adrianople, or Tsingtau. It was characterized by extraordinary activity on the part of the garrison, whose sorties materially handicapped, and always threatened, Russian offensive moves into the Dukla and Uzsok passes. During the siege, communication with the outside world was almost continuously maintained by wireless and occasionally by aeroplanes, which for the first time in warfare carried an appreciable amount of medical supplies to the relief of the garrison.

Through its long seven-months' investment, when the rest of Christendom outside of Austria and Russia was struggling almost daily with the pronunciation of its name, Przemysl (*Shem-e-zel*) was relieved for three weeks by the withdrawal of Russian troops necessary to oppose the German drive on Warsaw in January. It was almost immediately surrounded again. During the last months of the siege the Russians were able to bring much heavier ordnance to bear against fortifications which had repulsed all previous attacks. Some of the material is believed to have been made in Pennsylvania and transported across the Pacific and by way of the Trans-Siberian Railroad into Galicia. With their outer works thus carried, a starving garrison could not continue longer to hold a doomed city.

Various estimates have been made of the strength of the Przemysl garrison, but upon the most reliable data it seems that although the Austrians were reported to have more than one hundred thousand men there were never, exclusive of its civil population, more than 85,000 armed defenders within its fortifications. Of these, not much more than half were left to surrender.

In the early part of the war Przemysl was of great strategic value to the Austrians because of its importance as a railroad centre. Based on this point the Austrian General Staff had been able (as the chart on page 66 shows) to command railroad communications from Russia westward into Galicia toward Cracow and the principal passes through the Carpathians into Hungary and Bohemia. When, therefore, in January the Russians built their new strategic railroad, 60 miles long, connecting Lublin, across the San River, with the main railroad into Cracow at a point near Sandomierz, on the Vistula, they deprived Przemysl of its importance as a bar to Russian railroad communications toward the west.

Since January, then, shorn of its railroad value, this Austrian fortress continued to be a bar to further Russian progress in this territory chiefly because it prevented a thorough-going Russian drive across the Carpathian passes in the direction of Budapest. Five lines of railroad run from the Hungarian capital west and northwest through the Carpathians into Galicia. Striking at right angles the railroad communications now controlled by Russia which parallel the great mountain mass in a curve around it through Przemysl toward Cracow, these lines of attack are mutually supporting and severally and collectively threaten Russia's long left flank.

Just so long as Austria had in Przemysl approximately 85,000 men with which to threaten Russian operations into the mountains south of them, that phase of Russian strategy was materially handicapped. This handicap has now been removed. What, then, is the resulting situation so far as Russia is concerned?

There was a popular impression that the fall of Przemysl would be followed by a Russian advance on Cracow.

For the Grand Duke Nicholas to drive his army corps in great numbers on to Cracow would be to drive them into a funnel just so long as the Germans hold the line from Lodz southward and their Austrian allies retain their flanking eastward positions in the Carpathians. A similar drive forward with flanks exposed in the north pushed two great Russian

armies into the Mazurian Lake region to their complete defeat; in fact, the successful repetition of this manœuvre has become a specialty of Von Hindenburg's.

In no case during the present war have those who are directing the movements of the Russian army shown the military intelligence of their opponents. Wherever it has been merely a question of frontal or siege operations, the Russian has shown himself fully the equal in this war, as in other wars, of anything that can be brought against him. He can take punishment or inflict it with any one. But neither individually nor in masses is he resourceful. In the carrying out of elaborate strategical operations requiring a very high degree of coöperation and military intelligence the various arms constituting Russian corps become mixed up or are easily thrown into confusion by the superior alertness, mobility, and quick decision of their opponents. This inequality is further emphasized by the greater rail power which both Germany and Austria possess up to the edge of their own borders.

Now if in the operations proceeding in southern Poland the Russians become thoroughly involved before Cracow with the object of striking through that fortress into the Moravian Pass, Germans from the north and Austrians from the south will have their most magnificent opportunity of the entire war to achieve a decisive victory. Cracow is one of the three strongest citadels in Europe. It will be impossible for the investing armies to surround it for many months to come. With avenues of supply open to the rear, and with Austria on the Carpathian flank, it could hold out perhaps indefinitely.

No one ought to know this better than the Russians themselves; therefore, their more probable scheme of campaign is to concentrate against the Austrians' right flank and, by making a determined and uniform drive through the Dukla, Uzsok, and Kaphau passes, advance their own front westward until it forms a vertical line with their present positions along the Vistula beyond Warsaw. After that is done, with the possibility of being taken in the flank and rear almost negligible, they can then proceed with a deliberate attack upon the whole region surrounding Cracow. They will then have achieved the line for which their grand strategy is striving as a condition precedent to an invasion of Germany and Austria.

Even in this plan Russian generals will encounter very difficult situations by reason of the thorough rail communications at the disposal of Austrian armies operating against them, and they must be continually on their guard, in launching offensive movements through the Hungarian passes, against the possibility of being engaged on both flanks as well as in front.

All the operations in the Austrian theatre of war thus far have merely resulted in forcing the defenders back upon their main lines. With Vienna and the territory immediately around it regarded as a kind of medieval keep, mountain-rimmed Hungary forms really the outermost battlements surrounding this inner castle. Russia and Austria, therefore, on the first of April were fighting over ground where, from the inception of the war, Austria has always expected to make her determined stand.

It must not be supposed that Russian penetration into Hungary necessarily marks a final stage of the war. Undoubtedly it will have a moral and political effect, just as the German sweep into France in August had a marked moral effect upon the French people, and just as Russian penetration of East Prussia had on two separate occasions a political effect in that territory.

But a temporary moral, political, and even economic sacrifice is often the price for crushing and decisive victories. If the Austrian people have the stamina, patriotism, and patience, their generals and those of Germany may yet be able to buy for them such another victory.

The chart on page 65 has been used primarily to show the railroads in the region affected. By reason of these railroads the Germanic Allies have enjoyed and still enjoy a rare advantage in military strategy. They have in the first place the advantage of *speed* which enables them to transport troops from one point to another faster than their opponents. Steam power enables them to cover the arc of a circle faster than their opponents can cover its

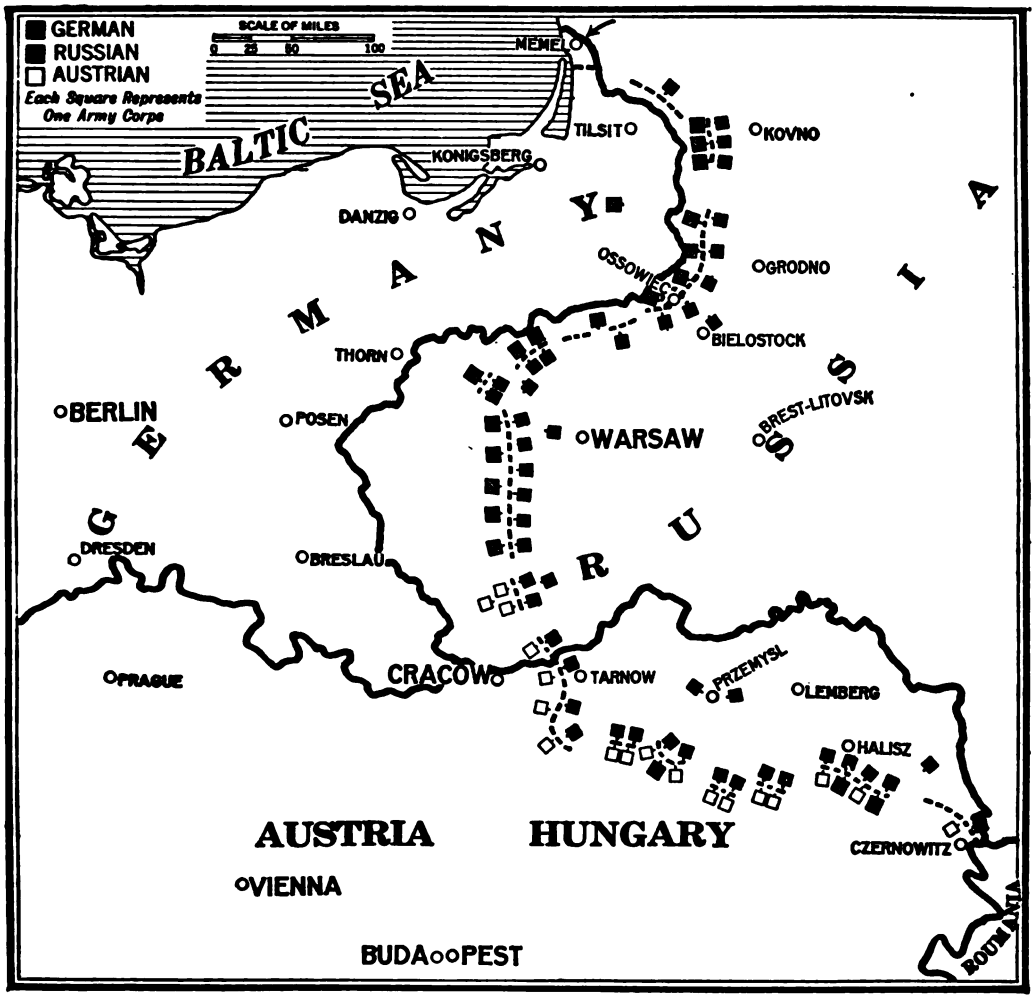
THE HIGH-WATER MARK OF THE GERMAN-AUSTRIAN ATTACKS — FEBRUARY 26TH

AFTER THE COMPLETE DEFEAT OF THE RUSSIAN TENTH ARMY THE GERMANS PURSUED ITS REMNANTS TO THE BANKS OF THE NIEMEN RIVER OPPOSITE THE RUSSIAN FORTRESSES OF KOVNO AND GRODNO. BETWEEN THESE PLACES THEY PUSHED TROOPS ACROSS IN AN ATTEMPT TO DAMAGE THE PETROGRAD-WARSAW RAILWAY. AT OSSOWIEC, A STRONG RUSSIAN FORTRESS DEFENDING THE RAILROAD TO BIELOSTOCK, THE GERMAN ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE, THEY WERE STOPPED ON THE BANKS OF THE BOBR RIVER. THE GERMANS BROUGHT UP THEIR SIEGE ARTILLERY AND INVESTED THE STRONGHOLD. IN THE AREA NORTH OF NOVO GEORGIEVSK THE GERMANS MADE A DETERMINED ADVANCE ON PRACENZY AND FROM PLOCK IN THE DIRECTION OF PLONSK, WITH THE OBJECT OF HEMMING IN THE RUSSIAN ARMY IN THAT LOCALITY. THE RUSSIANS REPULSED THEIR ATTACKS. FROM THE VISTULA TO THE WESTERN CARPATHIANS THE LINES HELD THEIR GROUND, WHILE NORTH OF STANISLAU THE AUSTRIANS MADE A DETERMINED ATTEMPT TO CROSS THE DNEISTER RIVER NEAR HALISZ. THE RUSSIANS, BY QUICKLY BRINGING UP RESERVES, STOPPED THEM. THE AUSTRIANS THEN PUT ON MORE PRESSURE IN THE PASSES OF THE CARPATHIANS SOUTH OF THEIR BESIEGED FORTRESS OF PRZEMYSL, WHERE THEY MADE A LITTLE PROGRESS

diameter. The superiority which generally is the property of what are called "interior lines" is, in this instance, actually coupled with the secondary advantage of envelopment. For the first time in any considerable war, this double advantage is brought into play by the same side.

Superior rail power was one of the chief ingredients in General von Hindenburg's victories in Northern Poland and East Prussia which, up to the end of March, more than balanced the Russian advance in Galicia which we have analyzed in the preceding pages.

Bielostock, which is only about sixty miles from the East Prussian frontier and connected with it through Lyck by railroad, has always been a place regarded with



MARCH 20TH

FOR THREE WEEKS THE GERMANS BESIEGED THE RUSSIAN FORTRESS OF OSSOWIEC, WHICH MADE A DETERMINED DEFENSE. ON THE REDUCTION OF THIS PLACE DEPENDED TO A GREAT EXTENT ANY FURTHER GERMAN OFFENSIVE MOVES. RUSSIAN TROOPS ATTACKED ALL ALONG THE LINE TO COVER THEIR FORTRESSES AND TO COVER A REARRANGEMENT OF THEIR TROOPS, BRINGING UP NEW UNITS TO TAKE THE PLACE OF THOSE DESTROYED IN FEBRUARY. ON MARCH 18TH BY A BOLD RAID THE GERMAN FORTIFIED SEAPORT OF MEMEL WAS OCCUPIED BY THE RUSSIANS. FROM THE VISTULA TO THE EASTERN CARPATHIANS THE LINES HELD THEIR PLACES, WHILE ALONG THE CENTRAL CARPATHIANS THE AUSTRIANS PUSHED HARD TOWARD PRZEMYSL AND GOT WITHIN THIRTY MILES OF THE FORTRESS. IN EASTERN GALICIA BATTLES CONTINUED ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE DNEISTER RIVER. THE AUSTRIANS REMAINED IN OCCUPATION OF CZERNOWITZ

covetous eyes by the Germans because through it runs the main railroad from Petrograd and the north of Russia to Warsaw, while through Brest-Litovsk, seventy miles south and connected with Bielostock by railroad, centre the railroads from Moscow and the great middle part of Russia. If one or both of these places could be seized by the Germans, the Russians west of this line would be completely cut off from supplies. It *seemed quite* evident, then, that if the Germans tried any great offensive move it would have for its main object the seizure of this area of railroad control, that is, around Bielostock. The fall of Bielostock would prove a more disastrous check to Russian strategy than the loss of Przemysl has proved to Austria or Germany.

Appreciating this fact, in January the Russians threw a sharp offensive against East Prussia to cover the threatened region.

The best way to defend a threatened area is not to sit down upon it but to take the offensive in front of it. Moreover, a quick offensive move by Russia into the part of East Prussia opposite Bielostock to defend that area would also, if successful, open up the East Prussian railroads for subsequent Russian use, isolate the great German fortress of Königsberg, and afford an excellent base for further operations to the west in the direction of the lower Vistula River. In brief this move, if successful, would push the German salient back until the Russian line became vertical with Cracow in the south.

Accordingly, the Russians decided to hold firm in their centre on the line west of Warsaw and at the same time attack with two main columns the East Prussian bulge in the German lines. The first column, with the fortress of Kovno as a base, was directed along the railroad in the direction of Gumbinnen. The second, with Bielostock as a base, was thrown toward Lyck and the German fortress of Loetzen in the Mazurian Lake district.

No move of the Russian General Staff in their campaigns up to that time had been so well thought out and so thoroughly planned. All they had to do was to win the fights, and, even if they lost frontal actions, they could retire straight along their communications back toward their own fortresses. Two elements of military strategy combined to defeat this well planned attack. One was the great superiority in German rail power; the other was the characteristic lack of resourcefulness and military intelligence on the part of the Russians when under pressure.

The movements and probable intentions of the two Russian columns as they moved into East Prussia were crystal-clear to the "Old Man of the Lakes," Von Hindenburg, who was kept posted through aërial reconnaissance and the reports of spies. His plans were formed and were put into execution in anticipation of each Russian move. In addition to his regular alignments confronting the Russians advancing from Kovno and Lyck, about two army corps each, he quietly and swiftly assembled another army in the area west of Insterburg. With equal swiftness he concentrated three more army corps in the area southeast of Insterburg. Such swift concentration could not have been achieved without a system of railroads built for this very purpose.

While this intense concentration was going on, the German regular line of troops defending the area of Insterburg against the Kovno attack themselves acted as a screening force for the new army assembling against the flank of the Russians coming from Lyck. The other army corps, taken from the Polish front along the Rivers Bzura and Rawka and from Thorn, were screened by a wonderfully efficient cavalry deployment maintained from the Vistula River near Plock clear across to Mlawa and thence right up to actual contact with the Russian Tenth Army's left wing in the vicinity of Johannisburg.

While the Russians were doing their diameter, the Germans with greater speed were reaching the same destinations over their longer arc. Against the head of each advancing Russian column a stubborn resistance was put up by inferior German numbers driven back in frontal attacks by the Russians day after day. Finally on February 1st the Kovno column had reached the German intrenchments along the Inster River, while the Tenth Army had struck into the Mazurian Lakedistrict and reached the German fortress of Loetzen strictly according to pre-arrangement.

But they had not foreseen the possibilities of swift German concentration and apparently their aërial scouts had not kept them advised.

The time was now ripe for the German counterstroke. Von Hindenburg, bringing up heavy reinforcement from as far away as the western battlefront of France, launched a determined counter attack against a Russian advance from Kovno greatly extended and exhausted by the rapidity of their incessant fighting and marching. At the same time a brilliant cavalry manœuvre reached the flanks of this army and succeeded in blowing up a bridge directly in their rear, forcing their precipitate retreat.

While this was going on, the three army corps concentrated at Insterburg moved

with incredible speed through Goldap and, overriding a feeble resistance, got clean into Lyck, thereby completely enveloping the Russian Tenth Army's right flank. Simultaneously from the direction of Johannisburg two fresh army corps, miraculously appearing, attacked this bewildered army's left flank. Warned of these moves, after they were under way, by their aviators, the Russian staff showed a complete inability either to meet them or to extricate their army.

The result was that the entire Tenth Army was caught as though in a gigantic pair of pincers, the centre of which was at Loetzen and the blades at Goldap and Johannisburg.

In this brilliant victory five army corps in the Russian Tenth Army were completely destroyed, 140,000 prisoners having been taken according to the German official reports. As a matter of strategy and tactics, it was the most brilliant performance of the war up to that time. This, with a similar previous occurrence in that region, discouraged the Russian offensive against East Prussia and allowed the actual German line for a time to reach very nearly up to the line of their military ambition in the northeast.

THE WAR OF THE DESERTS AND THE SNOWS

THE NEAR-EASTERN THEATRE OF WAR, CAMPAIGNS IN THE CAUCASUS, IN ARABIA AND AROUND THE DARDANELLES—A SERIES OF OPERATIONS IN WHICH THE TURKS HOLD THE INTERIOR LINES AND WITH THEIR CAPITAL PROTECTED BY GREAT NATURAL OBSTACLES ARE THEMSELVES COMPELLED TO FIGHT AGAINST GREATER NATURAL OBSTACLES

IN DECEMBER, one of the cartoons which have given to this tragic war an occasionally humorous touch appeared in a New York paper. It represented a turkey whose head, crowned with a dilapidated fez, was laid across a block, swinging in one of its wings a large axe down upon its own outstretched neck. The human face of the sacrificial bird bore a resigned and dedicated expression. "Here goes," ran the legend underneath the cartoon.

This cartoon, humorous or sad as one chooses to regard it, represents the popular idea about Turkey's entrance into the present war. One hears expressions of pity on every hand, varied with a sterner comment which admits that the Sultan's waning empire is now about to receive the quietus which it has so long deserved. But as a matter of fact a great deal of pity has been ill-spent in the direction of Turkey.

On October 29th the Ottoman Government finally made up its mind to take the plunge which Germany and Austria had arranged for and which nearly every one else knew was bound to come. The Turks ranged themselves in the lists with the Teutonic allies in the belief that they had more to gain by siding with the Austro-German cause than with the Entente.

In making this decision the Turks could not hope to get direct results from their military operations to pay for the costs and risks of war. Yet they realized that the risks of peace were not much less than the risks of war, for the British alliance with Russia was a clear indication that England would no longer defend Turkey from Russian aggression. Turkey had to choose between helping Germany and Austria fight Russia now, or meeting Russia alone later. And if, with Ottoman aid, Germany and Austria should win, the Turks might well expect to be recompensed for their efforts with Greek and Servian territory.

With so clear a course defined for the

Ottoman Government, why, then, did they postpone for three months their entrance into the war? Simply because if the original German plan of campaign had succeeded Turkish help would not have been necessary. After the rush to Paris failed the military problem before the Turks was to help Germany and Austria in a long struggle. They had two ways of doing this. The first was for the Sultan, as the head of the Mohammedan religion, to declare a Holy War and cause as much disaffection as possible among the Mohammedan subjects and soldiers of the Allies.

MOHAMMEDAN RESOURCES OF THE ALLIES

With a population of 45 million England can keep up a large navy, maintain her necessary industries, and draft upward of a million men in the field with two thirds that number on the continent of Europe, provided they are not diverted to some other place. Besides these troops, a small contingent of white colonial troops may be furnished, but in a long war these sources would be drained dry since the largest colonies, Canada and Australia, have populations of only 7,900,000 and 4,800,000 respectively.

Several thousand miles away, in the Empire of India, there is a population of 300 million souls inhabiting British dominions. A large proportion of this enormous census provides good material from which to make soldiers, and the best of the military material are of the Mohammedan religion. Trouble among the Mohammedans in India, either active or potential, would cause grave apprehension in Great Britain and render the raising of additional military units in that part of the British Dominions more than doubtful. Presumably, therefore, this source for great armies to be used in European fighting might be affected by the action of Turkey,the leading Mohammedan Power of the world.

With a thorough conception of this menace the British Government promptly counter-checked it in Egypt. While the Sultan of Egypt was lending a sympathetic ear to the "jehad" (Holy War) propaganda in Constantinople, Prince Hussein Kamel Pasha was forthwith created Sultan in his place at Cairo and a dissenting sect of Mohammedans in Egypt was encouraged to transfer to him the powers and prerogatives of "Padishah" or Caliph, who, as direct descendant of the Prophet, is spiritual head of the Moslem world.

France similarly has a Mohammedan dependence. With a decreasing birth rate and some of her 39 millions of home population atrophied by German occupation of the north of France, the Government cannot make up the deficiencies which may be expected from offensive warfare except from some external source. Such a source France possesses in her African colonies, with a total of 9 million potential soldiers. These African dependents, who proved their tactical value in the war of 1870, are now being leaned upon heavily by the French Government in the present struggle of nations.

Again, as in the case of India, we find that practically the whole population of France's African colonies, Algeria and Tunisia, is of the Mohammedan religion. It was presumable in November, and is possible to-day, that success by the first Mohammedan Power and encouragement from it would result in serious embarrassment for the French.

So, without firing a shot in British India or in French Africa, the mere influence of Turkey exerted on the side of the Teutonic Allies might withhold thousands of recruits from the banners of France and England flying in the European theatre of war.

THE HELPFULNESS OF DIVERSION

Besides causing disaffection in the ranks of the enemy the Turkish armies could help Germany by diverting parts of the Allies' forces against themselves.

They accordingly launched a campaign against the Russian Caucasus, the only Russian territory they could reach, another against Egypt, the only English territory they could reach, and prepared to defend themselves against the counter attacks which they knew would follow against the Dardanelles, against the coast towns of Asia Minor, and in the valley of the Euphrates.

In order to understand Turkish-Germanic

strategy some conception of its geographical limitations must first be realized. Turkey could send no troops across the Ægean, the Mediterranean, or the Indian Ocean, for they were closed by Franco-British control of the seas. In one respect only did sea-territory remain neutral and that was over the inland ocean of the Black Sea.

BLACK-SEA POWER

In the Black Sea, since the German cruisers *Goeben* and *Breslau* had reached the Bosphorus, there seemed a fair chance for the Ottoman army and navy to gain control of this landlocked ocean and thus impair the usefulness of the Russian Black Sea fleet. By such control Russian offensive movement against the Turkish Black Sea coast would be crippled, if not rendered impossible.

Just so long as the reinforced Ottoman fleet remained a possible offensive element in the Near Eastern theatre, Russia could not take the risk of transporting troops across the Black Sea. They, therefore, could not invade European Turkey except by crossing Roumanian and Bulgarian territory. The distance and lack of communications from the Caucasus to the Bosphorus render an advance across Anatolia a practical impossibility against any show of resistance at all.

By a shot fired from a Turkish cruiser against the Russian Black-Sea port of Odessa, the Ottoman Government opened hostilities in the Caucasian theatre of war. This seeming incongruity may be thus explained.

For the Ottoman army corps, operating on this front, the principal base is the fortified city of Erzerum, 6,000 feet above sea level, about seventy-five miles from the frontier and one hundred miles south from the Black Sea. Erzerum has no railroad communications with European Turkey and the nearest railroad point in Asiatic-Turkey was 350 miles away at Jerablus, west of Alexandretta Bay on the Mediterranean. On the basis of highway communications, however, it is a great road centre and has for many Turkish generations been a strong military post.

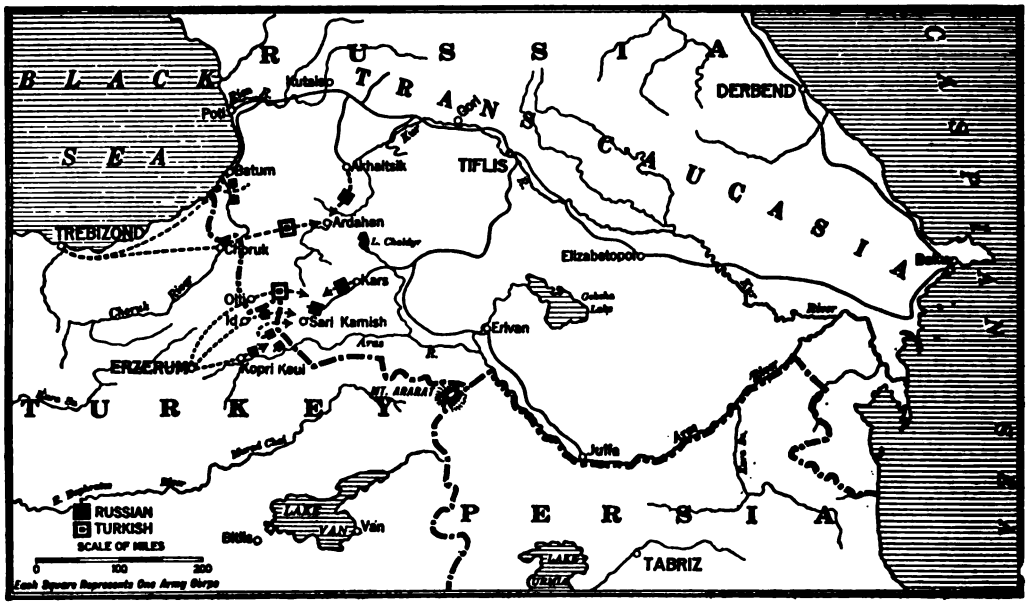
To supply troops operating from this base all material, except a certain small amount of food and clothing which could be obtained locally, had to be transported via the Black Sea and thence overland to Erzerum, where a great magazine for all kinds of supplies is established. For the unloading of these great quantities of supplies, enough for four army corps, or about 200,000 men, the Black Sea port of Trebizond was principally used, although the subsidiary ports of Atina and Khopa were used for Turkish forces near the seacoast.

Such an obvious and important line of communication became an object of concern both to Turkey and to Russia. In these waters Russia maintains a few light cruisers, torpedo craft, and four battleships of the pre-dreadnaught type, all based on Sebastopol. The four battleships have a total gunpower of sixteen 12-inch guns, but it is doubtful if any of them can get greater speed than sixteen knots out of their boilers. The battle cruiser *Goeben* is armed with ten 11.2-inch guns of the most modern type and has the enormous advantage in speed over the Russian ships of twelve knots an hour. The light cruiser *Breslau*, acquired from Germany at the same time as the *Goeben*, has an equal speed of twenty-eight knots but mounts guns of a smaller calibre.

Consequently the curious situation presents itself of the Russian fleet not daring to go far away from their base at Sebastopol and venturing forth only in fleet formation with all four battleships together. They have been unable or unwilling to send their light cruisers on independent expeditions to various parts of the Black Sea because of imminent danger of their destruction by their swift opponents. By reason of this phase of sea power, the Turks succeeded in keeping their Black Sea lane open sufficiently to supply their forces in the Caucasian area for about two months.

THE CAUCASUS

In the Black Sea, as we have seen, the Russians up to April first had been beaten by speed, a comparatively bloodless defeat. They have not been able to use the Black Sea as a line of communications but have relied upon their railroad from Rostov and central Russia, which runs to the shores of



THE CAMPAIGN IN THE CAUCASUS

DURING OCTOBER THE TURKS HAD ASSEMBLED THREE ARMY CORPS IN THE VICINITY OF ERZERUM, THEIR FORTIFIED BASE, AND ONE AT TREBIZOND, THEIR FORTIFIED PORT ON THE BLACK SEA. THE RUSSIANS INITIATED MATTERS BY INVADING ARMENIA ON THE ROADS CONNECTING SARIKAMISH, THEIR RAIL HEAD, AND ERZERUM. THE TURKS HELD THEM AT KOPRIKEUI AND DREW THEM ON IN THAT LOCALITY AS FAR AS POSSIBLE. MEANWHILE THREE TURKISH CORPS ADVANCED TOWARD ARDAHAN AND THE RAILROAD NORTH OF SARIKAMISH. ON A SMALL SCALE THE MOVEMENT WAS VERY SIMILAR TO THE GERMAN ADVANCE INTO FRANCE IN AUGUST. THE TERRIBLE CONDITIONS ENTAILED IN CROSSING THE HIGH MOUNTAINS IN THE WINTER CAUSED THE TURKS TO REACH ARDAHAN, THE RAILROAD, AND SARIKAMISH WITH LESS THAN HALF THEIR ORIGINAL FORCES. THESE PLACES WERE REACHED BETWEEN CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S DAY, AFTER DESTROYING ALL THE RUSSIAN RESISTANCE ENCOUNTERED ON THE WAY. THE RUSSIANS, PARTICULARLY IN THE KOPRIKEUI REGION, WERE IN A DANGEROUS POSITION. BUT BY BRINGING REINFORCEMENTS FROM ALL DIRECTIONS THEY SUCCEEDED IN THROWING BACK THE TURKISH COLUMNS AND CONCENTRATED ON THE DIVISION OF THE TURKISH 9TH CORPS AT SARIKAMISH (THEN ONLY ABOUT 6,000 STRONG) BEFORE THE TURKISH CORPS FROM KOPRIKEUI COULD COME TO ITS ASSISTANCE. THE FORMER WAS ANNIHILATED AND THE RELIEVING CORPS REPULSED. DURING JANUARY THE TURKS FELL BACK SLOWLY AS THEY HAD COME AND IN FEBRUARY STARTED NEW OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS ON THE RUSSIAN SIDE OF THE FRONTIER. EAST OF ERZERUM ALL THE WAY TO TABRIZ, PERSIA, AND NORTH TO THE RUSSIAN BORDER CAVALRY, LIGHT TROOPS, AND CIVILIAN PARTISANS ARE WORKING THEIR WAY NORTH INTO RUSSIAN TERRITORY, AGAINST SIMILAR DETACHMENTS OF RUSSIANS

the Caspian Sea, skirts it by way of Derbend to avoid the tremendous mountain masses of the Caucasus range, until at Baku it strikes a low pass across the mountains and comes down to the Black Sea, 500 miles away, at the fortified port of Poti. It is around the city of Baku that the great oil region of the Caucasus lies, which has been so largely developed in recent years. It is a region as rich as the Mexican fields, wells sprouting everywhere, some of them being sunk out from the shore in the Caspian itself. Fifty miles south of Poti, on the Black Sea and connected with it by railroad, lies the important fortified port of Batum, through which Russia in time of peace has made her great exports of petroleum to the western markets.

The Russian forces in the Caucasus have their principal base at Tiflis, 300 miles by rail from the Caspian and 200 miles from the Black Sea. From Tiflis the Russians can advance by rail 150 miles southwest to the fortified mountain city of Kars, about 65 miles from the Turkish frontier and directly opposite Erzerum, the corresponding advanced base of the Ottoman army in the Caucasus.

The Russian-Turkish frontier is exceedingly mountainous. Some of the peaks in the region which the troops were fighting over are from twelve to fifteen thousand feet high. These mountains, however, running at right angles to the boundary, afford many avenues of communications through them. Although these passes are

igh in places, they do not begin to ıte the obstacles to military move- om north to south which the Cau- ınge does in throwing an almost im- ble military wall from east to west the isthmus.

object of Ottoman strategy in this y was to threaten or seize the ex- ' rich oil deposits near Baku, and e excellent agricultural lands of the Caucasus with the valuable mines se mountains. In addition, the ıs might be ousted from northern where they maintained garrisons r sphere of influence.

he other hand, the Russians, busily d in Poland and Galicia, could not) accomplish much in this field be- eeping the Turks off Russian terri- d maintaining their own position in n Persia. In their strategic plans, h they realized the importance of ; Turkey clear of this region, they : expect that the Turks would at- a serious offensive campaign in through the almost impassable ıin defiles.

rtheless, this is exactly what the did attempt. With extraordinary le, they forced their way 8,000 feet ea level and deep in snow, smashing ısian forces in inferior numbers as ent until, by the New Year, three ı columns had reached Ardahan : railroad between Begli-Ahmed and nish. In this terrible march ı the mountains the Ottoman con- reached the places mentioned with / one third the full strength of their y organization and only a fraction ir artillery. Their transport, as be supposed, had succumbed to ficulties they encountered but the s, favored by the Mohammedan tion of the Caucasus, subsisted very upon the country through which ere operating.

anuary 3d the Russians stopped the ı column at Ardahan, forcing them back precipitately. At about the ime the Turkish corps which tem- / held the railroad north of Sari- was forced back by superior rs, leaving the remnant of the Ninth Corps, fighting at Sarikamish, isolated. This corps, with only about 6,000 men available at that time, while engaged in front were set upon by the Russians, moving back on their communications from across the Turkish frontier, and destroyed. This was the occurrence, greatly magnified and distorted in press dispatches from Petrograd in January, which led to the belief that Turkish operations in the Caucasian theatre of war had been an entire failure.

The Turkish move into the Caucasus was essentially a German conception, corresponding, in fact, to the first German movement into France. It was designed to hold the Russians in one place, then to surround them and cut their communications. It came very near succeeding completely and did not succeed largely because of the terrible weather conditions prevailing. The net result has been that about an equal amount of damage was sustained by each side, the fighting continuing into April mostly on Russian soil. Four Russian army corps and their auxiliaries, about 200,000 men, have been diverted away from the principal theatre of war in Europe, and an additional strain has been imposed on Russian arsenals and provision bases adequately to supply this force with the material which is sorely needed in Poland. In the Caucasus, therefore, the Turks have achieved one of the two main purposes for which they entered the war.

OPERATIONS AROUND THE SUEZ CANAL

Simultaneously with the advance into the Caucasus the Turks began their forward movement toward Egypt and the Suez Canal. The border of Egypt is about a hundred and twenty miles east of the Canal, and strikes the Mediterranean a few miles east of the town of El Arish, thence running in a straight line south by east to Akaba, at the head of the gulf of the same name, which is a branch of the Red Sea. The Egyptian border is sixty-five miles from the nearest railroad point on the Damascus-Mecca Railroad, all the area between this railroad and the Suez Canal being a sandy desert, with watering places few and far between.

THE TURKS' MOVE AGAINST SUEZ

THE TURKS LAUNCHED ATTACKS AT EL KANTARA, ISMALIA, AND SUEZ TO COVER THE MAIN ATTACK BETWEEN TOUSSOUM AND SERAPEUM. THEY GOT MEN ACROSS TO THE WESTERN BANK OF THE CANAL BUT IN A COUPLE OF DAYS WERE DRIVEN BACK BY THE TROOPS AND THE FIRE OF BRITISH WARSHIPS. THE CROSSING OF THE DESERT BY THE TURKS WAS A NOTABLE MILITARY ACHIEVEMENT

Not since the time of Napoleon has this desert been crossed by a large military expedition, and the idea of a Turkish move across it was ridiculed in Europe. Nevertheless the Turks did accomplish the difficult feat. They assembled three army corps for the attack on the Canal and Egypt, and a number of extra troops to guard their communications from the Gulf of Alexandretta southward. A hostile force landing from ships at Beirut, Acre, or Jaffa would have been in an excellent position to cut the Turkish line of supply and leave three army corps isolated in the desert.

The Turks advanced in two columns. The main force moved via Jerusalem to El Arish and thence toward El Kantara on the Canal, following the caravan route. The secondary force, consisting largely of irregular cavalry, Bedouins, and tribesmen, moved along the caravan route from Akaba toward Suez.

Along the Canal itself the British, meantime, had concentrated a force of 70,000 men, consisting of 32,000 Australians and New Zealanders, 8,000 British regulars, 10,000 English territorials, and 20,000 Indians. Despite current reports to the contrary, the forces of the native Egyptian army were not used on the Canal itself because their loyalty was doubtful under those circumstances and also because disturbances and insurrection might develop in upper Egypt where the native troops would be urgently needed. During the course of the Ottoman advance from the north the British sent small parties along the caravan routes ahead of them, cutting off the water supply as much as possible by filling the wells and otherwise damaging them. As the Turks approached the Canal itself, larger British forces of more than 5,000 men were sent out. These were forced back and dispersed by the oncoming Mohammedans until by February 1st the Ottoman advance parties had actually reached the Canal itself and driven all the British troops across it to the west bank.

But here the Turks encountered the British main position, a series of field works which had been connected by railroad and reinforced by several warships

in the Canal itself. Having cleared the eastern side of the Canal the Turkish advance guard promptly attempted to cross, using for this purpose floating bridges made out of the empty petrol cans whose contents had been used by the transport on their way across the desert. They also used bridging timber improvised from the beds and bodies of their wagons and a very inadequate equipment of light metal pontoon boats.

With this heterogeneous collection they actually succeeded in reaching the western bank of the Canal at Toussoum but in such small numbers that they were easily driven back again to the eastern side. And here, in the sandy billows of the desert which protect them from the direct fire of the ships in the Canal, they were still maintaining themselves at the beginning of April within a few marches of the waterway.

Further offensive operations against the Suez Canal and Egypt are largely dependent upon the operations which are now taking place against the Dardanelles and Bosphorus.

THE MOUTH OF THE TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES RIVERS

DURING NOVEMBER THE BRITISH LANDED AN INDIAN CONTINGENT AT THE MOUTH OF THE BASRAH FOR THE PURPOSE OF HOLDING THIS IMPORTANT STRATEGICAL AREA AT THE HEAD OF THE PERSIAN GULF AND THE DELTA OF THE GREAT RIVERS. AIDED BY ARMED BOATS ON THE RIVERS THEY ADVANCED TO KURNAH, THE POINT OF CONFLUENCE OF THE TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES RIVERS, AND MADE INCURSIONS INTO PERSIA AS FAR AS AHWAZ. THEY WERE OPPOSED BY TURKISH SECOND-LINE TROOPS. THE FORCES ENGAGED ARE ABOUT 10,000 ON EACH SIDE. THE BRITISH HAVE HELD EL BASRAH FOR MORE THAN THREE MONTHS

Shortly after the opening of the war the British seized the mouth of the Euphrates River with detachments landed from their warships in neighboring waters. This delta, corresponding to that of the lower Mississippi River, forms the great outlet from the fertile country of Mesopotamia and the Bagdad district to the Persian Gulf and the open sea. Strategically it is an important point. It controls the water outlet of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers; it affords an embarkation point for a short water route to India; and it is in an excellent position to control the southern coast of Persia. Its possession by a sea power having colonies anywhere between Turkey and India is of the greatest importance.

Besides the detachments from the fleet the British landed 10,000 Indian troops who forced their way up the valley to Kurnah, a little more than a hundred miles from the mouth of the Basrah (the name given to the united streams of Tigris and Euphrates after their confluence at Kurnah). This advance was greatly aided by armed boats in the river. The British advance was stopped at Kurnah by the Turks in January, since which time they have been trying to hold what they have won.

THE DARDANELLES

On February 19th a great fleet of English and French warships appeared in the Ægean Sea off the mouth of the Dardanelles and began to bombard the Turkish shore batteries covering the entrance to this famous strait. Never in the history of naval warfare has such a mighty fleet been assembled for an attack upon shore positions. Sixty-two English and French ships and one Russian ship have kept up the bombardment almost uninterruptedly whenever the weather has been clear enough for the aërial scouts accurately to direct the fire.

Among the vessels bombarding the Straits appeared the giant British superdreadnaught *Queen Elizabeth*. When no one except the British Admiralty knew that

PLAN OF THE WATER DEFENSE OF THE DARDANELLES

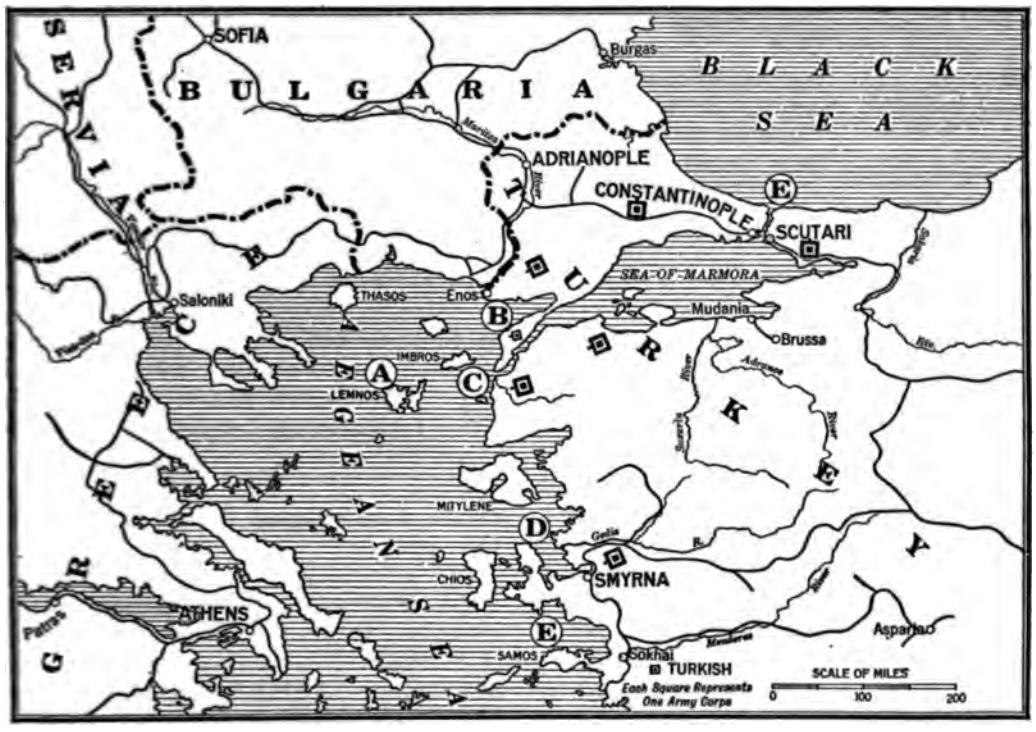
(A,B) POSITIONS OF ALLIED VESSELS WHEN THE FORTS AT THE MOUTH OF THE DARDANELLES WERE PUT OUT OF ACTION. (C) POSITION OF VESSELS USING "INDIRECT FIRE" ACROSS THE GALLIPOLI PENINSULA AT THE TURKISH BATTERIES. (D) MINE FIELD AT THE MOUTH OF THE DARDANELLES CLEARED BY MINE SWEEPERS, WHICH HAVE WORKED UNDER THE COVER OF THE FIRE OF THE BATTLESHIPS AS FAR AS E. (G,G) MINE FIELDS OPPOSITE CHANAK AND NAGARA DIRECTLY PROTECTED BY THE GUNS OF THE SHORE BATTERIES. (H,H,H) HEAVY HOWITZERS MOUNTED ON PORTABLE RAILROADS WHICH BRING A PLUNGING FIRE TO BEAR FROM BEHIND THE HILLS ON SHIPS THAT HAVE ENTERED THE STRAITS. THESE ARE SUPPLEMENTED BY MOTOR GUNS ACTING CLOSER TO THE SHORES. (I) THE OLD BULAIR LINES OF DEFENSE, WHICH REACH COMPLETELY ACROSS THE PENINSULA AND CONSTITUTE A VERY STRONG POSITION FOR DEFENSE AGAINST ANY FORCE COMING FROM OR AROUND THE GULF OF SAROS. (K,L) SHORES ALONG WHICH ADDITIONAL TURKISH BATTERIES ARE BEING PLACED. (M) GALLIPOLI PENINSULA, ON WHICH IS STATIONED ONE TURKISH ARMY CORPS AND AUXILIARIES, ABOUT 50,000 MEN. THE DEFENSES CONSIST OF TRENCHES AND FIELD WORKS PROTECTED BY BARBED WIRE ENTANGLEMENTS, TO RESIST ATTACK FROM LANDING PARTIES. (N) ASIATIC SIDE, WHERE THE DEFENSE IS ORGANIZED IN THE SAME MANNER AS ON THE GALLIPOLI SIDE. THERE IS ALSO ONE TURKISH ARMY CORPS HOLDING THIS SIDE AND TWO MORE IN REACH IF NECESSARY. *PERMANENT TURKISH BATTERIES. ---ALLIED FIRE OF SHIPS. .....TURKISH FIRE FROM SHORE. IN ADDITION, FLOATING MINES THAT DRIFT DOWN WITH THE CURRENT MAY BE LAUNCHED AGAINST THE SHIPPING THAT ENTERS THE STRAITS. THE ISLANDS IN THE SEA OF MARMORA HAVE BEEN FORTIFIED, AND THE TURKISH NAVY IS ALSO CONCENTRATED WITHIN IT

she was even in commission, she steamed quietly up at the head of the column and fired the first salvo of 15-inch guns ever brought into action on shipboard.

The attacking column of ships laid its course from Besika Bay, inside the island of Tenedos, and began the advance on Constantinople by shelling the batteries at Kum Kaleh.

In two days the outermost works on the ends of the Gallipoli and Sigeum promontories were silenced and landing parties were put ashore there. But these parties, as soon as they got beyond the covering fire from the ships, encountered the Turkish army in force and were hastily driven back to their boats. Mine-sweeping operations were then begun, behind which ships entered the Straits and began to bombard the strong batteries on both sides of the Chanak Narrows, about twelve miles from the entrance of the Straits.

For many years it has been held as a military principle that ships operating



THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE OPPOSING FORCES AROUND THE AEGEAN SEA AND BLACK SEA — MARCH 20TH

EACH TURKISH ARMY CORPS WITH ITS AUXILIARIES AMOUNTS TO ABOUT 50,000 MEN. (A) PROBABLE RENDEZVOUS OF THE ALLIED TRANSPORT FLEET CARRYING TROOPS FOR THE LAND CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE TURKS. (B) GULF OF SAROS, FROM WHICH THE ALLIED SHIPS HAVE BOMBARDED THE BULAIR (TURKISH) FORTS. (C) AREA IN WHICH THE ALLIED SHIPS ARE BOMBARDING THE TURKISH FORTS DEFENDING THE DARDANELLES AND FROM WHICH LANDING PARTIES HAVE BEEN PUT ASHORE. THESE SO FAR HAVE BEEN DRIVEN BACK BY THE TURKS. (D) ALLIED WARSHIPS BOMBARDING THE TURKISH PORT OF SMYRNA AND THREATENING A LANDING. (E) BLACK SEA AND POSSIBLE THEATRE FOR RUSSIAN COÖPERATION WITH LANDING FORCES. BULGARIA FROM HER STRATEGICAL LOCATION POSSESSES THE POWER TO EXERT A DECIDED INFLUENCE ON ANY OPERATIONS IN THIS AREA SHOULD SHE DECIDE TO DO SO

against shore batteries armed with equal or slightly inferior ordnance cannot reduce them or hope to operate successfully within range of their guns. So long as the shore guns are able to keep command of the mine fields these also can be maintained in position.

The allied fleet sent against the Dardanelles had bigger guns than the Turkish forts. But, on the other hand, the Straits are long, and were profusely lined with batteries both fixed and mobile, and their waters were dangerously mined, especially by delicately fused contact mines floated down from above on a strong five-knot current. The fleet being thus greatly handicapped in attacking shore positions, the Allies sent an expeditionary force to its aid. This invading army consists of French African troops and marines, British marines, Colonials, and Indians, with a detachment of the Australasian troops from Egypt, the whole force amounting to approximately 100,000 men, under the command of the French general, D'Amade.

Across the narrowest part of the peninsula of Gallipoli the Turks have run very strong intrenchments called the Bulair lines, which protect Constantinople on the south in the same way that the city is guarded on the north by the famous lines of Tchatalja. The Bulair lines have already been attacked by the fire of warships operating in the Gulf of Saros. Except against the fire of modern warships like the *Queen Elizabeth*, these lines have been generally regarded as among the strongest in the world. But their front

is only four miles long and both flanks rest on the sea, the Gulf of Saros and the Marmora. The very shortness of that front, therefore, exposes it to the enfilading fire of ships. To preserve the strength of the lines hostile ships would have to be kept away by howitzer batteries on both extremities.

The quickest way to reduce the strong batteries at Kilid Bahr, on the European side of the Dardanelles, would be to seize the Gallipoli peninsula at or near Bulair and attack these batteries directly in rear. However, with all the time at their disposal to make adequate preparation, the Turks probably put into this peninsula a force of at least one full army corps. An attack on this peninsula by troops landed on it anywhere from the Gulf of Saros would have small chance of success unless the Sea of Marmora were also controlled by the attacking force. This control once established, a force thereafter landed anywhere on the neck of the peninsula could, with its flanking sea power on both sides, isolate the entire peninsula and force its evacuation.

On the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles a barrier of hills and mountains runs close to the seacoast from their mouth to the Gulf of Adramyti on the Ægean, about forty miles distant to the southward. The character of the shores of this deep gulf admit of landings in force at many places. From bases which might be established at such points the distance to be covered by road to the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles is about sixty miles, and over the entire distance an invading army would be exposed to attack in flank and rear by a Turkish army operating in the Bigha peninsula.

To insure success for General D'Amade's army, then, a great superiority of force is necessary, particularly as we must remember that the Turks have, in northern Anatolia, and on the European side of the long approach from Dardanelles to Stamboul, six or possibly seven of their best army corps, which have been hitherto held in reserve for just such a situation as they are now confronting.

One hundred and fifty miles to the south of the Dardanelles the excellent Turkish port of Smyrna has been blockaded and bombarded in a desultory fashion by a British fleet. We must believe that this attack has been in the nature of a demonstration, designed to keep as many Turkish troops as possible away from the Dardanelles, since there are no defenses at Smyrna which could long withstand a determined assault by first class ships. The capture and occupation of the city, furthermore, would not directly threaten the line of communications of the Turkish corps operating against Egypt, as the main railroad lies far inland from this place.

For an army advancing to the conquest of Anatolia (Asia Minor) Smyrna forms the best possible base. Two lines of railroads run from the city into the interior, one of them connecting Smyrna with Constantinople. But the seizure of Smyrna, while it would have immediate economic importance, could have only a very remote military importance toward the reduction of the Dardanelles on the basis of an expeditionary force of only 100,000 men. Three times that number of efficient troops operating from Smyrna might accomplish something in three or four months.

Whatever the outcome of the Ottoman military operations, the Turks have already succeeded in their main purpose of helping Germany and Austria.

Nearly seventy ships and approximately 100,000 men have been diverted from the ring of steel that is pressing on the Teutonic allies. The ships matter comparatively little, for the Allies have plenty of ships, but the Russian army corps in the Caucasus could be profitably used in Bukowina, the English forces in the Persian Gulf and in Egypt, and the allied expeditionary force might well be on the French and Flanders line.

THE BIG SPRING DRIVE

THE middle of the winter Lord Kitchener, when asked to suggest a ate for the ending of the war, said hat the war would begin in May. British officers, while hunting their packs back of the lines, said that ere getting fit for the spring cam- Thomas Atkins, hibernating in acombs he had dug, looked forward it he called "the big drive." In ifferent language and in their differ- y, General Joffre and his Frenchmen d and prophesied in the same vein. lies were waiting for spring.

since the week following the fall werp, through the winter, the lines German army in northern France emained practically in the same where the German engineers then l them. It is a saw-tooth line. We ead from week to week of trenches here and there, sometimes by e, sometimes by the other. If we d up the entire amount of local and counter-attack, the balance whole has been to the advantage Germans. But up to the end of nothing of strategic importance d on the long line from Nieuport Swiss border.

in December, and again in ry and March, the French launched of fighting men against the im- ble front of their adversaries' hments. With equal vigor and the English, particularly in March, d the German positions opposite vn front. So isolated and occasional ese attacks been, however, that it ult to consider them of much import- cept as attempts to distract the Ger- fficiently to keep them from further ing their army corps in Poland.

hrough the winter English, French, , and Indians have dug, dug deep e soil of northern France. Opposite Prussians, Bavarians, and Saxons dug as industriously and more ically. They have dug not one line, upon line, each covering the one in hile the sinews and nerves of rail- roads, bridges, roads, and canals have been thoroughly repaired and greatly extended.

For many years it has been a military axiom that assaults against an intrenched front could not succeed, even with greatly superior numbers on the attacking side. Neither could artillery fire alone drive a resolute defender from an intrenched position. This was true of the shallow trench-fighting in former wars, and is much more true of the far more perfect lines now reaching across northern France.

Up to this time, then, when an army of any considerable size has been conclusively beaten, it has been held in front and then manœuvred into a place where it could no longer defend itself, or its communications have been cut so that it could not be fed. In northern France neither of these operations is possible without piercing the front, because each flank rests on impassable obstacles, the North Sea and the neutral Swiss frontier. Since manœuvres toward the flanks or rear of either side are impossible, the result is plain fortress warfare—two long fortresses facing each other. The Allies can shell the long German fortress from only one side. They cannot surround it. Its lines of communication are open. If the first lines are taken there are miles and miles of country crisscrossed with defensive works to fall back upon. The Allies have had to resort to siege methods, sapping, and mining to gain ground without risking prohibitive losses.

Such methods gain a few hundred yards or so at a time. To gain more ground, as new trenches are encountered, the same thing has to be done over again, relays of grubbing miners and sappers being able to work only a few at a time. To gain 500 or 1,000 yards by this process is feasible; to gain five or ten miles is nearly impossible. The only top-of-the-ground, practical chance that exists is for one side or the other eventually to find an unguarded place through which it may pour in overwhelming force and then keep going. During the long months of winter and early spring the French, with

heavy and tireless blows, have sounded thoroughly every link in their opponents' armor. Everywhere it has rung true.

Meantime they and their Allies are concentrating great numbers of automobile trains in convenient localities to use in hurrying their forces into any breach that may be made. The tremendous difficulties of a move of this kind through the other's lines each side well knows. If a gap is torn in the German line sufficiently deep to throw their armies into retreat, all railroads, bridges, and even roads will be conscientiously destroyed in their path.

If the Germans fall back, the further they retreat the stronger they become, because the shorter becomes the front they must defend, and the shorter their supply train. The line along the Rhine from Cologne to Mülhausen can be held against frontal attack by a third the number of men on the German line through France and Belgium during the last winter.

There are other alternatives to a frontal attack on the German trenches but they involve inconvenient "scraps of paper." One is an attack through Holland which might turn the line of the Rhine River. The other is the seizure of the straits separating Denmark from the Scandinavian peninsula. Both of these alternatives are desperate in themselves and both involve international complication.

Yet despite the difficulties it is emphatically incumbent upon the allied armies to get the Germans out of the rich territory which they hold in France and Belgium.

In their headquarters the General Staffs of the Allies, while arranging for this great spring effort, have also considered other eventualities. It is possible that, having driven the Germans back to the Rhine, they would themselves be so exhausted that they would have insufficient resources left for defense. If the Germans, in the meanwhile, had been holding back a few army corps in anticipation of this very thing, what, then, would be the result?

The result of the big drive instead of being a clear gain might easily result in a great loss or even in a disaster. Before each one of Hindenburg's annihilating victories the Russians were drawn on into eastern Poland in a series of what seemed to be successful advances or drives.

The population of Germany is 69 millions. Except for a small section of Alsace all Germany is free from invaders, so that all potential recruits can reach the army. The annual contingent is about 666,000 men. At that rate German losses so far in killed and permanently disabled can be pretty well replaced by the annual crop of recruits. Unless the Russian front demands more German forces than it has so far, the Kaiser should not lack men to hold his western front.

With the advantages of modern intrenchments defenders can withstand from three to six times their numbers in direct frontal attack. This makes it questionable whether the Allies are willing to pay the price of storming the German lines, and, if they are willing, whether they have the men to use in this way.

The population of France is a little more than 39 million, several of those millions occupying that portion of their own territory now held by the Germans, and being, therefore, unavailable for patriotic military purposes. The French birth rate annually is about 750,000, which means an annual possible contingent for military service of certainly not more than 250,000 able-bodied males. Should more than this number fall in battle or die from wounds or disease they cannot be replaced, and a weakening of the military power of the nation will result. From her African colonies France can still draft a certain amount of personnel, capable of military service on the continent of Europe, but an unrest is growing in the Mohammedan French colonies which will make the maintenance of African units at anywhere near war strength in Europe extremely difficult.

During the first six months of the war, with Germany on the offensive nearly half of that time, France used up about one year's contingent, exclusive of prisoners. The loss in prisoners now amounts approximately to another year's contingent.

Any great increase in the Allies' numbers must, therefore, be kept up by England, because thus far the French have borne the brunt of the fighting and expended their personnel to a liberal limit along a

nore extended front. England has lable white population of 45 millions, nlike the available population of Germany, or Switzerland, this ion is not organized for war. There ystem of registration or universal r service. English armies are com- f volunteers by a system of recruit- ch renders numbers always an in quantity. Moreover Great Brit- ith her many colonies and her r operations practically all over the nd the personnel exactions of her lous navy, must draft a great num- ier available citizens for use in other han on the continent of Europe. r in her history has England placed erically great army in the field. resent conditions it is questionable r the War Office can, during this ep more than 500,000 men on the ainst Germany.

From these few considerations of the problem involved in the much prophesied Anglo-French offensive this spring, it would appear that if the neutrality of Holland is respected, if the Cattegat is not forced, and if the Baltic is not opened to the British fleet by a miraculous success on the part of Russia, this allied offensive will not be pushed to the limit of exhaustion. In fact, in spite of all the prophesying, it may never take place at all.

The opening of the Dardanelles, the wearing away of the Austrian armies, the starving of Germany, are other and perhaps cheaper ways of furthering the Allies' cause than a direct frontal attack from the Vosges to the sea. Even if the Allies do not make their serious offensive designed to reach the Rhine, they will maintain such a constant activity as to keep the western German forces from reinforcing their eastern armies.

NK A. PERRET, VOLCANOLOGIST

(CONCLUDED)

UP FOR DEAD IN AN ERUPTION OF SAKURASHIMA—HOW HE FORETOLD ITS DURATION—LISTENING TO SUBTERRANEAN NOISES WITH A MICROPHONE TRANSMITTER—HOW SOUND IS SEEN

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

JP ON the side of Sakurashima, the Japanese volcano, in the bright sunlight of a beautiful day last year, climbed Mr. Frank A. Perret, the Ameri- ident of vocanoes. He had gone laples to Japan to see the volcano tion. He climbed to the fissure hich lava was flowing, leaving a f friends a mile and a half behind lere he should be fairly safe, for below the explosive craters. He way of knowing, however, that he ne upon a new formation.

beneath the lava stream, a minor f the volcano lay concealed. Sud- : erupted. In about two seconds ht light of midday was blackness so at he could not see his fingers when he held them before his eyes. In one of those two seconds he dived headlong beneath a projecting corner of a huge boulder, and there, for ten minutes, he lay crouched in a heap while an avalanche of flaming lava "bombs" rained down about him out of the black cloud of ashes. A piece of red-hot lava struck his hand and blistered it; a larger piece bounded from his knee cap, leaving him lame and suffering extreme pain. When the eruption ceased, he made his way back to his friends over a new and dangerous pathway and found that they had given him up for dead.

When he returned to Kagoshima, across the strait from the volcano, one of the leaders of the people of the province came to him and said:

"Mr. Perret, we have accumulated a

large fund to clear away these terrible ashes that have covered our fields. You have studied volcanoes, and you can tell us the best way to get rid of them."

"The best way to get rid of them," replied Mr. Perret, "is to leave them alone."

"But," protested the Japanese, "these ashes are acid and they are eating away all the vegetation. Our crops will be ruined."

"Yes," said Mr. Perret, "they are acid now, but in ten days the acidity will be gone. Some volcanic ash contains enough alkali to counteract this acid; all of it loses its free acid by its combining with other substances in the ash itself."

Already press dispatches have reported a phenomenal crop in the orchards that were covered with these ashes.

The day before Mr. Perret left Kagoshima to sail for America, the editor of the local paper came to him to ask if he thought the eruption was almost over.

"Let us see," replied Mr. Perret. "I can tell in a few minutes."

He opened the window and gathered a handful of the fresh ash (which was still falling) from the sill outside. He mixed some of it with water and dropped a piece of blue litmus paper in it. Instantly the blue changed to red. Then he mixed the rest of the ash with water in a test tube, closed it, and shook it, scrutinizing the top of the liquid closely when he had opened the tube.

"No," he said, "I cannot see any signs that the eruption is near its end. This ash is very acid, as the litmus paper shows, and that means that it is coming from far down in the crater. And floating on the water are little pieces of 'live' lava. If the main eruption were over, these would be particles of old lava crust. The eruption will continue."

And for months it did continue.

The ability to tell such things comes not only from the perilous days on volcanoes in eruption, but from many comparatively prosaic years of investigation of craters in their calmer moods. For example, for three months in 1911 Mr. Perret lived alone in a little cabin on the brink of Kilauea, in Hawaii, where he measured the temperature of boiling lava; where he tested the chemical contents of volcanoes; and where he learned anew of the ages-old superstitions that they have inspired in the people who dwell near them. One day, for example, a party of people came up to his hut from Honolulu. One of these people was a native woman who had married a wealthy American. She had traveled widely and was a woman of education. She asked if she might use his field glasses. He gladly lent them, and she sat in a chair at the brink looking down into the depths. She sat so long that he became curious and asked one of her party why she looked so earnestly. The reply was: "She is looking for a sign from Pele [the ancient beneficent goddess of the mountain]. She would give anything in the world for a propitious sign from her, and she believes if she comes often enough and looks long enough she will get it."

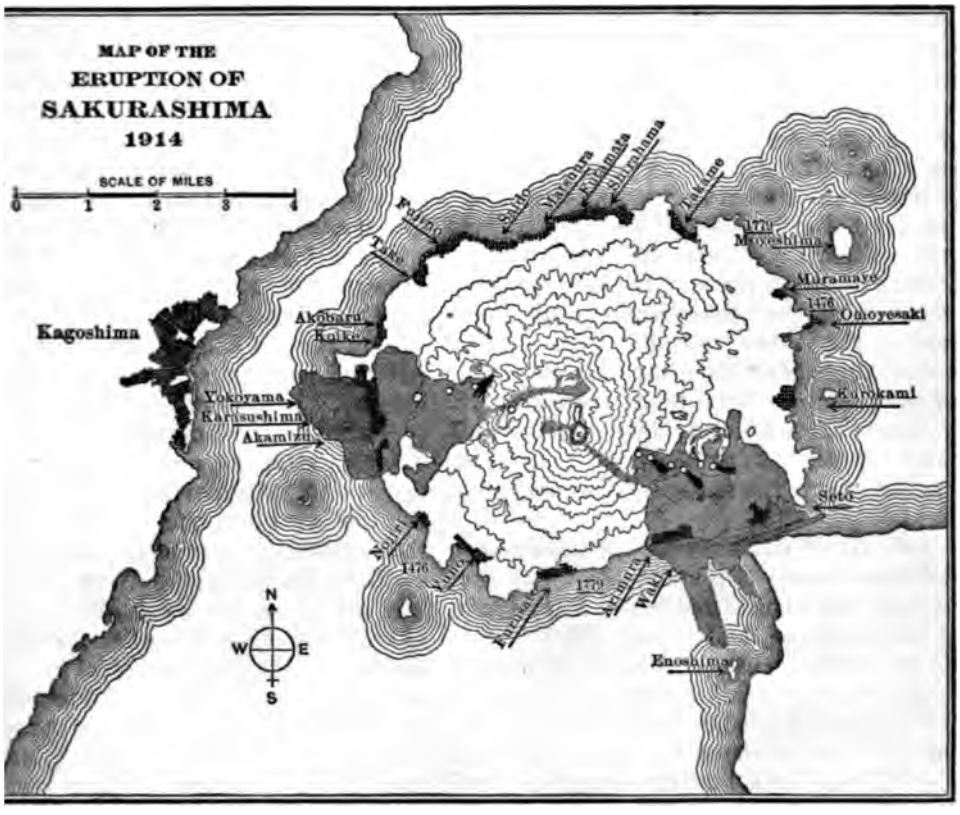
In making his measurements of the temperature of the lava, Mr. Perret encountered a proof that deductive reasoning, however logical, is not a safe substitute for experimental tests — and deductive reasoning, based on geological conclusions, was about all there was to volcanology before he began his first-hand studies. It had quite generally been supposed that the lava of Kilauea was heated to 1,500° Centigrade. As soon as he saw it, Mr. Perret was sure that it was not that hot, because it was not nearly bright enough. To be sure, as he lay abed in his cabin at the volcano's crest, he could read at midnight by the light from the crater that came through one small pane in his door; but by comparison with the temperatures that he knew about he felt sure that this was less.

But deduction and a crude experiment were both against him. The old method of measuring the temperature of lava was to thrust into it rods of different metals, whose several melting points were known. Thus, suppose one rod were of zinc and the other were of tin. If the tin melted and the zinc did not, then the lava was heated to a temperature between the melting point of tin and the melting point of zinc — and similar experiments with several metals easily showed approximately (but only approximately) its temperature.

Now, at Kilauea many people had thrust

ds into the "lava lake," even heavy owbars, and invariably the part as submerged was melted off. They sumed, therefore, that the lava was than the melting point of iron. Mr. did not discover the fallacy until a

So Mr. Perret and his associates set about to find the real temperature of the lava of Kilauea. If you place a rod of platinum close to, but not touching, a rod of iridium-platinum alloy, and then weld the lower end of the rods together, you will



HOW SAKURASHIMA JOINED THE MAINLAND

E SHADED AREA REPRESENTS THE TERRITORY THAT WAS COVERED WITH FRESH LAVA BY THE ERUPTION JARY, 1914. AS THE MAP SHOWS, THIS FLOW CLOSED UP THE STRAIT (AT THE RIGHT) THAT FORMERLY TED THE ISLAND FROM THE MAINLAND, AND ALSO MADE MUCH NEW LAND ON THE SIDE TOWARD KAGOSHIMA

which he strung across the lake, nd fell into the lava. When the ends lrawn out, he examined them care- nd found that they were no longer ut sulphide of iron. The mystery lved: for every schoolboy who has l chemistry knows that if you heat bar until it is a dull red — not even ough to bend — and then lay across k of sulphur, the iron bar will "melt" . It does not really melt: the sul- icting upon the heated metal, causes ical change in the iron which trans- it into another material which les at a touch.

find that, if you heat this welded joint, you will set up an electrical current. Therefore, if you connect the free end of the platinum rod with one wire of an electric circuit, and the free end of the alloy rod with another wire of the same circuit, you can measure the force of this current by the deflection of the needle in a delicate galvanometer. Now the current that is generated varies with the intensity of the heat, and the exact degree of this variation has been determined by laboratory tests. By adding a water jacket to protect the upper joints of this apparatus, Mr. Perret was able to drop his volcanic thermometer

from a cable into the lava lake and make exact records of its temperature. And the tests confirmed his original beliefs — the highest temperature recorded in many tests was 1175° Centigrade.

On Kilauea, as also on Sakurashima and Vesuvius and Etna, Mr. Perret has made scientific investigations of the volcano's breath. From many fissures in these craters gases fume upward whose chemical constituents reveal much about the substance of the inner earth. Let these gases mix with the upper air, and they can no longer be analyzed for what they were before they appeared. But by preparing sealed vacuum tubes of glass and carrying them to these fissures, opening them in the very crevices from which the gases escape, and then sealing the tubes quickly, these fumes can be kept intact until they can be taken to a laboratory and there examined at leisure. These accurate determinations of their character have shattered many old theories about the nature of volcanic effusions.

And Mr. Perret has read the pulse of all these volcanoes. By an adaptation of the microphone transmitter, which is the basis of the telephone, he has been able to hear the subterranean murmurings that arise, inaudible to the unaided ear, and that tell much about the comparative activity of the depths at different times.

But, though this kind of research may be carried on profitably upon quiet volcanoes, much of the most valuable investigation can be made only by a man who, like Mr. Perret, is free to go where eruptions are in process and who has the courage to venture near to the heart of the trouble. An example of the value of this field work is Mr. Perret's discovery that he has named the "flashing arc." No amount of safe and distant deduction could ever have evolved the idea that this amazing phenomenon could exist. For in reality what Mr. Perret saw, first on Vesuvius, and again on Etna, was an arc of a sphere of sound. This discovery, that sound is literally visible to the eye, has since been practically confirmed by photographs of the firing of the big coast defense guns on the coast of New Jersey. This is how Mr. Perret made the discovery:

In 1906, while he was standing on the slope of Vesuvius, watching the cone of the crater, he saw a perfect arc of light, like a rainbow extended on in a circle until its ends touched the sides of the crater, flash across the black background of the volcanic cloud, quickly followed by the cloud of ash and the sound of the explosion.

For many months Mr. Perret pondered this phenomenon. Sometimes he doubted his senses. But when he afterward saw it repeated on Etna with unmistakable brilliance, he felt free to announce it and to offer to scientists the theory which he believed explained it. The theory was this:

Sound travels like the ripple that flows outward from a pebble dropped into a pool, only sound travels in all directions and not merely along a flat surface. Thus it flows outward from its source in the form of a sphere. It travels by the alternate compression and rarefaction of the air. If two adjacent strata of air are of very different densities, that difference is perceptible to the eye, as when one sees heat "waves" rising from the ground in summer. Now on both Vesuvius and Etna, Mr. Perret was present at the beginning of a prodigious burst of sound — the explosion of a volcano. The compression of air near the source of this sound was enormous; and the adjacent rarefaction was equally intense. So extreme was the difference in the refracting power of these two bodies of air that the effect was visible to the eye. And because sound waves operate in the form of a sphere, that effect was seen in the form of the outermost rim of the sphere, or as an arc of a circle.

Thus, probably, Mr. Perret is the only man in the world who has literally seen sound as it winged its way through the air.

Perhaps the most dangerous experience Mr. Perret has had was also one of his first experiences as a volcanologist, on Vesuvius in 1906. After the worst of the eruption was over, and when only the towering smoky banner that rose from the crater remained as a reminder of its destructive power, a party of workmen and soldiers returned to the mountain to repair the Funicular Railway and to clear the Royal Observatory of ashes. About seventy persons came in this party, including a woman

MR. PERRET ON THE BRINK OF THE CRATER OF STROMBOLI

VERY RARE THAT SO NEAR AN APPROACH TO THIS EXCEPTIONALLY DANGEROUS CRATER IS POSSIBLE, AND FEW PEOPLE HAVE EVER VENTURED TO TRY THE ASCENT

several children. They were at work e bright afternoon sun when suddenly e sprang up that blew from the oppo- ide of the mountain, and in a moment black cloud from the crater's mouth swept down upon them. Before the ness became absolute, Mr. Perret and nembers of the Observatory staff man- to get all the party to a barracks de the railroad track. But here the ter was insufficient against what might become at any moment an overpowering deluge of ashes. Their only hope was to reach the Observatory, several hundred yards away.

The air was now quite black, and one could see only a few inches ahead. Every member of the party was tied to one long rope. The man who was most familiar with the mountain was put at its outer end. The man at the other end of the rope held fast to the doorway of the barracks. Then

A SMOKE-RING THAT ETNA BLEW

AN AVALANCHE IN THE CRATER OF VESUVIUS

AN ERUPTION OF LAVA EXPLODING INTO A MYRIAD OF "BOMBS"

THESE "BOMBS" RANGE IN SIZE FROM SMALL BITS TO MASSES AS BIG AS A COTTAGE

LAVA-CAPPED MINARETS OF SNOW

SE LAVA "BOMBS" FELL FROM AN ERUPTION OF ETNA THAT TOOK PLACE WHEN THE MOUNTAIN SIDE VERED WITH A DEEP SNOW. WHEN THE SPRING THAW CAME ALL THE SNOW MELTED EXCEPT THAT WAS SHADED BY THE LAVA, WHICH IT HELD ALOFT

A LAVA "CALDRON"

UBBLE EXPLODING IN THE CRATER OF KILAUEA, H. I. AS THIS PICTURE WAS TAKEN WITH A TELEPHOTO LENS THE BUBBLE DOES NOT LOOK TO BE THIRTY FEET ACROSS, AS IT IS

A STREAM OF VOLCANIC MUD

THE RAIN HAS SEEPED INTO A BED OF VOLCANIC ASH AND DILUTED IT INTO A THICK, FLOWING MUD. THIS PROCESS, CONTINUED, CREATES A STREAM THAT SWEEPS AWAY HOUSES AND BURIES FIELDS

the rope was paid out, and this human snake writhed its way, groping back and forth until the man at the outer end found a telegraph pole that he recognized as leading toward the Observatory. Then the party was all drawn up to this pole; the last man held fast to it; and again the line was paid out and worked from right to left until another point of progress was attained. Working thus, yard by yard, the party at last reached the Observatory and gathered in its largest room.

Even within this shelter the air was so thick with ash that a lamp at one side of

FANTASTIC FORMATIONS OF LAVA IN THE

THE COMMON IDEA OF COOLED LAVA IS THAT IT IS BLACK, BUT USUALLY IT HAS A BLUISH

"CORDED" LAVA

THERE ARE TWO TYPES OF LAVA: THE SURFACE OF ONE BREAKS UP INTO JAGGED MASSES LIKE BOULDERS; THE OTHER HAS A COMPARATIVELY SMOOTH SURFACE THAT FOLDS INTO MANY CURIOUS SHAPES

the room could be distinguished from the other side only as a slight glowing spot in the distance. The air was now heavy with carbonic acid gas — a gas that is not poisonous but that makes breathing difficult and, in large quantities, impossible. From four o'clock until midnight the storm of ash and gas continued. Men saved their comrades from certain death by keeping them awake when the drowsiness induced by the gas became insupportable. One young man died of the experience. Only the little children were uncomplaining. At midnight the gale shifted, and the dan-

CRATERS OF HAWAIIAN VOLCANOES

TINGE WHICH OFTEN TURNS TO DARK RED AFTER A FEW DAYS' EXPOSURE TO THE AIR

VESUVIUS BY DAY, DURING THE GREAT ERUPTION IN 1906

WHEN MR. PERRET, BY STAYING ON THE MOUNTAIN SIDE, PERFORMED THE FIRST GREAT FEAT IN HIS LIFE-WORK OF ALLAYING THE ANCIENT TERROR OF THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE NEAR VOLCANOES

VESUVIUS AFTER THE ERUPTION OF 1906

WHICH WIDENED THE CRATER FROM A DIAMETER OF ABOUT 300 FEET TO A DIAMETER ABOUT 2,000 FEET GREATER

ger was past. The King of Italy knighted Mr. Perret for his work in this eruption.

Mr. Perret's invention of a graphic chart for the collection of field data about volcanoes is probably the most important single advance in the science of volcanology. But to mankind at large, probably his greatest services are humanitarian — the demonstration that eruptions can be foretold in time to save the lives of people who live dangerously near to active volcanoes, and that these volcanoes are really friends of the world, that they perennially enrich it, and that they save it from annihilation.

THE LAVA LAKE OF KILAUEA AT NIGHT

THE SEETHING DEPTHS OF THE BIGGEST ACTIVE CRATER IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS AND PERHAPS IN THE WORLD

PORK-BARREL PENSIONS

THIRD ARTICLE

MAKING THE SPANISH WAR PAY

THE UNITED SPANISH WAR VETERANS AS THE SUCCESSORS OF THE G. A. R.— HIGHER PENSIONS FOR A SMALLER WAR — BUILDING ANOTHER GREAT POLITICAL PENSION MACHINE — HOUNDING RECALCITRANT CONGRESSMEN

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

"IT ALWAYS pains me," says Congressman Burke, a Democratic pension statesman, "to see pension payments decrease." Though our pension statesmen have made heroic efforts to inflate the pension rolls, the year 1915 shows a material decrease from the high tide of the year before. Survivors of the Civil War are dying at the rate of 100 a day; about 35,000 automatically drop from the pension rolls every year. In 1909, 620,000 veterans were drawing pensions; in 1914 there were only 462,000. As the men grow older the percentage increases; it seems a fair prophecy, therefore, that in fifteen years only a few scattering pensioners will be left from the Civil War. Congress, of course, will still find ways of increasing Civil War pensions; it can increase the rates and add several hundred thousands of dollars to governmental bounty, but it cannot keep up with Civil War pensioners alone.

To prevent a decrease an entirely new crop of pensioners is needed: a group of four or five hundred thousand young men who can give vitality to the pension roll for the next fifty years. The fates met this need in 1898, when, as the result of a brief summer campaign against the decaying

THE HOME OF THE PENSION PRESS

THE GLOBE PRINTING COMPANY, IN WASHINGTON, D. C., WHERE THE "NATIONAL TRIBUNE" AND THE "AMERICAN STANDARD" ARE PUBLISHED—ONE THE CHIEF ADVOCATE OF CIVIL WAR PENSIONS, THE OTHER LEADING THE SPANISH *WAR PENSION CAMPAIGN*

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

REPRESENTATIVE L. C. DYER

POSSIBLY THE NEXT COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE UNITED SPANISH WAR VETERANS, AND AN EAGER WORKER FOR NEW PENSION LAWS IN THEIR FAVOR

Spanish empire, they raised for Uncle Sam a volunteer army of about 400,000 men. The pension problems of the next half century will not revolve around the magic letters "G. A. R." On Dewey Day, Santiago Day, and Memorial Day several thousand specimens of vigorous young American manhood parade the streets, clad in uniforms of mingled blue and gray, their caps and collars bearing the gold embroidered letters "U. S. W. V." Their most conspicuous characteristic is their youth. Thousands are less than forty years old; not many are more than forty. Their firm, vigorous tread, their strong, upright shoulders, their unlined features, their hair untouched with gray, contrast strongly with the tottering steps of the straggling contingents representing the G. A. R. These youthful enthusiasts, however, will furnish the American people their future pension problem. "In the near future our organization," says the *American Standard*, the official organ of the U. S. W. V., "will be the greatest association of war veterans in the Republic. Let us begin, then, to measure up to the great responsibility that will be ours when the grand G. A. R. is no more. Then the sacred obligation of observing and preserving Memorial Day will be ours, *as well as legislative enactments for soldiers, sailors, marines, and their dependent ones*, besides maintaining in full measure American patriotism."

The professional pension attorney in his widely circulated literature now says little about the Civil War: he addresses nearly all his appeals to Spanish-American survivors. Pension statistics show that these "maintainers of American patriotism" have already made a satisfactory start. Altogether only about 30,000 soldiers in the Spanish War ever saw active service in Cuba; at present 29,000 veterans are drawing pensions, their payments aggregating nearly $4,000,000 a year. The war of 1812 cost the American people $45,000,000 in pensions in a hundred years; we have paid Spanish-American veterans $46,000,000 in sixteen years. Those same

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

THE LATE CONGRESSMAN RODDENBERY

WHO WORE HIMSELF OUT OPPOSING THE RISING TIDE OF SPANISH WAR PENSIONS

young men have already drawn as much pension money as the survivors of the Mexican War. A grateful Republic paid the Revolutionary patriots $70,000,000 in a hundred years; the veterans of a three-months' campaign in 1898 have already received more than half as much. And they have merely made a beginning. With the Civil War as a basis, we can estimate what the war with Spain will ultimately cost the American taxpayer. About 2,200,000 men fought in the Civil War on the Northern side; the Spanish War and the succeeding campaigns in the Philippines enlisted about 400,000. If the pension rates remain as they are now, and the present pension proclivities of Congress are unchecked, our Spanish-American War pensions will amount to about one fifth of those we pay on account of the Civil War. At this rate, in 1948, fifty years after the fall of Santiago, these veterans will be drawing about $33,000,000 a year from the Federal Treasury; our total expenditures, in the course of half a century, will reach nearly $1,000,000,000.

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN A. KEY

WHO IS LEADING THE FIGHT TO MAKE PENSIONABLE WIDOWS OF SPANISH-WAR VETERANS WHETHER THEY DIED AS THE RESULT OF SERVICE OR NOT

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

SENATOR SHIVELY, OF INDIANA

CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE PENSION COMMITTEE AND A "FRIEND" OF SPANISH-AMERICAN VETERANS

From the very beginning these soldiers have had a keen realization of pension opportunities. Promptness and forehandedness have been the characteristics of their pension campaign. It is hardly necessary to emphasize at this time that the war with Spain was not a brilliant military achievement. The enemy was weak and disorganized; its military power crumbled to pieces one hundred days after the declaration of war; hostilities, which began in April, were formally concluded in August. In eliminating Spain from the Western world the United States had an unpleasant but not a difficult task; we did it quickly, with little loss of life: to that degree the exploit was a creditable one. Compared with the four-years' Civil War, however, the crushing of Spanish power in Cuba was merely a brief summer holiday. About 250,000 men enlisted in this campaign; of these only 30,000 ever reached the scene of hostilities; the rest spent their time in camps on American soil. Fatalities were very few; there were only 280 deaths as a

MR. WALTER MITCHELL

THE WORKING EDITOR OF THE "AMERICAN STANDARD," WHICH IS CONDUCTING A CAMPAIGN FOR SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR PENSIONS. A PART OF THE PROPAGANDA IS TO PURSUE POLITICALLY ALL CONGRESSMEN WHO VOTE AGAINST SPANISH WAR PENSION BILLS

PAST COMMANDER MAURICE SIMMONS

WHO THINKS THE "TIME IS RIPE" TO PASS GENERAL PENSION LAWS ON ACCOUNT OF THE SPANISH WAR. ONE OF THE FOREMOST ADVOCATES OF THE PLAN TO ADD $2,500,000 TO THE PENSION BILL BY PENSIONING SPANISH-AMERICAN WIDOWS

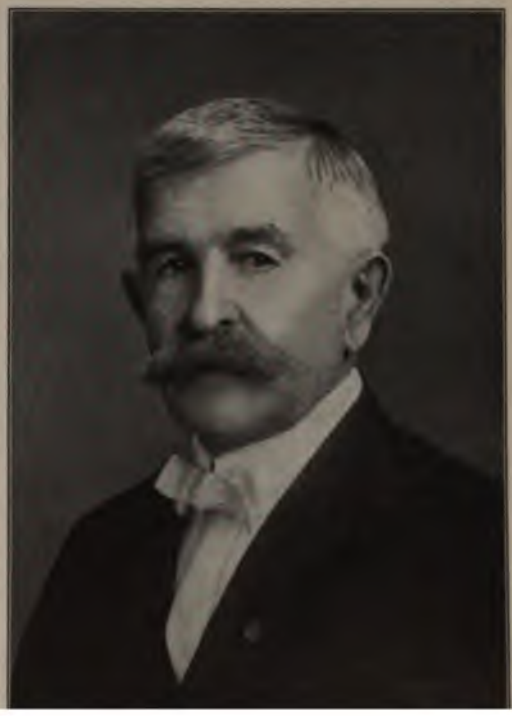
result of battle wounds; only 2,900 from wounds and disease combined. Under ordinary circumstances a military enterprise of this kind ought not to have materially increased the pension roll. But pensions had become part and parcel of our national psychology. The young men who enlisted for the Spanish War were in many cases the sons of Civil War veterans; in any event they were familiar with our national pension habit; in their minds, serving one's country, even serving it bloodlessly, necessarily implied a pension. Only such a mental attitude can explain the eagerness with which these survivors began to attach themselves to the pension list.

Here, again, we must make our position clear. Any soldier who fought in the Spanish War, and suffered wounds or incapacitating disabilities, is justly entitled to a pension. The present law properly provides that he shall have it. Spanish-American veterans, when faced with the small mortality record of their campaign, emphasize the fact that they suffered greatly from disease. Typhoid, not Spanish bullets, was the thing they had to fear. Here, again, they are on safe ground. But, we must constantly remember, existing laws provide—and rightly provide—liberal pensions for all Spanish-American veterans who can trace their existing disabilities to such sufferings in camp.

In 1872, eleven years after the Civil War, only six per cent. of its survivors had applied for pensions; in 1901, three years

of payment for particular disabili-
Until 1890, when Congress began
g laws for the particular benefit of
War veterans, this was the only com-
sive pension law we had. Since its
on in its original shape, however,
neral law had undergone many modi-

ticians, and "patriotic" organizations had engaged in a wholesale and successful campaign for increasing the monthly payments. The veterans of the Spanish War now automatically profited from all this legislation. In 1865, a Civil War veteran who had lost an arm at the shoulder joint



COMRADE JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS

SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS AND A MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED SPANISH *WAR VETERANS*

or a leg at the hip joint received $8 a month. In 1898, a Spanish-American veteran who had suffered the same disability immediately went on the rolls at $45. On June 30, 1890, the pension office had 95,835 invalid pensioners of the Civil War who received less than $6, of whom 71,789 received $4, and 21,232 but $2; these men, of course, had suffered only slightly—not enough to incapacitate themselves from earning a living. In 1895, Congress passed a law that no pensioner should receive less than $6 a month; consequently there have never been any two- or four-dollar men among Spanish-American War pensioners.

A BOOM TO PENSION ATTORNEYS

Another circumstance explained this rush which the Spanish-American volunteers have made upon the pension roll. In 1865, when the Civil War ended, there was really no well organized profession of pension soliciting. In the succeeding thirty-five years this new business had reached immense proportions. Nearly every town and village in pension districts of the United States had its pension attorney; Washington had several large agencies located, as their advertisements said, "near the pension building"; in 1898, about 25,000 men were legally authorized to practise before the pension bureau. This new profession had established itself as firmly as that of medicine or theology or law. However, it faced one great danger: the disappearance of its clients. By 1898 nearly all the Civil War veterans who could claim a bounty by virtue of disability were on the pension roll; Congress was already considering service pension laws, the execution of which would not require much assistance from the legal profession. A thirty-years' combing of the war records had pretty nearly exhausted the material. In 1898, the pension attorney was occupying about the same position as the stage driver on the first appearance of the railroad: he had nothing ahead of him but extinction. The Spanish-American War, however, with the succeeding campaigns in the Philippines, proved his salvation. Here was a brand new crop of future pensioners, 400,000 strong; not so abundant, indeed, as the 2,200,000 men

provided by the Civil War; but, in times of business depression, a genuine gift from Heaven. A languishing profession felt the quickening return of vitality; soldiers' newspapers again began to bristle with advertisements, "runners" began to make burdensome the lives of home-coming soldiers, and the daily mail at the pension office, already large, reached even more mountainous proportions. The law promised these gentlemen $25 for every pension they secured; this amount was subtracted from the first pension check. What greater incentive to heroic labors could one ask for? In other words, the Federal Government itself, thanks to the legislation promoted by pension attorneys and the G. A. R., provided a substantial reward for every successful raid upon its own Treasury.

One army regulation, which applied to soldiers in the Spanish War and the Philippines insurrection, apparently protected the American people against attacks of this kind. On mustering out, the physical condition of the soldier received attention. He had to sign a statement, saying whether his physical condition was good or bad; if bad, he had to specify wherein. His commanding officer had to hear his testimony covering these points. Finally the surgeon examined him and made a written statement concerning his condition. These examinations were carefully made with an eye to future demands for pensions; the records, therefore, contain complete scientific reports of the physical condition of every survivor of the war. In the great majority of cases the soldiers testified that they had no disabilities and the examining surgeons confirmed these statements. Ordinarily, therefore, these reports would seem to have offered ample protection against fraudulent claims. If a soldier had reported his condition as "excellent" on mustering out and if his surgeon, after examination, had approved this self-diagnosis, and both reports, properly signed, were reposing in the war archives in Washington, how could such a veteran afterward ask for a pension on the ground of disability acquired in service?

This circumstance, however, did not discourage the pension agent. When the soldiers began to return from the Philippines, in 1901, San Francisco became the great American pension hunting ground. Two of the largest pension agencies in Washington closed their national offices and moved *en masse* to the Pacific Coast.

"RUNNERS" AND "CAPPERS"

Most pension agents who knew their business established branch offices near the Phelan Building in San Francisco, where the Department of California had its headquarters. Almost the first piece of mail the returning soldier received was a circular describing his pension opportunities and directing him to the agent who could get him on the list most expeditiously. The attorneys hired "runners," otherwise popularly known as "cappers" or "grafters," whose business it was to waylay their victims and lead them personally to pension agents. These "cappers" received pay according to a graduated tariff. A soldier who had merely a surgeon's certificate testifying to "slight deafness" or "myopia" netted the "runner" about a dollar; one suffering from a gunshot wound had a market value of $2.50. A special examiner of the Pension Bureau, stationed at San Francisco, reported that it was not an infrequent sight to see on Market Street "an attorney having hold of a poor, sickly soldier on one side, a clothing dealer holding on to his coat tails, while a railroad ticket agent has him by the shoulders and talks transportation to him. They are all pulling and fussing as to who 'saw him first.' A beautiful spectacle, any one will admit, but the general verdict of those who stop and wonder what will eventually become of the poor soldier is, 'He is in the hands of the pension sharks.'"

I do not wish to exaggerate this matter, and so, for further details, I shall quote from the report of the Commissioner of Pensions, Henry Clay Evans, for 1902. The Chief of the Law Division, S. A. Cuddy, describes (page 106) the daily happenings in San Francisco as follows: "The distribution of circulars among the soldiers prior to their discharge, which is not prohibited, was soon found to be entirely inadequate to satisfy the ambitions of one class of attorneys who proceeded

to hire men employed in various capacities at the Presidio to act as solicitors for them. Men and women were sent into the Presidio Hospital as visitors to the sick, under the guise of charity and various other pretexts, whose only purpose was to pour into the ears of such soldiers as they could glowing accounts of the system of pensions provided by law, and the merits of some particular attorney who made a business of prosecuting claims. Soldiers were procured to execute declarations for pensioning before their discharge, and such declarations were postdated and retained by the attorneys until after the muster-out, when they were forwarded to the Pension Bureau. It has been found necessary by the commandant and surgeon in command at the Presidio to take measures to prevent attorneys and those connected with them from entering the hospital and constantly to change the details of the ambulance men; by the authorities of San Francisco, to keep a patrol just outside the Presidio gates when occasion demands; by the railroad companies, to prohibit solicitors from importuning soldiers in depots and ferries, and by this Bureau, to detail a special examiner to assist in every way possible in protecting the soldiers from the machinations of disreputable attorneys and their solicitors. Officers of the hospital have been approached even by saloon keepers in the interest of attorneys to secure information from the records. Soldiers and ex-soldiers having an acquaintance with men about to be discharged, or otherwise suited to the purpose of the attorneys, have been employed in large numbers to circulate among the men and advertise the qualifications and "advantages" of different attorneys. These men seize upon their victims whenever and wherever found, and more recently, in view of certain steps taken by the Bureau to prevent the execution of papers by soldiers prior to their discharge, such soldiers have proceded to fill out declarations for pensions and agreements about fees while still in the service, so that all that is necessary to be done after discharge is to sign and make oath to the papers. . . . Some of the resident attorneys report that, in view of the methods employed by some of their competitors, they have come to the conclusion that very little business can be secured by reputable methods and so have retired from the contest."

Such was the motive power back of the applications that now began to stream into the pension office, A few examples will illustrate their frequently farcical character. Here is claim No. 1264312, executed by a soldier at San Francisco immediately after returning from the Philippines. On mustering out, this patriot signed the following declaration:

Q. Have you any reason to believe that at the present time you are suffering from the effects of any wound, injury, or disease, or that you have any disability or impairment of health, whether incurred in the military service or otherwise?

A. No . . . I declare that the foregoing questions and my answers thereto have been read over to me, and that I fully understand the questions and that my replies to them are true in every respect and are correctly recorded.

The company's commander was examined and answered as follows:

Q. Do you know or do you have any reason to believe, aside from his own statement, that the person who made and signed the foregoing declaration is disabled or impaired in health at the present time by reason of any wound, injury, or disease, whether incurred in the military service of the United States or otherwise?

A. No. I certify that the foregoing statement is correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

The company's surgeon signed this declaration:

Q. Have you subjected the person named above to a thorough physical examination?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you find that, at the present time, he has any disability, whether incurred in the military service or not?

A. None . . . I certify that the foregoing statement is correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

All three parties to the transaction—the soldier, his commanding officer, and his surgeon—filed these declarations at the Presidio on March 9, 1901. On March 16, 1901—seven days afterward—the soldier

applied for a pension. In these seven days his health had apparently suffered a shocking deterioration. He took oath to the fact that he was suffering from the following disorders, all contracted in his country's service:

Disease of the stomach
Bowel troubles
Kidney and bladder troubles
Malarial poisoning and results
Lumbago
Pain in back
Irritable heart

Here is claim No. 1264327, of the same regiment. In answer to the questions as to whether he had any disability, this soldier answered: "Yes, rheumatism (slightly)." The major and surgeon, however, both declared that they could find no rheumatic tendency, but when the soldier alleged any disability a more stringent examination was given. In this case two assistant surgeons went over the soldier thoroughly and made the following report:

We, the undersigned members of a board of examining surgeons for mustering out United States Volunteer troops at Presidio, in San Francisco, Calif., after carefully examining——, a private of Co.——, ——Regiment Infantry, United States Volunteers, find that he has no disability.

These papers were filed on March 11, 1901. On his discharge, on March 16th —five days later—claimant No. 1264327 advanced by forced marches to the nearest notary public and swore, in applying for a pension, that he was thus afflicted:

Stomach and bowel trouble
Piles
Rheumatism, affecting heart

Claimant No. 1264322, in his preliminary examination, certified that he was suffering with "stiffness in the right leg below the knee." His first lieutenant declared that he had never noticed it. The examining surgeon certified that he could discover no disability whatever. Two assistant surgeons, comprising the Board of Examining Surgeons, declared that, after a careful examination, the man was entirely free from disease.

Despite "his stiffness in the right leg below the knee," this particular veteran showed remarkable alacrity in finding his way into the hands of a pension attorney. When he arrived there, this slight disability —which three surgeons of his regiment could not verify—had developed into a case of acute pensionable invalidism. He now swore that he could not earn a living by manual labor and was entitled to governmental support for the following reasons:

Injury to right leg
Disease of urinary organs
Malarial poisoning
Stomach and results
Disease of teeth

Note the logical progress of his complaint from "injury to right leg" to "disease of teeth." The attention of pathologists is called also to the fourth complaint, something brand new to medical science—a disease known as "stomach and results."

Here is claimant No. 1262952, who, according to the statements of the examining board of surgeons, was in perfect physical health on mustering out. Eight days afterward, according to his sworn declaration in the presence of two witnesses, the same man said, in his pension application, that he was suffering as follows:

A twist of right knee—having slipped while coming down mountain side, resulting in weakness of leg—and neuralgia of same; also, at Pagsanhán, P. I., about April, 1900, contracted malarial fever, resulting chills and fever; disease of liver, spleen, and urinary organs, cause, climatic conditions; is also suffering from loss of teeth received during Philippine campaign, caused by food and exposure.

One could go on filling up this magazine with instances of this kind.

THE SUCCESSOR TO THE G. A. R.

In discussing these Spanish and Philippine veterans in 1902, Commissioner of Pensions Henry Clay Evans said that "the foundation of a permanent pension roll has been established that will steadily increase for many years to come and that will have its representations in the rolls at the beginning of the next century, just as the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 are now, and will be, recognized for an indefinite period on the present list of pensioners." Recent events have abund-

The United Spanish War Veterans assert that it is not a political organization: its constitution contains the conventional prohibition against political activity. However, it makes a point of vengefully pursuing every Congressman who does not accept its orders on pension matters. The *American Standard*, its organ, conspicuously publishes the names of all Representatives who voted against the Key widows' bill, with the warning "Lest we forget." It urges Spanish-American "vets" in the district to organize against these men. According to reports published from several parts of the country, this advice has been followed successfully. A dispatch from New London, Conn., asserts that the comrades organized to defeat Representative B. F. Mahan, "who had double-crossed us when the Key Bill was passed." A correspondent from Brockton, Mass., writes that "the comrades will be pleased to learn that we defeated Congressman Thomas C. Thacher, Democrat, of the Sixteenth Massachusetts District, who voted against the passage of the Key Bill." Political attacks upon Congressmen who attempt to serve their country, instead of serving the U. S. W. V., is the regular organization policy. One of their most vigorous opponents was the late Congressman Roddenbery, of Georgia—a man who virtually wore himself out fighting pension iniquities. "As soon as informed of the attack on our organization by Representative Roddenbery," says the adjutant-general's report for 1912, "the commander-in-chief directed me to concentrate every effort in Georgia in general, and Roddenbery's district in particular. The result of extensive work in Georgia was the formation of Archie Butt Camp No. 5 at Augusta and Lawton Camp No. 6 at Atlanta, Georgia." As part of this political propaganda an inner organization has been formed known as the "Bolomen." As most people know, the "bolo" is a long knife which the Filipinos find useful against their enemies. And the Bolo organization exists purely for knifing purposes: to advance politically the friends of the veterans. In other words, unless the Nation nips this propaganda now, we are in for a repetition of G. A. R. politics in its most repulsive form.

Spanish-American veterans not only qualify under the general pension law, but are profiting in considerable numbers from private pension bills. This phase of their activities will be described in the WORLD'S WORK for June.

THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION AND BUSINESS—BIG AND LITTLE

A BOARD OF QUICK DECISIONS TO ENCOURAGE BUSINESS BY THE CONTROL OF BAD PRACTICES

BY

JOSEPH E. DAVIES

[*This article was prepared upon the request of the* WORLD'S WORK *by Mr. Davies while he was Commissioner of Corporations, and prior to his appointment and election to the chairmanship of the Federal Trade Commission.*—THE EDITORS.]

THE methods devised to destroy a competitor in modern business have been many. Competitors' machines have been secretly tampered with to bring discredit upon the make of the machine; traveling salesmen of rivals have been bribed to show faulty samples; employees bribed to put machinery out of commission; fighting brands sold below cost to run a similar brand out of the market; commodities have been sold below cost in a particular community, and even given away, to destroy a local rival,

fter such destruction prices have been
y raised to recoup the losses by ex-
n from the public; tying contracts,
ists, boycotts, rebates, and preferen-
ntracts—all these, as well as other de-
have been employed contrary to the
ards of commercial and trade decency
arious times. The commonly ac-
l judgment of business men condemns
devices as unfair. They have been,
robably will continue to be, employed
small percentage of men in business
ave no regard for accepted standards
ency and fairness in business, even
re is always to be found in organized
y a certain percentage of criminals.

CTION OF MODERATE-SIZED BUSINESS

highly efficient plant of moderate
nay be able to compete against a
ful rival by reason of its efficiencies;
is utterly helpless when subjected
fair competitive practices employed
rival who by sheer force of larger
can withstand the cost of a cam-
of extermination. It has been
l, and with much force, that the
which have grown powerful and
have generally in the past employed
methods, and that they could not
attained their dominant position
or their employment. Ninety-nine
nt. of the business corporations of
untry have a capitalization of less
5 million dollars; 95 per cent., a
lization of less than a million dollars.
at menace to the existence of this
r cent. of the business corporations
country comes from the possibility
ng driven out of the market, not by
of the superior efficiency of the big
but by reason of unfair methods of
tition employed by such a rival.
methods of unfair competition have
called the seeds of monopoly. It is
bject of the Federal Trade Com-
n Law to destroy these seeds in
inception and to furnish a body of
erested business experts who are
d with the prevention of such prac-
Governmental agencies seek to
nt a man's house from being broken
nd his property stolen. This govern-
l agency seeks likewise to protect
the smaller business units of the country from similar depredations that destroy the security of business and the order of Society.

This is the service to the great body of business of the country, both big and little, which the Federal Trade Commission was designed to perform.

AN AID TO BUSINESS

In the enactment of the Trade Commission Law it was, moreover, very apparent that it was contemplated by Congress that not only smaller concerns but that big business units should also be aided in their desire to accommodate themselves to the demands of the Government pursuant to an expressed public policy. The Trade Commission is empowered, under certain conditions, to "make recommendations for the readjustment of the business of any corporation alleged to be violating the anti-trust acts, in order that the corporation may thereafter maintain its organization, management, and conduct of business in accordance with law."

Under this provision the Trade Commission may be called in by the Attorney General to aid in the readjustment of business so as to conform to the requirements of the law. In connection with some of the past practices of the Department of Justice, this provision is significant in the possibilities of helpful use to which it may be put. In certain situations in the past, where the Government has brought suits in equity to dissolve trusts or to restrain certain practices in restraint of trade, the defendants have gone to the Department of Justice, frankly admitted such practices, pleaded in extenuation either lack of knowledge or pressure of overpowering business necessity, and have convinced the Department of Justice that there was no malicious intent to violate the law, and a present sincere desire to comply with the requirements of the law. In some such situations the Attorney General has in the past prescribed certain conditions which the Government would exact in the reorganization of business, to which the defendants have acquiesced. Through their attorneys the defendants have then gone into court and there entered

their consent to the entry of such a decree as the Government imposed. These are the so-called "consent decrees" spoken of in connection with trust cases. This situation holds within it great possibilities in the accommodation of business to the requirements of the law. / It entails, as well, possibilities of great abuse, and it involves grave and serious responsibility on the part of the Attorney General. It has been exercised with great discernment in the past, and it would not be at all strange if in the future, as in the past, it might be exercised with great reluctance. The Federal Trade Commission will be a continuous and non-political body of business experts. It is to be composed of five men who will be thoroughly familiar with the business conditions from a practical point of view. It will be subject to the call of the Attorney General in a situation of this kind. Its knowledge of the situations involved would certainly be coextensive with the knowledge of the Department of Justice, and in the course of time it is fair to assume that its experience would be much greater. Its recommendations would be accepted by the public, and would probably give greater reassurance than if made by an individual alone regardless of the extent of his ability or probity. Being a continuous body, and not subject to possible political change of administration, there is the suggestion also of greater continuity of purpose and policy, and in the course of time it is conceivable that there would be built up a body of administrative law that would be consistent in its development, not subject to political change, and be of substantial benefit to the business community as affording a means whereby business methods might be expeditiously accommodated and readjusted to the requirements of the law, which public policy demands.)

In dissolution suits under the anti-trust laws the Trade Commission was also designed to furnish an agency to aid the courts in the framing of final decrees.

In short, the law apparently designs, so far as this aspect of the situation is concerned, that there shall be furnished a body of business experts, who will have a thorough knowledge of the industries of the country, as an aid to the Department of Justice and the courts in seeking to bring about the readjustments of great enterprises in a manner which will cause the least hurt to property interests compatible with the rights and interests of the general public and the enforcement of the law.

The purpose of the law is a constructive one, and it affords promise of practical help to large organizations of business in their accommodation to the demands of the public policy of the country.

INVESTIGATIONS OF FOREIGN TRADE CONDITIONS

The Commission is directly charged with the duty of making an investigation of "trade conditions in and with foreign countries where associations, combinations, or practices of manufacturers, merchants, or traders, or other conditions, may affect the foreign trade of the United States, and report to Congress thereon with such recommendations as it deems advisable."

Much has recently been said in connection with the applicability of the Sherman Law to foreign trade. It has been maintained, with much vigor, that the principles of the Sherman Law should not be applied to business interests in this country that are engaged in foreign trade and in the extension of our foreign markets. In support of that contention it is urged that combination through a common selling agency is necessary in the foreign market in order to meet the competition of European cartels and other combinations of sellers in the markets of the world; that the small producer and manufacturer in this country cannot extend his markets into a foreign field except through a common selling agency, because of the prohibitive cost involved; that if the inhibitions imposed by the Sherman Law be placed upon combinations in the United States engaged in foreign trade it would operate to the serious prejudice of small producers and to the distinct advantage and benefit of trusts, which can afford and do establish substations in distant parts of the world; that the reasons for the Sherman Law do not obtain in foreign

countries and in foreign trade because, in an international market, competition is secured for the benefit and advantage of the buyer through international contest for the market. On the other hand, it is urged with force that to permit combinations for foreign trade in this country would furnish a very convenient and ready vehicle for the easy violation of the Sherman Law at home, contrary to our public policy, and to the serious disadvantage of our citizens. This phase of the controversy is a comparatively new one, and is of great importance. The problem is to obtain the advantages and at the same time to guard against possible misuses. The information on this subject is sparse and largely based on hearsay. What is necessary in the situation are the facts, and the Federal Trade Commission is entrusted with the duty of investigating, in foreign countries, combinations and other trade conditions which may affect the foreign trade of the United States. Undoubtedly, in conjunction with the Department of Commerce and with the Department of State, a large amount of information can be obtained which will enable the law-making power of the Government to address itself to the problem with greater security and confidence.

The Trade Commission is empowered further to make investigations into the control, management, and conduct of corporations engaged in interstate business, and to enforce, so far as industrial enterprise is concerned, the provisions of the Clayton Law with reference to price discrimination, tying contracts, holding companies, and interlocking stockholdings and directorships. It has within it the capacity for gathering together a great amount of information with reference to the make-up of the industry of the country. It is also possible to procure this information without in any manner harassing or hampering or hindering or annoying the business of the community. The Bureau of Corporations has received reports from 5,000 corporations out of the 7,000 corporations which have a capital of more than a million dollars. These reports were given voluntarily by these corporations upon a simple request, and entirely without threat or suggestion of process. The request made indicated the need of the Bureau of Corporations for this information as a matter of public concern, and an intention to protect such information from misuse by competitors. It was met with a frank and free disclosure in practically every instance, and there has been no complaint of inquisitorial methods having been employed. The modern point of view of large business enterprise in the United States at the present time recognizes the desirability of coöperation with government in a constructive and helpful solution of the problems connected with industry and government.

THE THEORY OF THE LAW

The Trade Commission was created by law by practically the unanimous approval of the House of Representatives, and with but five dissenting votes in the Senate. The term of seven years and the successive expirations of the terms of the Commissioners give promise of a continuous policy and expert qualification that may build up a body of administrative rules which will clarify the rules of conduct in industrial and governmental fields.

The theory upon which the Trade Commission is built is that the competitive system must be preserved, and to be preserved it must be regulated, i.e., made fair. It is directly opposed to the idea of regulated monopoly. Competition thus regulated, it is maintained, is the only industrial system with which the perpetuity of democratic institutions is compatible. Over all the world where men are seeking to govern themselves monopoly is prohibited or made a crime against the State. This is because monopoly is industrial and financial tyranny. Political opportunity is a farce unless equality of industrial opportunity is preserved. This Nation was conceived and dedicated to the proposition that all men were created equal before the law. The republican form of government is predicated upon the theory that every man shall have a fair chance under the law, industrially as well as politically. Monarchy is not inconsistent with state socialism. In the course of the debates in Congress it was urged with great

force that the Federal Trade Commission was one of the agencies which would help in the solution of our industrial problem, so that representative democracy might be preserved as against an otherwise certain development through industry to socialism in government.

There have been attempts to translate this legislation into terms of menace to business. These arise either from ignorance or perversity. Industry, and commercial enterprise, is a matter of paramount concern to the whole country; one sixth of the total wealth of the country is invested in commercial enterprises; one-tenth of its people are directly engaged in industrial enterprises; while the whole body of consumers in the Nation are concerned, of course, with the general welfare of industry. It is, of course, a matter of paramount concern to government that the interests of so large a body in its economic life should be preserved and aided, consistent with public interests. No business man can read this legislation but will conclude that not only is there no suggestion of war upon legitimate business, but that there is, indeed, immediate and great potential promise of distinct aid and service to legitimate enterprise and industry. The object and purpose of the Commission is to preserve equality of opportunity in industry and to preserve the rights of the smaller efficient organization against its monopolistic rival. As an agency for the easier accommodation of honest industrial enterprise to the requirements of the law it offers practical and constructive helpfulness. The spirit of its conception, translated into its enactment, is that of aid, consistent with constitutional limitations, to honestly perplexed business, and at the same time to assure to the large preponderance of the business of the country that there shall be a disinterested expert governmental body intent upon preserving the law in their interest, and which shall have at its command a great volume of digested and interpreted information about all the industries of the country, for the aid and protection of the business of the country, and intent upon the protection of the public interest.

It is an interpretation into law of the purposes and hope of the President of the United States, as voiced by him repeatedly —to eradicate the evil, to preserve that which is healthful, and to establish a constitution of peace within which and under which there may come an era of good feeling between public opinion, business, and government, because of the adherence of so-called "big business" to the law, because of the protection of the public by the law, and because of the disposition under such equitable conditions on the part of government to coöperate and to aid in the development of business and industrial prosperity to the benefit and advantage of the whole community.

PRISONS OF FREEDOM

WARDEN OSBORNE'S PRISON PARTNER'S PLAN FOR MAKING MEN OVER—A NEW ERA AT SING SING AND AUBURN

BY

FRANK MARSHALL WHITE

LAST Labor Day, at the Auburn State prison, in New York, the inmates were celebrating the holiday in the big yard within the walls, the men of the north wing and of the south wing pitted against each other in athletic sports. On the steps of the prison, surrounded by a group of officers and visitors and evincing a lively interest in the scene, stood Mr. Charles S. Whitman, now governor of New York. He was then district attorney of the County of New York, and under his administration of that office more than a

nd of the 1,400 gray-clad contest-
ad been convicted of crimes that had
ıt them sentences ranging from a
ars to life. There were no guards in
ison yard, save those who of their
:cord remained to witness the games,
e officers of the Mutual Welfare
ɛ, the prisoners' organization, were
ırge of the afternoon's recreations.
rganization included all the inmates
ɔurn with the exception of a negli-
few who had temporarily forfeited
ership by an infraction of rules.
ıors were even between the Wings,
:he last event on the programme, the
race, was announced, upon the
ne of which the contest now de-
d. One after another the men sped
the track bearing the staff that
from hand to hand. So close was
ɔntest that the victory that had
d to be won by the South Wing went
North Wing through the disquali-
n of one of the contestants, and a
f protest rose from the vanquished.
› you mean to say that you'll accept
ıp on a technical win? Robbers,
s!" they shouted to the victors, and
ıoment there was uproar.
n, "Smile, boys, smile!" shouted the
nt-at-arms of the League, a lithe and
ic specimen of young manhood.
ry face above the gray uniforms
into a smile, and the next moment
uth and North Wings were shaking
over the victory.
r Jove," said Mr. Whitman to War-
attigan, who stood at his side, "it
for a moment as if we might have
ɔugh house.'"
ıree cheers for the next governor of
tate!" rang out the voice of the
nt-at-arms, before the warden could

response was an enthusiastic roar,
r. Whitman beckoned to the sergeant-
ıs. The next moment the district
ey was shaking hands with a con-
burglar who had several years of a
term yet to serve, and his fellow pris-
burst into applause again as the two
men fell into friendly conversation.
was fearfully afraid that some of the
ould hiss when I called for the cheers
being that Whitman had sent so many of us up here," the sergeant-at-arms told his friends afterward, "but I guess they all recognized that it was a matter of business with him. Whitman put me away, you know, but when he asked me where I was convicted I told him it was in Brooklyn, so that he wouldn't think that I had been playing up to him on the chance of his recommending a commutation of sentence for me."

That night another prisoner of Auburn, a "lifer," wrote a long letter to Mr. Whitman, citing his own case and those of many others in the same institution whose entire outlook on life had been changed under the humane treatment they had recently been receiving, and who had determined to lead lives as useful as possible in prison and out thereafter; further expressing the hope that what the district attorney had seen in the prison yard that afternoon would lead him to sympathize with the purposes of the new penology. For the same reason that the sergeant-at-arms of the league told Mr. Whitman that he had been convicted in Brooklyn instead of within the latter's jurisdiction, the district attorney's correspondent in Auburn prison did not sign his name, or give any clue to his identity.

It was only a few months after Labor Day that Mr. Whitman approved his predecessor, Governor Glynn's, appointment of Thomas Mott Osborne, one of the foremost advocates of the new penology, as warden of Sing Sing Prison, with the understanding that, although a Democrat, he was to retain that post under the present Republican administration. The belief thus fostered that Mr. Whitman had confidence in the efficacy of advanced prison methods was corroborated when he took his seat as governor and requested Mr. John B. Riley, another Democrat, under whose direction as superintendent of prisons the State of New York had definitely abandoned the barbaric system of punishment by retribution, to remain in office. Whether his experiences in the prison
ırn on Labor Day, or the
d anything to do with
nduct in these matters

Mr. Orlando F. Lewis, secretary of the Prison Association of New York and an authority on penological subjects, declares that the two most significant dates in recent prison annals are July 4 and December 6, 1914. That these dates are significant is due to Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne. Mr. Osborne, who is in the middle fifties, is an alumnus of Harvard and a man of affairs. He retired from business with a fortune, and has held more than one public office. He was mayor of his native city, Auburn, N. Y., from 1903 to 1905, and was for nine years a member of the Board of Education of Auburn. He was a member of the Public Service Commission of the Second Division from 1907 to 1909, and in 1913 was made chairman of the State Commission on Prison Reform. During his entire public life he has been known to politicians as an eager obstructor of political schemes and an aggressive enemy of Tammany Hall and all its works. He was little known to the general public, however, until September, 1913, when he attracted attention that was world-wide by undergoing a week's voluntary confinement under the name of "Tom Brown," in Auburn prison, during which period he lived the life of the other prisoners, worked with them in the shops, subsisted on their food, and slept in a cell at night.

It was not with any sense of adventure that Mr. Osborne essayed prison life, for at his age men to whom the comforts and luxuries of existence are available are wont to take advantage of them. His animating purpose was to ascertain actual conditions in a state prison; to learn at first hand some of the evils of the existing prison system. It was his prison "partner," Jack Murphy, as is told in the narrative of Mr. Osborne's underworld experiences, "Within Prison Walls," who conceived the idea of the Mutual Welfare League, the system of self-government by the inmates themselves that has revolutionized all previous notions of prison discipline, and which was adopted in Auburn in February of last year. Mr. Osborne began the work of organizing the league soon after his release from his self-imposed prison term, and from the beginning sought to have the men evolve its principles and pledges among themselves—not through him nor through officers of the prison. The organization is simple, and in its simplicity lies its efficacy. Any inmate of the prison is eligible to membership in the league; and as in return for pledges of obedience and loyalty to the administration the men are given greater freedom and more privileges, every inmate finds it to his own interest to join. The men elect their own officers, without the slightest suggestion by prison officers, and this condition automatically ended the "stool pigeon," or spy, system at Auburn, for the companies of prisoners and their officers instinctively aimed to adjust themselves to secure the minimum of trouble at chapel, in the shops, and at recreation. Infringement of the rules means suspension from the league and all its privileges. Jack Murphy's prediction, made to Mr. Osborne while he was in prison, that the big majority of the men in Auburn would be square if given a chance, and that the majority of square men would be able to handle those who were not so inclined, has proved to be accurate. The first test of the efficacy of the league occurred last June, when an epidemic of scarletina affected a thousand of the prisoners, and work in the shops had to be largely discontinued. Under such conditions the practice hitherto had invariably been to lock the men in their cells. Warden Rattigan took a long chance on this occasion, however, and turned all the prisoners of good standing in the league into the big prison yard to exercise or play as they chose, under the supervision of their own self-chosen officers. The test was successful, for perfect order was maintained and no efforts at escape were made.

"The boys would have torn the fellow that tried to escape to pieces," said one of the prisoners to an officer of the prison that evening. "We've pledged ourselves to behave. Besides, do you think we want to lose the privileges we have gained?"

Even greater liberty was granted the men on July 4th, one of the dates to which Mr. Lewis attaches so much significance in prison annals. "History," he says, "was made at Auburn prison on Independence Day. For the 1,400 men not only ran off their own sports during the after-

ɔut they practically ran themselves, h their appointed 'delegates,' chosen mong their own numbers by their ɔtes. And assuredly no more or- roup could have been found on that of July anywhere between the c and Pacific."

a few months before, Sundays and 's had been looked forward to by ıates of the state prisons as days of . They were allowed out of their r breakfast, and then were permitted nd religious services—where they thank God that there was only one / in the week. Under the old regu- all the inmates of the prisons were at 11 o'clock in the morning—back cells with their rations for the day, ıner being provided for them on /, since that would have interfered ıe cooks' and keepers' day of rest. Monday happened to be a holiday :n were kept in their cells from 4 on Saturday afternoon until 6:30 Tuesday morning—a total of more ɪty hours, with the exception of the :cessary to eat breakfast on Sunday :end religious services, and the time meal on Monday. The same con- existed when a holiday fell on ay. For the last year the inmates state prisons have been given an recreation each week day and four n Sundays and holidays.

Lewis's other significant date in history, Sunday, December 6th, its importance from the fact that t day Mr. Osborne, who had begun ies as warden of Sing Sing on the the month, assembled all the pris- ı the chapel and ordered the guards he room. It was the first time in tory of the prison that the inmates en free from direct physical res- and it should be borne in mind that umber included many of the men July of the previous year had mu- and set fire to the shops, and that ın two years before the then warden Sing had felt it necessary to carry d pistol when he went into the prison The men came into the chapel in risions of about 700 each, the chapel ng large enough to seat them all at once. Men familiar with the state prisons had felt that the experiment of self-government as applied in Auburn might prove dangerous in Sing Sing, which has always been the most turbulent of these institutions, partly because physical conditions make it impossible to keep the inmates decently comfortable a large part of the time, and partly because it is the prison for first offenders, who are always more unruly and more easily incited to violence than prisoners who are accustomed to obey orders. Nevertheless, no speaker ever had an audience under more complete control than Mr. Osborne had these two aggregations of criminals at Sing Sing.

As amazing under the old ideas of prison discipline as the assembling of the inmates of Sing Sing without guards was the business they had asked to discuss with the new warden, which was nothing less than the making of fifteen almost revolutionary changes in the rules of the institution, the principle one being that the men be allowed to discipline themselves without the initial intervention of warden or keepers—a suggestion that only a year ago would have been regarded as an impudent ebullition of humor. The prisoners also asked that they be allowed to see visitors on Sundays and holidays, which has hitherto been forbidden because it would necessitate a greater number of guards remaining on duty. Other requests made by the prisoners of Sing Sing on that momentous—to them—Sunday, December 6th, was that they be allowed to purchase postage stamps at the office of the prison from their funds on deposit, instead of being forced to depend on friends or relatives who sent stamps to them; that in the event of deaths or serious illnesses in their families, or in case of a prisoner going out on parole, he be furnished with postage even though he have no money to his credit; that prisoners be allowed to expend money on deposit to their credit, regardless of whether or not the officers know where that money has come from; that prisoners be allowed to keep their daily papers in their cells until they have finished reading them, instead of being compelled to give them up each evening; that lights be allowed in cells and the dormitory until

10 o'clock, instead of being put out at 9:30, and that prisoners be allowed to receive shoes and sweaters from their families and friends outside, which has hitherto been forbidden.

All these and other similar requests Mr. Osborne granted at once, observing that he saw no reason why such rules had been made in the first place. Of their own accord the men asked that the beds in the dormitory, where the overflow from the cells is accommodated, which are 100 per cent. more comfortable than the bunks in the cells, be assigned first to the cripples and those suffering from epilepsy among them, a request granted by Mr. Osborne with the remark that he was greatly pleased at this evidence of concern for the general welfare. In Auburn prison the Mutual Welfare League is allowed to deal with minor breaches of discipline, and it was for this privilege that the Golden Rule Brotherhood of Sing Sing—which was formed on the same lines as the prisoners' organization at Auburn and has since adopted the same name—asked the new warden. Mr. Osborne told them that he was in full sympathy with the idea, and that he would go further and allow the Brotherhood to adjudicate *all* breaches of discipline, with appeal, where the justice of a decision was disputed, to the warden's court, which is composed of the warden himself, the principal keeper, and the prison physician. Of the fifteen requests made by the prisoners, Mr. Osborne granted all but two—that the screen be taken out of the visitors' room and that the men be allowed to have the Sunday newspapers—and these he merely held in abeyance. The heartiness of the applause of his audiences as one after another of their requests was granted was sufficient evidence of their appreciation of his brotherly efforts on their behalf; they even cheered when he told them that he would have to reserve his decision with regard to the screen and the Sunday newspapers.

Before dismissing his audiences Mr. Osborne told each division that he asked a return for the confidence he was reposing in them. He wanted, he said, greater quiet and cleanliness in the cell block, less waste of food, and, above all, more work done in the shops.

"That is the principal argument I shall have to use with the Legislature and the public," he said, "in my efforts to improve conditions here and give you better food, eventually to have a new prison in place of Sing Sing—that under the new conditions you are turning out more work for the State."

The output of the same number of men in all the shops for the first month of Mr. Osborne's wardenship was greater than ever before during any single month in the history of the prison. And there were less than one third as many cases of infringement of prison rules as during the previous month.

The improvement in order and increase in product are not the result of any additional activity of the keepers. Mr. Osborne has practically dismissed the guards from the shops; that is, they no longer stand over the prisoners at their work, but patrol through the buildings. The warden introduced the new system in the most unruly shop first. Gathering the 250 workers in the knitting shop about him during his first week in Sing Sing, he said:

"Boys, I understand that you are the worst-behaved bunch in the whole prison—and I'm going to put a stop to it!"

The men stared at the warden uneasily.

"I'm going to dismiss your guards," Mr. Osborne continued, "and you'll have to choose your own delegates, from among yourselves, to preserve order."

The men in the knitting shop have been among the best-behaved and most industrious in the prison ever since.

There died in March, from tuberculosis, in the warden's residence at Sing Sing, a man who was once one of the most desperate criminals of his time. About forty-five years of age at the time of his death, he was known in half a score of prisons throughout the country as one of the hardest men to deal with ever sentenced for crime, evidenced by marks on his body of many cruel tortures and beatings in efforts to break his spirit—which under the old penology was considered essential to discipline. He was known, by reason of his dark complexion and

ı hair, as "Canada Blackie" in the rworld, where he was loved for ring qualities of loyalty and friend-

His crimes need not be specified; were not those of a sneak or a coward. irst came to Mr. Osborne's attention uburn, where he had been five years olitary confinement following an at-t to escape from Dannemora prison, hich he had shot a guard. Mr. Os-e asked Warden Rattigan's permission ke Canada Blackie out of his cell for lk last Fourth of July, on the historic ion when the prisoners celebrated their games in the prison yard. It was a of Canada Blackie's code of ethics to all authority in prison, and hitherto ı it had been necessary to remove from one cell to another it was a mat-f knocking him down and dragging out. However, he had heard of Mr. rne's self-imposed prison term, like other inmates of prisons in the United s, and respected him for it, and when gentleman appeared at his cell door casually invited him to come out and he games, as if that were an ordinary rence, Canada Blackie came. He did return to solitary confinement. He restored to ordinary prison conditions he developed into one of the most e workers in the Mutual Welfare ue and eventually became one of its rs. His nature seemed completely ange with his restoration to partial ty and humane treatment. As is in-bly the case when a man of strength aracter turns from evil to good, his forcefulness carried him as far in the direction as it had previously in the tion of wrong, so that he became a rful influence for good among his v prisoners. Had Canada Blackie's h begun to fail before his release from ry confinement, his reformation might been accounted for on that ground; as tter of fact it was several months that the first symptoms of disease ared.

nada Blackie's usefulness did not end ı he became too feeble to leave his

It so happened that the warden of formatory in Connecticut had been eper in Joliet prison in Illinois while Canada Blackie was serving a term there, and had more than once assisted in hopeless efforts to force him to conform to discipline. In February the directors of the reformatory decided to introduce the honor system, but the warden, a veteran of forty-three years' experience in penal institutions who held the new penology in contempt, would have none of it. He was lured to Sing Sing on some pretense by one of the directors, whose real purpose was to put him in touch with Canada Blackie. An hour's talk with the man he had known before as a terror of the prisons, the despair of wardens and keepers, sent the warden of the Connecticut reformatory home a convert to the honor system—which has been introduced in his institution.

The difference in the demeanor of the prisoners in the two institutions under the new conditions as compared with the old is almost inconceivable. Less than two years ago they would shuffle in to their meals, in charge of guards who carried cudgels, with sullen faces and eyes on the floor, and if a visitor came among them in the shops or yards they regarded him with surly suspicion, particularly if they knew him to be a "chiel amang them takin' notes." Today, unaccompanied by guards, but led by their own elected captains, the men swing into the mess halls with heads up and generally bright faces, and a visitor who is vouched for by Superintendent Riley or their warden has their immediate friendship; if he is known to be a writer he is made particularly welcome.

Auburn and Sing Sing have been so much in the public eye during the last few months that Great Meadow, at Comstock, in Washington County, where the honor system in New York State prisons had its beginnings in 1911, has been almost forgotten. The Great Meadow experimental station—no longer an experiment, by the way—is merely an 1,100-acre farm, on which is a big house with 600 comfortable rooms and 600 more building, in which the farm hands are locked up every night. The house is called a prison, and the rooms are known as cells. However, the cell block is as light, bright, and cheerful as a sun parlor. The walls facing the cells are more than half in glass, and the occupants

look right out into the open country. The cells are the size of some hall bedrooms, but they are better furnished than most hall bedrooms that are rented in the big cities. The beds are of polished steel, and there are an electric light, sanitary plumbing, and running water in every cell. Everything that modern sanitation has taught has been employed in the construction of the cell block. The Great Meadow idea goes back to the time of Prison Superintendent Cornelius V. Collins, and was the conception of Mr. Frederick H. Mills, former sales agent of the Prison Department, to whom and Mr. Collins many earlier prison reforms are due. Mr. Mills's plan was the erection of a prison to be made the apex of the state's system, in which unusual privileges were to be granted, and transference to which was to be a reward for good conduct on the part of the inmates of the other prisons, and also a measure providing for their leaving prison in good health after work in the open. The carrying out of this scheme far beyond the limit set by the most hopeful advocates of prison humanizing is the work of Mr. William J. Homer. The basic idea of Mr. Homer's theory of prison administration is, in his own words: "If you treat a man right he'll treat you right—ninety-nine times out of a hundred." Mr. Homer does not call himself a penologist. He was a business man in Elmira, N. Y., before he became warden of Great Meadow, and was selected for the position by Prison Superintendent Scott, with whom he had frequently discussed prison matters. There were 139 inmates at Great Meadow when Warden Homer began his work there in July, 1911. These men he summoned to his office singly and in groups of three or four, and explained the honor system he purposed to introduce —which was merely that each man should give his word not to try to escape, and in return be allowed all the liberty possible under prison surveillance. It was the following March, the beginning of the farming season, that the new order went into effect at Great Meadow, and at present there are 600 inmates on honor not to leave the farm without permission, while more than two thousand men have availed themselves of the privileges of Warden Homer's system. There is approximately one keeper to every fourteen prisoners at Great Meadow, as in the other prisons of the state, but the guards carry no weapons. The 600 prisoners, so far as forcible restraint or opposition is concerned, might at any time during the day overcome their guards and sack Comstock and the adjacent villages. The men leave the farm unaccompanied by guards whenever their work makes it necessary. One gang of men took their lunches almost every day last summer and were away without a guard ten hours a day building a dam on a creek a mile from the cell block. One of the Great Meadow prisoners has charge of 300 pigs, and another of the same number of sheep; both men and their helpers are often out alone all night looking after their charges during the breeding season. The percentage of escapes and attempts to escape during the three years of Warden Homer's administration has been about one half of one per cent. — eleven out of a total of 2,095 prisoners, to be exact — and during this period more than 1,400 men have been paroled, of whom fewer than 40 have been returned to the state prisons.

Exactly the same question arises with regard to Great Meadow and Warden Homer as with regard to Sing Sing and Warden Osborne: Do the prisoners respond to the man or to the system? Would other wardens of equal intelligence, with the same degree of what is called magnetism, who can be at the same time sympathetic and firm, dominant and yet kindly, be able to make the honor system effective in the ordinary prison? That is a problem that only time can solve. Both Mr. Homer and Mr. Osborne have dedicated their lives to the welfare of their erring brethren; they love their fellow men; their souls are in their work. Perhaps only administrators thus devoted will ever be able to obtain a control like to that of the wardens of Great Meadow and Sing Sing over bodies of men living under abnormal conditions in our prisons.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

WIND-SHIELD FOR MOTOR-CYCLES

A MUDGUARD and wind-shield for motor-cycles, designed principally for use in winter, has been constructed of hollow steel tubing and mohair, with a celluloid window. It is shaped so that the rider may look over the shield and still be protected, for the rush of air is deflected up and over his head, thus enabling him to enjoy far greater comfort and protection from the chilling wind that detracts so much from the pleasure of motor-cycling in the late autumn or early winter.

The wind-shield does not extend beyond the handle-bar width and has no projections to get tangled up with the motor-cycle or with passing objects. The weight of the mudguard and shield is 9 pounds. It can be attached to any make of machine in a few minutes. When not in use the wind-shield portion may be turned down out of the way as illustrated in one of the accompanying photographs.

A NEW KIND OF CAR FERRY

AN ICE-BREAKING car ferry with several new characteristics, to be used for the transportation of trains across the St. Lawrence River between Quebec and Lévis at all seasons of the year, has been constructed in England for the Transcontinental railroad of Canada.

The vessel is of the twin-screw type with an ice-breaking propeller at the forward end, and has a movable tidal car deck by means of which the problem of meeting tidal conditions at places where there is a great variation in the tides seems to have been solved. The railroad tracks on the landing at Quebec and Lévis are built at a fixed level, and the tidal deck can be raised or lowered to take trains from these tracks at any state of tide, the range being 18 feet. The tidal deck is set above the main deck of the vessel upon ten transverse gir-

BOX CARS ON THE FERRY

THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER AT QUEBEC, WHERE THE FERRY WILL BE USED, HAS A TIDAL VARIATION OF EIGHTEEN FEET

ders, each end of which rests on a large nut which works up and down on a vertical screw, giving the deck the ne range of action to suit the varyin conditions. Three lengths of tra fitted on the tidal deck, each su on lattice girders, while at each end deck there is an adjustable hinge way with ball and socket joints t for any heel of ship or change of trim takes place while loading or unloa

FARM TRACTOR DRIVEN LI HORSE

A MAN on a hay wagon or a driving a gasolene tractor of him as if it were a te horses is one of the curious sights modern invention gives us.

This tractor is driven with The pulls on these have the same as pulls on reins attached to a b horse's mouth. The pulling of eit right or the left rein steers the and a pull on both at once stops

ICE-BREAKING CAR FERRY WITH TIDAL DECK

A FERRY USED BY THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD OF CANADA TO TRANSFER CARS ACROSS T LAWRENCE RIVER HAS A DECK WHICH CAN BE RAISED OR LOWERED TO MEET VARIATIONS OF

A TRACTOR DRIVEN WITH REINS

A FARM TRACTOR WHICH CAN BE HITCHED TO ANY VEHICLE AND WHICH IS DRIVEN WITH REINS, LIKE A HORSE

further backward pull on both reins causes it to back up.

By the control of the lines one man can operate both the tractor and the implement to which it is attached. The tractor is small, and will hitch up to practically all types of farm implements, the change from one to another being as easily made as with a team of horses. It has been in use for more than a year.

OUTSIDE GAS AND ELECTRIC METERS

THE inconvenience of having a public service company's employee enter one's house to read the gas or electric meter may be obviated by a new type of outside meter shown in the illustration on page 124. The meter is set in the exterior wall of the house, face outward.

The cost of installing outside boxes is less than ten dollars for each, if they are built in when a house is erected. Many installations are being made in houses already built, the owners being willing to incur the extra labor expense to do away

A GASOLENE HORSE

THE TRACTOR HARNESSED TO A HARVESTER, ONE MAN OPERATING BOTH MACHINES

A NEW TYPE OF METER

IT CAN CONVENIENTLY BE READ FROM THE OUTSIDE

with the nuisances resulting from the placing of meters in the basement and elsewhere.

EDISON'S "TELESCRIBE"

MR. THOMAS A. EDISON, in a machine which he calls the "telescribe," has succeeded in combining the phonograph with the telephone for the recording of telephone conversations. Heretofore in telephoning there have been no records for reference; none of the feeling of security that attends the actual possession of a signed communication or the carbon copy of a letter that has been mailed. But now, by means of the "telescribe," both sides of a telephone conversation can be recorded

In operating, the receiver of the regular desk telephone is removed from the hook and placed in the socket of the telescribe. In this way the accoustic connection to the dictating machine is made without danger of criticism from the telephone company, as the instrument is neither mechanically nor electrically connected to the telephone lines. The user then takes up a small receiver, which is part of the telescribe, and gives his call to the exchange. Both sides of the conversation and the voice of the central operator making the connection are recorded. After the conversation the dictator may turn to the telescribe and confirm what has been said.

THE "TELESCRIBE"

Copyright by Thomas A. Edison

MR. THOMAS A. EDISON USING HIS DEVICE FOR THE RECORDING OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

CONTENTS FOR JUNE, 1915

ear-Admiral William S. Benson - - - - - - - - - *Frontispiece*

HE MARCH OF EVENTS—AN EDITORIAL INTERPRETATION - - 127

The Atlantic Fleet
American Submarines
The *Lusitania*
The Hon. James Bryce
Gen. Ferdinand Foch

HE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY

WHY THE WORLD IS AGAINST GERMANY - - - - - - 135A
AMERICA'S DIPLOMACY IN THIS CRISIS - - - - - - 135F
PAN-GERMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES - - - - - 135L
HOW FAST CAN WE MAKE ARMS AND AMMUNITION? 137
THE TOLL OF THE SUBMARINES - - - - - - - - - 142

OUR GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES - - - - - 145
N INVESTMENT IN CANDY - - - - - - - - - - - - - 148
PAN'S FIRST DEMOCRAT - - - - - - - - CARL CROW 150
K-BARREL PENSIONS (Concluded) - - BURTON J. HENDRICK 156
IV—"FROM THE EVIDENCE SUBMITTED"
STANTINOPLE THE KEY TO EMPIRE (Illustrated) - - - 165
JOFFRE AND FOCH SAVED THE FRENCH ARMY
E. V. STODDARD 185
LIVING AND EASY DYING - - - WILLIAM C. JOHNSON 194
ALOONLESS NATION BY 1920" - - - JOHN S. GREGORY 197
TEETOTAL" WAR - - - - - - - - - - JAMES MIDDLETON 205
GREAT RIVER (Illustrated) - - - - - GEORGE MARVIN 213
—CONTROLLING THE MISSISSIPPI
E REALLY OWE EUROPE ANYTHING? THEODORE H. PRICE 238
ING EXPORTS "ALL BY MAIL" - - WALTER F. WYMAN 242
AND HIS MACHINES (Illustrated) - - - - - - - - - - 245
NESS TALKS - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Advertising Section*

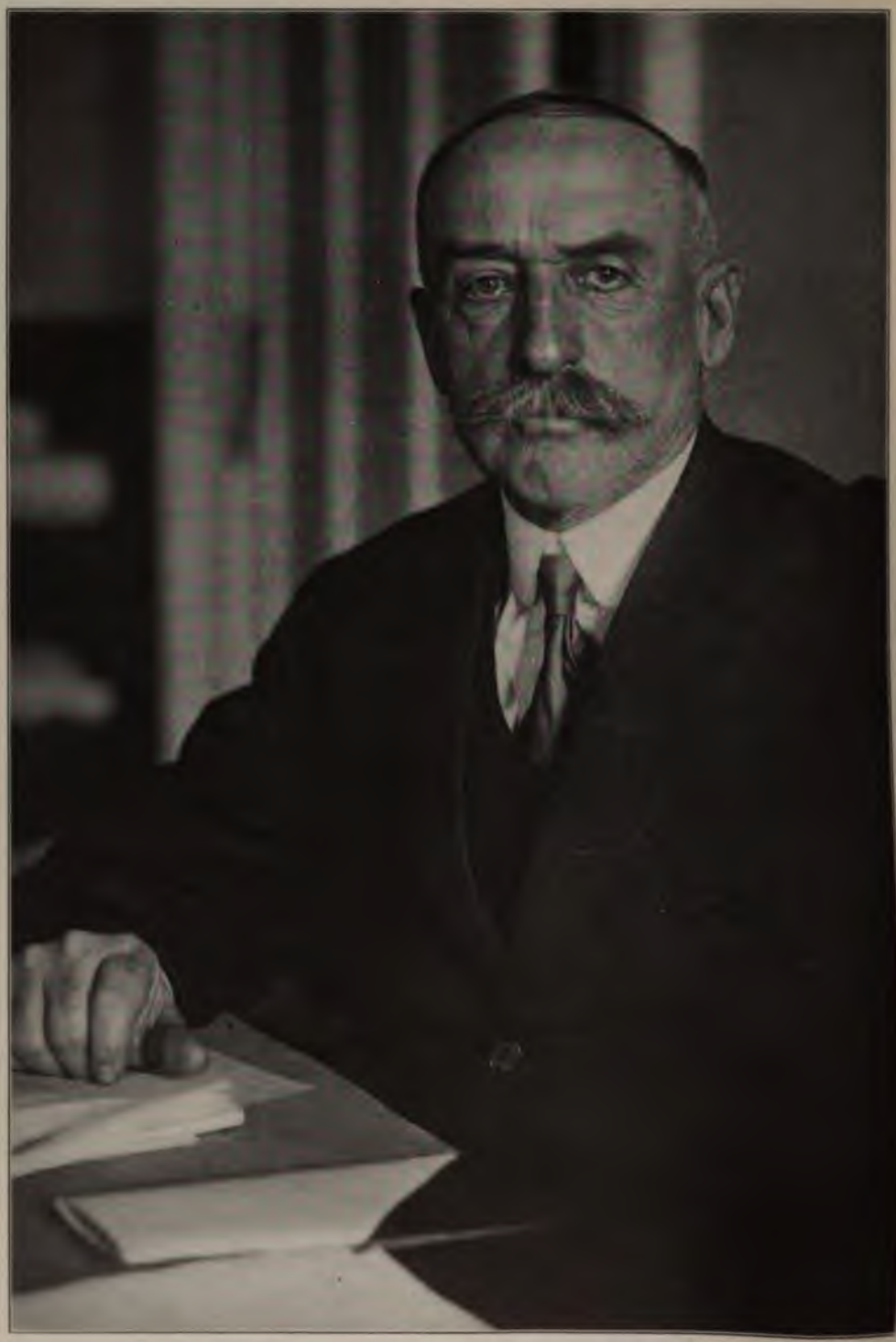
TERMS: $3.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents. For Foreign Postage add $1.00; Canada 60 cents.
Published monthly. Copyright, 1915, by Doubleday, Page & Company.
All rights reserved. Entered at the Post Office at Garden City, N. Y., as second-class mail matter.
Unsolicited manuscripts are welcomed by the editors and are carefully read. They cannot, however, be returned unless they are accompanied by the proper amount of postage.

N. DOUBLEDAY, Pres. H. S. HOUSTON, Vice-Pres. S. A. EVERITT, Treas. RUSSELL DOUBLEDAY, Sec'y.

DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY

COUNTRY LIFE IN AMERICA THE GARDEN MAGAZINE — FARMING

CHICAGO: Peoples Gas Bldg. GARDEN CITY, N. Y. NEW YORK: 11-13 W. 32d Street



Copyright by Harris & Ewing

REAR-ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. BENSON

THE FIRST CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS, AN OFFICE RECENTLY CREATED BY CONGRESS WHICH CARRIES WITH IT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF PREPARING AND MAINTAINING THE FLEET FOR WAR

THE
WORLD'S WORK

JUNE, 1915

VOLUME XXX NUMBER 2

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

BEGINNING on the 28th of March the German Navy carried on hostilities against the United States. On that date a German submarine caused the death of Mr. Leon C. Thrasher, an American citizen, who was a passenger on the steamer *Falaba* when it was blown up. On the 28th of April a German aeroplane dropped bombs on the American ship *Cushing* although she was flying the American flag. On the first of May the American oil ship *Gulflight* was struck by a torpedo from a submarine and the lives of three American citizens lost. Finally, on May 7th, a German submarine killed more than 100 American citizens by sinking the *Lusitania*. These acts were not war, for the killing of non-combatants in these days is not sanctioned by the rules of war. But they were hostile, and as they were in strict accordance with the policy outlined in official German statements they were presumably intentionally hostile.

A statement written by the German Government a few days before the destruction of the *Lusitania*, changing its attitude in such cases as the *Gulflight*, showed a willingness to respect American ships, but left the old hostile inferences toward American citizens on the passenger ships of belligerents.

The Germans claim that the submarine changes naval war. That is true, but the inference from it, that the submarine also changes international law and limits our rights at sea, is not true. International law, as it affects us and our rights on the sea, cannot be changed by the decree of any foreign government. Nor can the laws of humanity be modified to fit the limitations of Germany's naval forces.

American rights at sea must and will be maintained. Our scrupulous neutrality was "not a petty desire to keep out of trouble." It was a desire to serve civilization by demonstrating that a nation of mature judgment can maintain its rights even in such times as these without war.

A failure to maintain our rights in peace would destroy our ideal of a nation so right it need not fight. It would prove that such a nation cannot exist in a civilization that harbors an exponent of the doctrine that necessity knows no law. If we, in comparative isolation, cannot maintain our rights peacefully there is no use trying to go on with what we believe civilization to be until Germany is made to realize that even necessity must know some law.

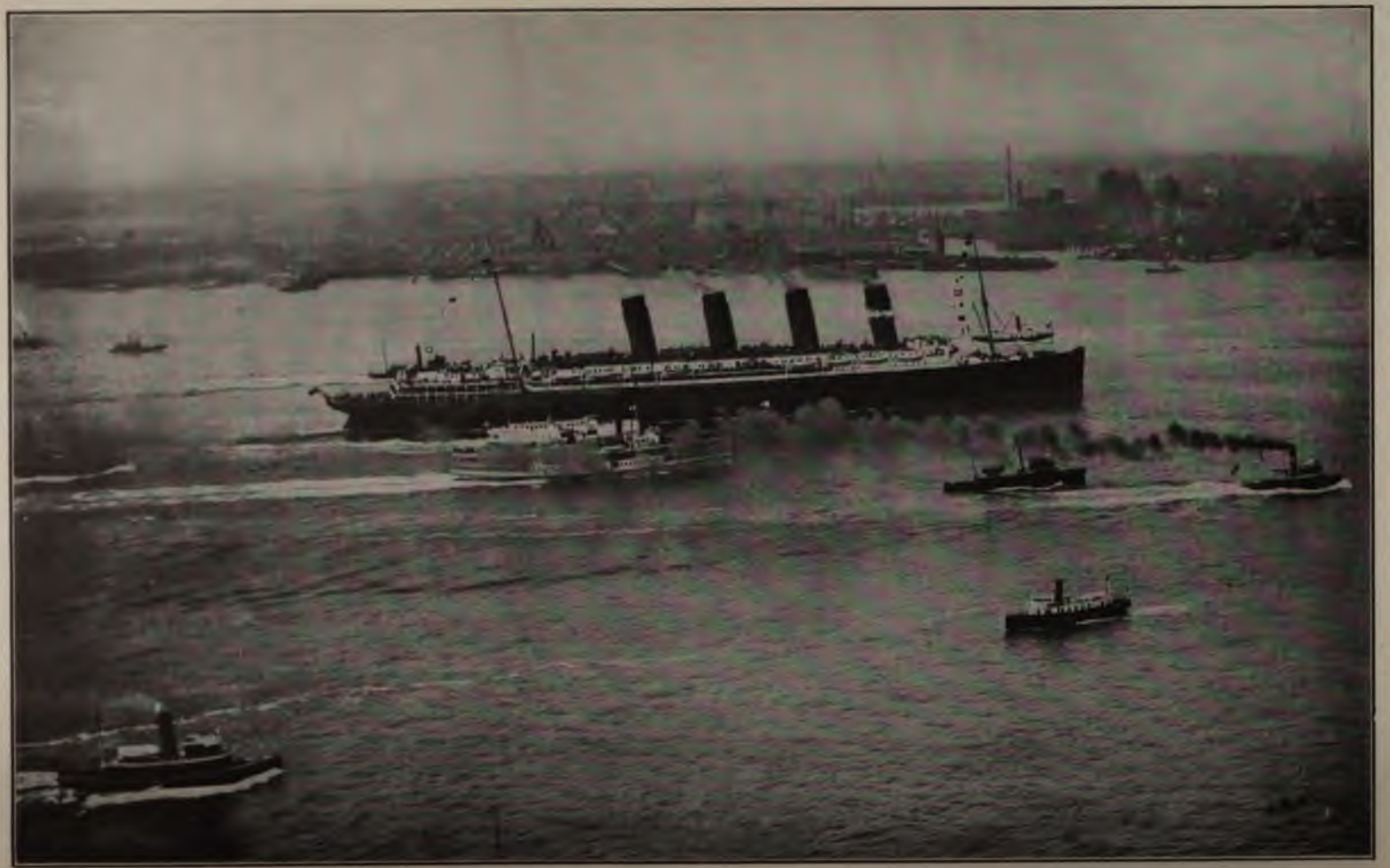
Copyright, 1915, by Doubleday, Page & Co. All rights reserved.

THE ATLANTIC FLEET WHICH ARRIVED IN NEW YORK HARBOR ON MAY 8TH

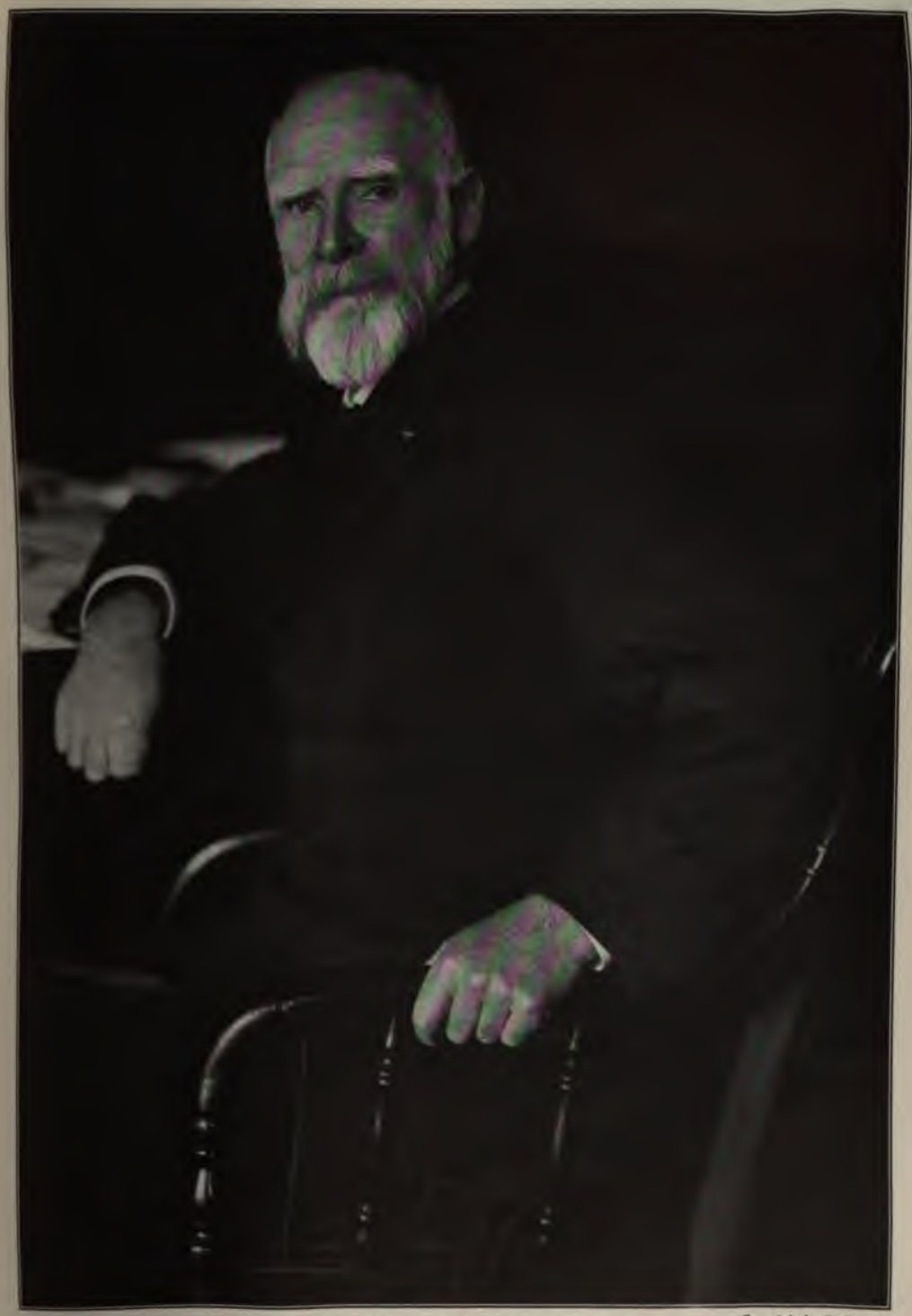
CONSISTING OF 3 SUPERDREADNAUGHTS, 6 DREADNAUGHTS, 7 PREDREADNAUGHTS, 1 SCOUT CRUISER, 2 AUXILIARY CRUISERS, 16 DESTROYERS, 12 SUBMARINES, 4 SUBMARINE TENDERS, 1 GUNBOAT, 4 FUEL SHIPS, 1 MINE LAYER, 1 HOSPITAL SHIP, 1 REPAIR SHIP, 1 SUPPLY SHIP, AND 4 NAVAL TUGS

AMERICAN SUBMARINES

THE MODERN SUBMARINES ARE THE INVENTION OF AN AMERICAN AND THE PLANS FOR THEIR PRESENT PERFECTION WERE DRAWN IN THIS COUNTRY. BUT IN BUILDING THEM THE UNITED STATES LAGS BEHIND GREAT BRITAIN, WHICH PROBABLY HAS 96 SUBMARINES, AND GERMANY, WHICH PROBABLY HAS 39, INCLUDING SEVERAL VESSELS OF THE SEA-GOING TYPE WHICH ARE CAPABLE OF CRUISES UP TO 1,200 MILES. THE LAST NAVAL APPROPRIATION BILL ADDED TO OUR 32 SUBMARINES 16 MODERN COAST-DEFENSE SUBMARINES AND 2 OF THE SEA-GOING TYPE



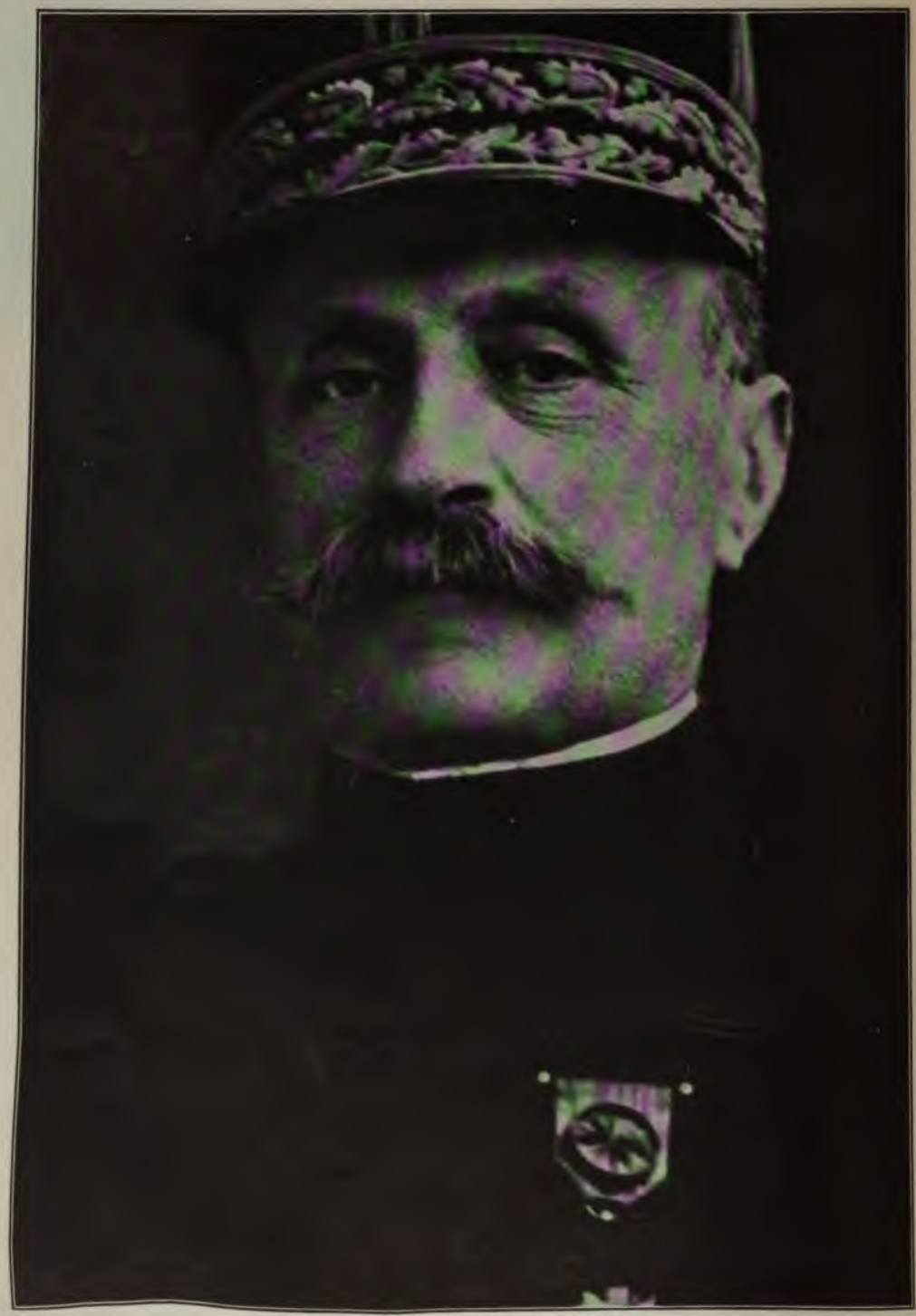
THE "LUSITANIA"



Copyright by Pach Bros.

THE HON. JAMES BRYCE

FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, WHO, AS CHAIRMAN OF AN OFFICIAL BRITISH INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE, STANDS SPONSOR FOR THE REPORT CHARGING GERMANY WITH A DELI*BERATELY ORGANIZED* CAMPAIGN OF TERROR IN BELGIUM



GEN. FERDINAND FOCH

"MY LEFT HAS BEEN FORCED BACK, MY RIGHT IS ROUTED, I SHALL ATTACK WITH THE CENTRE."—GENERAL FOCH'S MESSAGE TO GENERAL JOFFRE AT THE HIGH TIDE OF THE GERMAN ADVANCE IN FRANCE

(See page 185)

. TEST OF DEMOCRACY

HE President's note to Germany ended with the sentence: "The Imperial German Government will ect the Government of the United o omit any word or any act neces- the performance of its sacred duty ıtaining the rights of the United ınd its citizens."

: are the calm and deliberate words an who recognized their full sig- e and chose them carefully. They words of a man who meant exactly said and who knew that his words :urately voicing the thoughts of the 'or which he was acting. With a :raint born of the seriousness of the ı, the people and the press awaited 'ernment's action. Almost unani- from all parts of the country came ıt of deep indignation over the loss on the *Lusitania*. Yet men and ers refrained from embarrassing the ıt. He was left free with his con- ınd the confidence of the American o meet the crisis which had been ıpon us. The way in which both ıtry and the Government met the convincing proof of the fundamen- dness of American democracy.

ILIZATION VS. "KULTUR"

IE present war proves, as any practical man can see, that a na- tion that does not wish to be on must have the ability to defend The innocence of Belgium did not from Germany, nor has the inno- f China saved her from the im- ı of Japan.

he present war proves nearly as that great armaments are likely t enemies even faster than they strength. Great armaments need ssarily beget enemies, but if they ge a people to believe in force ; they are very likely to do, they a source of weakness rather than . for they raise up enough to nullify all preparations. This has happened to Germany. No could be better organized for war. Germany had the greatest army in the world. It was bigger than the French army, more powerful than the Russian army, superior to any other army. The rulers of Germany knew this and they seemed to believe also that their rights were as wide as their army was efficient. When France realized the German position the Republic began reorganizing its army. When Russia realized it it began reorganizing its army. When England realized it it prepared its fleet to meet the situation. Nothing that Germany could do could enable her to keep her forces or those of Austria and Turkey increasing as fast as the combined forces of her neighbors.

As soon as a nation hitches its standard to the doctrine of force alone, its doom is sealed. France tried it under Napoleon, the greatest general of modern times—and failed. Germany has tried it under Kaiser Wilhelm II with the best organization for war ever perfected—and she, too, will fail. It is truly now "either world domination or downfall," whether Bernhardi meant it or not, for there can be no lasting basis of peace with an undefeated nation in arms which believes that its rights are as great as its power.

Energy, accuracy, efficiency, and force—that is the *Kultur* which the Prussian theory would substitute for the civilization in which other nations have tried to have humanity and fair dealing limit the activities of force. We hope that had any other nation been in the position of Germany last August its ideals of civilization would have prevented it from sending a devastating army through Belgium. We hope that no other army would have descended to a system of terrorizing the population by murder and burning. We hope that even in any extremity the ideals of civilization would prevent any other government from ordering a submarine captain to kill a thousand non-combatants for the sake of destroying a cargo of ammunition, and if such an order were given we hope that the officer of any other navy would have the courage of his humanity not to carry it out.

These are the aspects of civilization which seem to us fundamentally opposed to *Kultur*. The scientific accuracy, en-

ergy, and efficiency which *Kultur* also implies are ingredients which our civilization may well imitate.

AMERICA AND THE GERMAN PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT

SOME months before the war broke out a German professor in an American university wrote for the *Atlantic Monthly* a paper on "German Literature and the American Temper," in which he said:

> I verily believe that it is impossible for an American to understand the feelings which a loyal German subject, particularly of the conservative sort, entertains toward the State and its authority. That the State should be anything more than an institution for the protection and safeguarding of the happiness of individuals; that it might be considered as a spiritual, collective personality, leading a life of its own, beyond and above the life of individuals—these are thoughts utterly foreign to the American mind, and very near and dear to the heart of a German.

The professor is right. The American takes Lincoln's description of the State "of the people, for the people, and by the people" literally. The conception of a State leading a life of its own beyond and above the life of individuals is outside our philosophy. Such a State might have ambitions at variance with the wishes and interests of the majority of its subjects. It is essentially an undemocratic doctrine—this doctrine of an irresponsible State.

A State that is above and beyond the people it governs is not amenable to their conscience or their humanity. If the individual exists for the State, there is nothing which the State may not ask him to do. The necessities of the State are his law. They stand above his conscience, his religion, and his honor. And the first duty of this State which is above law and morals is to perpetuate itself and increase its power. Such a State, realizing that it is bound by nothing but force, must necessarily put its faith in force and force alone. Whatever *Kultur* may mean to the German, to the rest of the world it is the doctrine of organized, scientific, efficient force—without the restraint of morals.

AN INDICTMENT OF MILITARY SAVAGERY

SELDOM in the history of war has a population fled from an invading army in such numbers as the Belgians fled from the German forces. Seldom has there been as much persistent accusation of wholesale brutality as has been made against the Germans in Belgium. Yet the American public was loath to believe that there had been any organized terrorism ordered by responsible officers of the German Army. We have not wanted to believe that wholesale brutality and the murder of non-combatants could occur in a European country at this period of the world's history. But the report of the investigating committee headed by Lord Bryce cannot be ignored. It is the most terrible indictment of savagery ever filed against a government in modern times.

The report tells of hundreds and hundreds of unarmed civilians who were marched out in the presence of German officers and shot, of hundreds and hundreds of houses systematically set on fire and destroyed, and of unorganized arson, rape, and murder. The report gives page after page of details in proof of the committee's conclusions:

> 1. That there were in many parts of Belgium deliberate and systematically organized massacres of the civil population, accompanied by many isolated murders and other outrages.
>
> 2. That in the conduct of the war generally innocent civilians, both men and women, were murdered in large numbers, women violated, and children murdered.
>
> 3. That looting, house burning, and the wanton destruction of property were ordered and countenanced by the officers of the German army, that elaborate provision had been made for systematic incendiarism at the very outbreak of the war, and that the burning and destruction were frequent where no military necessity could be alleged, being, indeed, part of a system of general terrorization.
>
> 4. That the rules and usages of war were frequently broken, particularly by the using of civilians, including women and children, as a shield for advancing forces exposed to fire, to a less degree by killing the wounded and prisoners, and in the frequent abuse of the Red Cross and the white flag.

In explaining the horrid course of the German war the report says:

In Belgium large bodies of men, sometimes including the burgomaster and the priest, were seized, marched by officers to a spot chosen for the purpose, and there shot in cold blood, without any attempt at trial or even inquiry, under the pretense of inflicting punishment upon the village, though these unhappy victims were not even charged with having themselves committed any wrongful act, and though, in some cases at least, the village authorities had done all in their power to prevent any molestation of the invading force.

Such acts are no part of war, for innocence is entitled to respect even in war. They are mere murders, just as the drowning of the innocent passengers and crew on a merchant ship is murder and not an act of war.

That these acts should have been perpetrated on the peaceful population of an unoffending country which was not at war with its invaders but merely defending its own neutrality, guaranteed by the invading Power, may excite amazement and even incredulity. It was with amazement and almost with incredulity that the committee first read the depositions relating to such acts. But when the evidence regarding Liège was followed by that regarding Aerschot, Louvain, Andenne, Dinant, and the other towns and villages, the cumulative effect of such a mass of concurrent testimony became irresistible, and we were driven to the conclusion that the things described had really happened.

The question then arose how they could have happened. Not from mere military license, for the discipline of the German army is proverbially stringent and its obedience implicit. Not from any special ferocity of the troops, for whoever has traveled among the German peasantry knows that they are as kindly and good-natured as any people in Europe, and those who can recall the war of 1870 will remember that no charges resembling those proved by these depositions were then established. The excesses recently committed in Belgium were, moreover, too widespread and too uniform in their character to be mere sporadic outbursts of passion or rapacity.

The explanation seems to be that these excesses were committed—in some cases ordered, in others allowed—on a system and in pursuance of a set purpose. That purpose was to strike terror into the civil population and dishearten the Belgian troops, so as to crush down resistance and extinguish the very spirit of self-defense. The pretext that civilians had fired upon the invading troops was used to justify not merely the shooting of individual franc-tireurs, but the murder of large numbers of innocent civilians, an act absolutely forbidden by the rules of civilized warfare.

In the minds of Prussian officers war seems to have become a sort of sacred mission, one of the highest functions of the omnipotent State, which is itself as much an army as a State. Ordinary morality and the ordinary sentiment of pity vanish in its presence, superseded by a new standard which justifies to the soldier every means that can conduce to success, however shocking to a natural sense of justice and humanity, however revolting to his own feelings. The spirit of war is deified. Obedience to the State and its war lord leaves no room for any other duty or feeling.

PREPAREDNESS

IF ANYTHING more were needed than the last year of European history to demonstrate the necessity of a proper preparedness even for the most peacefully disposed nations, the rapidity with which the storm cloud gathered out of the wreck of the *Lusitania* should convince us. It showed plainly again that such dangers rise suddenly and that we alone cannot decide whether there shall be peace or not. On this very occasion the last decision was in Berlin.

It is time for us to decide what kind of a national defense we want, just as we decided what kind of a currency system we wanted, and to pass a comprehensive law to get it. The system of peddling out a dreadnaught one year, three the next, sometimes accompanied by proper smaller craft, sometimes not—this higgledy-piggledy system is bound to make our Navy an uncertain and ill balanced prop in time of trouble. The same is true of the Army. Sometimes it is given aeroplanes, sometimes field gun ammunition, but it is never properly prepared as a whole and, therefore, it is never altogether ready to conduct war.

There is no use of any more investigations, no use of any more recriminations. There is need for a big piece of constructive legislation, a National Defense Act that shall be as fundamental as the Federal Reserve Act.

WHY THE WORLD IS AGAINST GERMANY

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE "MAILED FIST" WHICH HAVE LEFT THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT ALMOST FRIENDLESS IN THE WORLD

THE destruction of the *Lusitania* and the situation that led up to it have given people "furiously to think" as to what the true inwardness of German diplomacy may be. Much more, perhaps, can be learnt of the significance of the series of events which have disturbed the relations between Germany and the United States by peering back into the past than by speculating about contemporaneous causes. It is a long story: but it all comes down to the fact that, as multitudinous tongues and pens have pointed out, the German doctrine in political affairs is the supremacy of might over right, and she has bent her every energy to making sure that she had the might.

The preface to German diplomacy in recent months lies in the history of the German Empire. By war Bismarck decided to create that Empire. The destiny of Germany, he said, would be worked out by blood and iron and not through idle demonstrations and empty speeches. But war in these modern times cannot simply be made. Pretexts have to be found. Hence Bismarck used ruthless diplomacy as a first means. The Napoleonic wars had left the German-speaking peoples loosely combined in a cumbersome and powerless confederation in which, among scores of small states, Austria and Prussia stood as rivals. Thus the first thing to do was to eliminate Austria. To eliminate Austria a perhaps not quite unjustifiable war was provoked between Denmark on the one hand and Austria and Prussia, representing the German confederation, on the other. The cause of this war was the status of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, situated between Germany and Denmark. The duchies were under the suzerainty of Denmark but enjoyed a certain amount of self-government which the German confederation had a right and interest to maintain. Austria and Prussia fought on the pretext of maintaining it. After their victory there was a confusing controversy as to the new status of the duchies. Bismarck is authority for the statement that he deliberately used this controversy to bring on war with Austria. By the Prussian victory of Sadowa, Austria was ousted from the Germanic confederation.

Having eliminated Austria, it remained to create a Prussianized German Empire. Again Bismarck had recourse to war and produced war by "diplomacy." He tells with great satisfaction in his autobiography how he deliberately altered a telegram from the King of Prussia at Ems about some critical negotiations then going on with France, so that the telegram when published appeared insulting to France and made war inevitable. Bismarck was sitting in a room in Berlin with Germany's two great soldiers, Moltke and Roon, when the telegram came. They were depressed and moody because they wanted the war and were afraid their king would not force it. The telegram arrived. Bismarck read it and asked Moltke whether he was ready for immediate war. Moltke said yes, and the necessary omissions in the telegram were made. Next day the Franco-Prussian War was inevitable. The Germans marched triumphantly to Paris and the King of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles.

THE FRUITS OF PEACE

Thus by ruthless diplomacy and by war the German Empire was founded. Its position in Europe was, however, consolidated by peaceful means, for Bismarck was of that small band of the elect among statesmen who, even in the midst of success, know when to stop. For nearly

twenty years after the Franco-Prussian War, from 1871 to 1890, his one idea was to gain for Germany by pure diplomacy the suzerainty of Europe. His method was to insult nobody, to keep on good terms with the neighboring countries like England, Russia, and France so that they might not combine against Germany, and simultaneously to consolidate Germany's position by arrangements with her old enemy, Austria, and with Italy, whose appearance as a great Power only antedated that of the German Empire by a few years. His success may be judged by the fact that the Czar of Russia—and Russia was then regarded as Germany's most dangerous rival—publicly toasted Montenegro in 1889 as his "only sincere and faithful friend."

But the period of Bismarck's constructive diplomacy was merely an interlude. For the Germans of to-day, and especially for the Kaiser who came to the throne in 1888, the real lesson of Bismarck's great career was not the success of his peaceful diplomacy but the success of his previous "blood and iron" diplomacy. Peaceful diplomacy might be all very well to secure a breathing space, but not thus could Germany expect to dominate Europe and then the world. For Germany the decades between 1880 and 1900 were the most intoxicating era that has ever befallen any European nation. Everything seemed to go right, to prosper, to develop. Bismarck and even Treitschke had stopped at the seas. Neither with colonial expansion nor with a big navy had Bismarck ever been in real sympathy. But Bismarck, the Kaiser thought, had grown too modestly pacific in his old age. So within two years of his coronation he dismissed the old chancellor. By "big stick" diplomacy had the German Empire been delivered to the world: by like means should it reach truly imperial maturity.

VON DIEDERICH AND DEWEY

It is easy to see this now. Twenty years ago few people realized the significance of the Kaiser's talk about the need for a big navy, of his sudden rocking of the boat of European politics, or of his curious diplomatic and personal forays in different parts of the world. Everybody remembers the Manila Bay incident; yet it may be doubted whether even to-day most people realize that it was something far more important than the isolated impertinence of a German admiral. As a matter of fact, it was both in execution and object a thoroughly characteristic example of the Kaiser's methods of "world politics." It has been exhaustively and authentically described by Admiral Dewey in his autobiography. Early in May, 1898, his fleet sailed into Manila Bay, beat the Spaniards, and established a blockade of the city. Soon afterward two English cruisers, a French cruiser, and a Japanese cruiser appeared and willingly complied with the very reasonable regulations that the Admiral laid down for them. A day or two later a German cruiser, the *Irene*, appeared. She ignored the American flagship and dropped anchor where she chose. Admiral Dewey overlooked the incident as due to carelessness or ignorance. Next morning, another German ship, the *Cormoran*, arrived. A launch was sent to hail her and was ignored. A shot was fired across her bow, for it was feared that she might be a disguised Spanish ship. Then she came to and was boarded. Two days later, on May 12th, Admiral von Diederich arrived in his flagship, the *Kaiserin Augusta*.

GERMAN ACTIVITY AT MANILA

By the middle of June there were five German warships in port, two of them with a heavier displacement than any of the American vessels. It was, as Admiral Dewey records, an anxious time owing to the possible arrival of another Spanish fleet from Spain, and meanwhile the impertinence of the Germans increased. "I saw they did not mean to accept my interpretation of the laws of blockade. German officers frequently landed at Manila, where they were on the most cordial terms with the Spaniards . . . and, the wish fathering the thought, the talk of the town was that the Germans would intervene in favor of Spain. It was well known that Vice-admiral von Diederich had officially visited the Spanish Captain-general in Manila, who had returned the call by night."

German officers visited the Spanish

troops and outposts, German boats took soundings, German seamen occupied a lighthouse, and the German men of war cruised about and in and out of the Bay.

Finally, without Admiral Dewey's permission, the Germans landed men at Mariveles Harbor for drill and took possession of the quarantine station at the mouth of the Bay. On July 6th Admiral Dewey was told by Filipino insurgents that the Germans had been interfering on Subig Bay with their operations against the Spaniards. Admiral Dewey sent two vessels to investigate. It was found that the German cruiser *Irene* had visited the Spaniards and had kept the insurgents from using a small steamer which belonged to them. No Germans were actually fighting. The situation, however, was not pleasant and Admiral Dewey took the occasion of the news of Santiago to visit Von Diederich and lay before him his position. The main trouble was Von Diederich's refusal to admit that the Americans had the right as blockaders to visit and board all vessels, including foreign warships, entering the Bay. The German admiral said that he would submit the point—all authorities on international law recognize that Admiral Dewey's position was sound—to a conference of the senior officers of all the men-of-war in the harbor. Only Captain Chichester, the British commander, turned up. He supported Admiral Dewey, and said that he had instructions to comply with even stricter regulations than the Admiral had laid down. After the German cruiser *Cormoran* had been again brought up by a shot across her bow Diederich capitulated, sent an apologetic emissary to his American colleague, and behaved himself for the rest of his stay.

TESTING THE MONROE DOCTRINE

It was not only Admiral Diederich's bluff that had to be called. The deliberate imperial policy of Germany was set back. There is no reasonable doubt that, had the Spaniards not been defeated at Santiago, had not their military impotence been so clearly demonstrated, and possibly had not Captain Chichester at Manila and Lord Pauncefote at Washington proved that the United States enjoyed the support of Great Britain, Germany would have turned on the United States. For it has been one part of German diplomacy to leave little undone to further its quite natural desire for colonies and sunny places along the trade routes of the world: and to this desire the United States and the Monroe Doctrine have been one obstacle and the traditional interest of Americans in Far Eastern affairs has been another one.

Since the Spanish War there have been various incidents in South America and the Orient. Having been thwarted during the Spanish War, the Germans found an occasion to test the Monroe Doctrine by suggesting to England in 1901 an agreement which would have compelled England, among other things, to support Germany's claims to any possessions in South America. That, it must be remembered, was at a time when there was much talk of Germany's getting control of the German settlements in southern Brazil. The suggestion, of course, failed. It was followed by an independent effort to test the Monroe Doctrine when, during the early part of President Roosevelt's administration, there was a question of chastising Castro. Had it not been for the strong line that the United States took it might have well led to a German foothold in Venezuela. Almost simultaneously the Germans tried another attack on the Doctrine in the shape of an effort to buy St. Thomas from Denmark. It was, however, defeated in Copenhagen. Since then there have been various backstair financial manœuvres to get a foothold in Haiti. These too have failed.

In the Far East the German policy was more successful. Omitting the question of the settlement and subsequent ownership of Samoa between England, Germany, and the United States, during which Germany first tried its game of large local displays of force and energy, its first venture was to persuade Russia and France to join it in coercing Japan to surrender Port Arthur and the surrounding territory after the Chinese-Japanese War of 1894–5. The idea behind this was to keep Japan off the mainland and offer to Russia an

easy path to the sea in the Far East so that Germany might have a freer hand in the Balkans. The next feat was to coerce China by a squadron under the command of Prince Henry of Prussia and to grant Germany a long lease of Kiao-chau as an indemnity for the murder of two missionaries. That was in 1897, and was followed a few years later, after the Boxer rebellion, by a display of calculated German military brutality in China which, as the Kaiser specifically indicated, was meant to impress the Chinese once for all with the inviolate superiority of Germany.

If the record of German Pacific and Latin-American adventures most concerns the United States, it is surpassed as an index of German methods and aspirations by events in the last twenty years in Europe and Africa. The outbreak of the present war was preceded by what, to European diplomatists, was a long nightmare of diplomatic incidents, calculated indiscretions, armed demonstrations, and warlike preparations. Great Britain, France, and Russia have all had their turn. South Africa, North Africa, the Near East, and even Persia were treated successively to visits from the disturbing spirit of German aspirations. "Nothing must henceforth happen without the intervention of Germany and the German Emperor," cried the Kaiser soon after he came to the throne. Bismarck had said that the Balkans were not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier. The new Kaiser in 1889 made his first visit to Constantinople. A few years later he was again in the Near East, this time with definite results. After leaving Constantinople he visited the Holy Land and at Damascus proclaimed himself as the protector not only of Turkey but of the whole Mohammedan world—a somewhat curious, and, to France and England, with their countless Moslem subjects, edifying indication of the general trend of German diplomacy. It was, indeed, the beginning of German ascendency at Constantinople and of the modern Austrian policy of attempted domination in the Balkans which together produced indirectly the Balkan War and then the spark that touched off the present conflagration.

But the Turkish venture was not at first directed against any Power. South Africa and England's troubles with the Boers gave modern Germany its first chance of real swashbuckling. The trouble between Boer and Englishman culminated in the winter of 1895–6, in the indefensible Jameson raid against President Kruger. The Kaiser, who had long hoped to be able to use the Boers to establish German influence in South Africa, sent a telegram to Kruger congratulating him on having repelled the raid "without invoking the aid of foreign Powers." To England, accustomed to the careful ways of Bismarck, the telegram was an eye-opener, for the only aid he could refer to was German aid. When the Boer War started the Kaiser suggested to Russia and France the advisability of steps to stop the war; but the suggestion was turned down and the Kaiser sadly admitted that lack of a fleet prevented his profiting from the South African disturbance. He did, however, profit indirectly. The powerlessness of Germany to interfere was the immediate cause of the famous German navy act of 1898, the forerunner of all the other acts under which Germany has built up her now powerful fleet. To blame Germany for her naval aspirations is unfair; but the fact remains that by refusing in 1907 to listen to the British Liberal Government's proposal for limitation of armaments the German "big navy" propaganda aggravated the misgivings of Europe about the trend of the Teutonic diplomacy as much as did Germany's huge and steadily growing army.

Already, by 1906, Germany was rapidly forcing France, Russia, and England into each other's arms and teaching them to regard her as the armed bully of Europe. Thwarted in South Africa, Germany tried to exploit the Anglo-French differences in North Africa over the British occupation of Egypt, and other things. The scheme was to combine with France to oust England. It failed because M. Delcassé, France's Foreign Minister, preferred to make an arrangement with England in 1904 whereby England recognized the predominant position of France in Morocco and its neighborhood and France did the same by England in regard to Egypt and the Soudan. The German foreign

misunderstanding about Germany's right to proclaim a war zone. Her action in so doing had several precedents. England, after three months of the war had been fought, served notice on the neutral Powers of the world of her intention to establish a war zone. On November 4th the British war zone was proclaimed and on November 5th, with one day's notice, it was established over practically the whole of the North Sea. There are several points of comparison in the two decrees which furnish a very interesting light on the states of mind of the two governments in similar situations.

The British war zone order was based on the discovery of mines in the North Sea, whereas the German decree was based on England's attitude toward contraband, the *Wilhelmina* case, and was a retaliatory measure for England's previous establishment of a war zone. The British order sought to close the north of Scotland route around the British Isles to Norway, the Baltic, Denmark, and Holland. By the attempted establishment of their zone the Germans sought to close the southern or English Channel route around the British Isles to Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and the Baltic. The British Admiralty, drawing an arbitrary line from the Hebrides Islands along the Scottish coast to Iceland, warned neutral shipping that it crossed this line at its own risk, but offered ships of neutral nations passage to Holland and other neutral ports along the eastern shore of the North Sea by taking the English Channel and Straits of Dover route. On their side the German zone-makers declared that all neutral vessels would be exposed to danger in the English Channel, but promised to refrain from deliberate interference with neutral use of routes of navigation around the north of Scotland and the eastern part of the North Sea and in a 30-mile-wide strip along the Dutch coast necessary for approach to their own ports.

Balanced in this way, the two war zone decrees are similar in intent but entirely different in the methods contemplated for their enforcement.

The creation of such strategic areas or war zones is a development in modern naval warfare and without express provision in international law as agreed upon by The Hague conventions. But the Japanese Government, in the war with Russia, gave a precedent for a war zone. By an Imperial ordinance in that conflict they established, not one, but a series of twelve or more, such areas, several of them covering waters far outside the three-mile limit, within which areas the Japanese Government reserved the right to limit the movements of neutral shipping by force of arms.

It is therefore clear that even though not included in written and ratified international law the delimitation of war zones had already received by the consensus and practice of these three nations the dignity of international usage. Furthermore, our own Navy endorses this principle in the regulations laid down in 1912 by the Naval War College, as follows: "The definition of the area of operations of a blockade, even if in such manner as to include a large range of high sea, is regarded as a legitimate act of war, and the belligerent right must be respected therein. The principle which is recognized is that the belligerent has the right to put pressure upon his opponent without interference by neutrals. It is undoubtedly an inconvenience and may be a loss to neutral commerce to be excluded from the blockaded area, but it is a recognized consequence of war."

It is therefore clear in going back to the source of these important international events that we must lay emphasis not upon the right to proclaim and maintain a zone but upon the methods by which Germany has sought to maintain control of an arbitrary strategical area.

One of the alleged reasons which led Germany to the establishment of her submarine blockade was the practice of British shipping while within the danger zone of protecting itself according to an established custom by using a neutral flag. It will be noticed that in its warning of February 4th the German Government expressly stated that this use of neutral flags must necessarily increase the danger of neutral shipping in traversing waters patrolled by submarines.

On February 10th, therefore, the Amer-

ican Government addressed itself to the task of defending the rights of its citizens on the high seas. Bearing that date, a separate note was addressed to the governments of Great Britain and of Germany. Written on the same date and dealing with the jeopardy to American rights, each note gained additional strength by reference to the other.

Reserving for future consideration the legality and propriety of the deceptive use of the American flag by British shipping in the war zone, the State Department called His Majesty's Government's attention to "the serious consequences which may result to American vessels and American citizens if this practice is continued." The note further stated that the continuation of such a practice "would even seem to impose upon the Government of Great Britain a measure of responsibility for the loss of American lives and vessels in case of an attack by a German naval force."

The tone of this note was very quiet and amounted to a request to make use of a partially acknowledged means of self-protection as little as possible in view of the danger involved to American neutrals.

The tone of the State Department's note to the German Government, bearing the same date of February 10th, was much stronger. After rehearsing essential facts of the war zone decree the State Department viewed their possibilities "with such grave concern" that it requested the Imperial German Government to consider before action was taken (it must be remembered that the decree proclaimed on the 4th of February was not to take effect until the 18th) the critical situation in respect to the relations between this country and Germany were the German naval forces, in carrying out the policy foreshadowed in the Admiralty's proclamation, to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States or cause the death of American citizens. Yet despite this deliberate warning Germany, after February 18th, destroyed in the war zone a merchant vessel of the United States and caused the death of 126 American citizens; 1 on the *Falaba*, 3 on the *Gulflight*, and 122 on the *Lusitania*.

Mr. Bryan's note of February 10th further stated that "if the commanders of German vessels of war should act upon the presumption that the flag of the United States was not being used in good faith and should destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than as an indefensible violation of neutral rights," and "that the Government of the United States will be constrained to hold the Imperial Government of Germany to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities, and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."

As long ago, then, as February 10th it was clear that this Government promptly refused to acknowledge the unprecedented jeopardy of its shipping and its nationals as defined in the German decree. In that note, as in the ultimate note of May 13th, this Government asked for assurances that American citizens and their vessels would not be molested by the naval forces of Germany otherwise than by visit and search, "though their vessels may be traversing the sea area delimited in the proclamation of the German Admiralty."

Between the first and the last American notes there is, however, this essential difference. In the letter of February 10th such assurances are "hoped for confidently" and "expected." The note of May 13th in effect demanded that the Imperial German Government "take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence" of the acts complained of.

Linking its two protests of February 10th together in a way which it was hoped would emphasize the great reasonableness of this country's position, the State Department in its note to Sir Edward Grey added "that this Government is making earnest representations to the German Government in regard to the danger to American vessels and citizens if the declaration of the German Admiralty is put into effect." In the letter through our Embassy at Berlin to the German Foreign Office the

Department adds "for the information of the Imperial Government that representations have been made to His Britannic Majesty's Government in respect to the unwarranted use of the American flag for the protection of British ships."

Despite their insistence, despite their promptness, despite their great reasonableness, both notes failed utterly in their attempt to safeguard American rights and lives on the high seas.

In the meantime, and before either Government could reply, the American steamer *Wilhelmina*, bound for Germany with a cargo of foodstuffs rated as conditional contraband of war by the Declaration of London, was formally seized by the British Government and brought into the harbor of Falmouth, England. The German Federal Council on the 25th of January had declared that all grain and flour imported into Germany after the 31st of January was deliverable only to certain organizations under direct German Government control, or to municipal authority. The *Wilhelmina* was bound for Hamburg, one of the free cities of the German Empire, the government of which is vested in the municipality. On the 6th of February, however, after the *Wilhelmina* had sailed but before she had been seized, that decree of the German Council was repealed, for the express purpose, as the British Admiralty believed, of rendering difficult their anticipated proceedings in prize court. In this connection Sir Edward Grey, commenting in justification of his Government's course upon the lawless acts of the German navy, made the famous observation: "The German Government cannot have it both ways."

REPLIES TO THE NOTES OF FEBRUARY 10TH

Both foreign Governments replied characteristically to Mr. Bryan's protests of February 10th. Sir Edward Grey, under date of February 19th, replied through the American Ambassador in London to this effect: "The British Merchant Shipping Act makes it clear that the use of the British flag by foreign merchant vessels is permitted in time of war for the purpose of escaping capture," and that in view of the same practice in regard to their flags being recognized by other nations "it would therefore be unreasonable to expect His Majesty's Government to pass legislation forbidding the use of foreign flags by British merchant vessels to avoid capture by the enemy."

Three days before the receipt of the British note Herr von Jagow, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent, on February 16th, through the American Embassy in Berlin a note to the American Government which amounted to a plea in extenuation for the war zone and the methods of maintaining it to be adopted two days later. Although couched in the friendliest manner, it expressly avoided giving the pledges for security to American ships, cargoes, and lives impliedly asked for by Mr. Bryan's note of February 10th.

In common with nearly all the other important German notes concerning this phase of the war this note sought to evade the issue by putting the burden of proof upon the British Government for forcing it into the position necessarily taken in self defense. Even on the critical day of May 14th, when the American people were anxiously anticipating an official reply from Berlin, the German Ambassador to the United States informed the WORLD'S WORK that the loss of American lives on the *Lusitania* was attributable to a series of retaliatory moves begun by England, and that the submarine operations of his Government around the British Isles would immediately be stopped on assurances by the British Government that non-contraband supplies, according to the Declaration of London, would not be confiscated on their way to German ports.

Herr Von Jagow in his communication of February 16th declared that his Government was obdurate in this matter because of the intention, as he stated it, of the British Government to "deliver up to death by famine a peaceful civilian population." He said further that, although the American Government had protested against England's procedure, neither the United States nor any other neutrals had been able by their protests to dissuade England from the course originally adopted. He cited the seizure and detention of the American ship *Wilhelmina* on February

11th, five days before the date of the note, as a specific example in proof of his contention.

In this expression of the German Government the very essence of the policy of specialized retaliation is expressed. It also contains, carefully phrased in official language, the very crux of the whole question that has arisen between Germany and the United States. While assuring this Government that it is very far from the intention of the German Government, acting in obedience to circumstances which they consider compelling, "ever to destroy neutral lives and neutral property, on the other hand they cannot be blind to the fact that dangers arise. . . . which menace without discrimination all trade within the area of maritime war." Herr von Jagow lays great stress on the fact that he had given neutrals proof of German good-will by announcing two weeks beforehand the intended measures and thus giving neutral shipping an opportunity to make such arrangements as to avoid the threatened danger.

"The safest method of doing this," says Herr von Jagow, "is to stay away from the area of maritime war. Neutral ships entering the closed waters in spite of this announcement, given so far in advance, . . . bear their own responsibility for any unfortunate accidents. The German Government on their side expressly decline all responsibility for such accidents and their consequences."

Then follows an important qualification not then generally understood which explains the later compliance with part of our demands by the German Government in their circular note of May 11th. In the note of February 16th Von Jagow expressly stated that "the German Government announced merely the destruction of enemy merchant vessels found within the area of maritime war, and not the destruction of all merchant vessels, as the American Government appear to have erroneously understood."

Duly, on February 18th, Germany began, as advertised, her submarine operations in the war zone delimited on February 4th. On the 22d of February, after four days of war zone régime, the State Department again addressed a patient note to the German Government suggesting the joint modification by Germany and England of the retaliatory measures which were already working so much hardship to the shipping of neutrals. In the four days between the opening of the German war zone season and the date of Mr. Bryan's note, six ships, one of them American, had been sunk by mines or torpedoes.

THE GERMAN NOTE OF MARCH 1ST

On the 1st of March the German Foreign Office answered with another note still declining to make any concessions except at the price of corresponding British concessions, and continuing thus to treat American rights only through the medium of German alleged necessities. For example, Von Jagow stated, as he had previously intimated in his note of February 16th already quoted, that "observation of the Declaration of London on the part of Germany's adversaries would create a new situation from which the German Government would gladly draw the proper conclusions."

This meant that if the British Government would allow foodstuffs to go as conditional contraband and therefore not seizable if destined for non-combatant consumption, the German Government on its part would withdraw the submarine menace to neutral shipping. Furthermore, Germany promised not to use her submarines to attack merchant ships of any flag except when necessary to enforce the right of visit and search, provided that "enemy mercantile abstain from the use of the neutral flag and other neutral distinctive marks." The German Government also declared themselves willing to "guarantee that the use of imported foodstuffs shall be used solely by the non-combatant population," a somewhat naïve concession in view of the fact that Germany is now a nation in arms and that the admission of foodstuffs for the civilian population would merely liberate the same amount of nourishment for the use of that portion of the German population organized and campaigning as military units.

Thus far in the correspondence the clear intention on the German side seems to be

to use their submarine blockade as a "big stick" with which to force the unrestricted admission of imported foodstuffs into Germany.

THE GERMAN NOTE OF APRIL 4TH

During the following month, however, the attention of the German Government began to shift from the food supply hardship to the grievance provided by unrestricted exports of American arms and munitions of war to the Allies. This modified attitude is well represented in the letter handed by the German Ambassador to the Secretary of State at Washington on April 4th. A new note appeared in this document. The fact that the release of the *Wilhelmina* had not been secured during the previous two months is mentioned in passing. Then Germany goes on to introduce this curious doctrine:

"The Imperial Government feel sure that the United States Government will agree that in questions of neutrality it is necessary to take into consideration not only the formal aspect of the case but also the spirit in which the neutrality is carried out. . . . The situation in the present war differs from that of any previous war. . . . If it is the will of the American people that there shall be a true neutrality, the United States will find means of preventing this one-sided supply of arms."

In a personal conversation with Major George Langhorne on the day he left Berlin, the Kaiser said that in his opinion the continuance of trade in munitions of war between this country and the Allies, while at the same time protests by the neutrals had been unavailing in keeping trade in non-contraband open to Germany, amounted to a breach of neutrality and was so considered by himself, his Government, and the German people.

It is therefore very interesting indeed to realize upon what a slight ground this presumption has been raised and fostered. As has been carefully explained in another article in this issue of the WORLD'S WORK, the total amount of munitions of war supplied by the United States per month to the Allies amounts to much less than one per cent. of the amount actually used per month by the Allied armies.

The next document in the case is addressed by the Secretary of State directly to the German Ambassador in Washington, and was so directed because the German note of April 4th just quoted above was in the form of a memorandum on German-American trade enclosed by Count Bernstorff in a formal letter to the Secretary of State. The tenor of this reply constitutes a distinct rebuke to the German Ambassador for presuming to discuss the relations of the United States with a third Power (Great Britain) and also for seeming to criticise the attitude and course of this Government in the maintenance of its neutrality.

The position of this Government is then clearly and emphatically stated in much the same tone as that taken by the President and the State Department in the memorable note of May 13th.

"In the first place," wrote Mr. Bryan on April 21st, "this Government has at no time and in no manner yielded any one of its rights as a neutral to any of the present belligerents. It has acknowledged, as a matter of course, the right of visit and search and the right to apply the rules, of contraband of war to articles of commerce. It has, indeed, insisted upon the use of visit and search as an absolutely necessary safeguard against mistaking neutral vessels for vessels owned by an enemy and against mistaking legal cargoes for illegal. It has admitted also the right of blockade if actually exercised and effectively maintained. These are merely the well known limitations which war places upon neutral commerce on the high seas. But nothing beyond these has it conceded. We had hoped that . . . our diplomatic correspondence had shown our steadfast refusal to acknowledge the right of any belligerent to alter the accepted rules of war at sea in so far as they affect the rights and interests of neutrals."

In this last note, therefore, of our Government to the Government of Germany the State Department explicitly refused to acknowledge the German contention that existing rules of international law affecting neutrals could be modified or changed by Germany.

We had, therefore, the following situa-

at the time when the sinking of the *ania* precipitated immediate action ıe part of the Executive and brought the President's note of May 13th:

thout attempting to characterize the dent's note—for it is common knowl- in Washington that the letter bearing late line of the Department of State signed "Bryan" is unmistakably the of the President's own hand—it con- ultimate terms. It offers Germany hoice of accepting two essential requi- or the severance of diplomatic rela- between the two countries.

e two requisites to a continuation of matic relations between Germany and Jnited States are these: Germany make full reparation for the loss ined in American lives and property, secondly, Germany must give and by a guarantee that in future neither ican ships nor American lives shall ıbject to submarine attack on the seas.

rt of this just contention on the part e United States had already been ed in the German note of May 11th, ı promised, in striking contrast to the of February 16th, that "should a al ship nevertheless come to harm gh German submarines or aircraft on ınt of an unfortunate mistake in the zone of naval warfare, the German Government will unreservedly recognize its responsibility therefor." It further assured us that definite instructions had been issued to German war vessels to avoid attacks on neutral ships under all circumstances. "Even when such ships have contraband of war on board," said an apologetic German Admiralty, "they are dealt with by submarines solely according to the rules of international law applying to prize warfare."

So far, then, as it is possible for the German Government to dispose of the *Gulflight* and *Cushing* cases those cases are now disposed of, and when the indemnities are received they will be so regarded by this Government. Germany has promised not to attack our ships and to make full reparation in damages for property and lives already lost.

That left the one clear-cut question whether Germany would respect the safety of American citizens at sea, even on belligerent ships—war zone or no war zone. The United States cannot accept any plea that this is not an indisputable right nor can it make its insistence on this right dependent on England's lifting its embargo on foodstuffs into Germany or on any other action of any other foreign government.

PAN-GERMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES

ıANY'S PLAN TO CULTIVATE AMERICAN OPINION—THE WORK OF VON HOL- :BEN AND HIS SUCCESSORS—DR. DERNBURG AND HIS PUBLICITY BUREAU

THE European war has revealed one conscious movement which Americans had hitherto only faintly comprehended: an imperial determination to use al million Americans of German origin sitive assets of the German Empire. Germanism may seek to overwhelm ım and Holland, and to establish an power in Persia and India; most icans merely smile, however, at any suggestion that it seeks likewise to encompass any sections of our peaceful electorate. Few of us are disposed to question the loyalty of the great masses of our Germanic stock. A few noisy newspapers, a few blatant professors, a small collection of curbstone orators, may testify every day that their first loyalty is to Germania; most of us refuse to believe, however, that they represent the mass of decently living Americans of Germanic origin, millions

of whom have never seen the Fatherland. Able and efficient as is the military caste in Germany, it has thus far shown little skill in sizing up public opinion in foreign countries. In the present struggle it counted on rebellion in Ireland, India, South Africa, Egypt, even in Canada and Australia. In the United States it now has notice that as between Germany and the United States the so-called German Americans are truly Americans.

For many years, the German Government has cultivated this Nation, and especially its German elements. When Dr. Bernhard Dernburg opened his press bureau here most Americans for the first time learned that an active propaganda was under way; in fact, this propaganda has been part of German imperial policy for seventeen years. The Spanish War directly inspired this new missionary work. That conflict had bred much unpleasantness between the United States and Germany, for reasons that are fully explained elsewhere in this magazine. As a result German-American relations for some time following the war were not especially cordial. The Kaiser believed evidently that the policy of alienating American good feeling had gone too far; the changing European situation and the fact that England was looming large as Germany's greatest enemy probably had their influence in modifying the official viewpoint; at any rate, Germany, in the early days of the century, manifested in many ways her desire to establish a better understanding with this country.

ATTENTIONS TO GERMAN-AMERICANS

Von Holleben, a somewhat lumbering Prussian diplomatist of the old school, was the immediate instrument for performing this friendly service. Judging from his acts, Von Holleben saw little in this new attitude except an attempt to solidify the German-American element into a force that would prove advantageous to the Fatherland. Up to that time German-Americans had been generally disliked in Germany. But now all this changed. Plenty of observers assert to-day that Von Holleben's efforts had a purely political *purpose; that his* main idea was to organize several million American voters in a compact body for the exclusive benefit of the Kaiser. It was then, according to this theory, that Germany began laying her imperial plans for world conquest, and this great body of German-Americans was merely part of her preparations for the great adventure. This conception may, or may not, have been fanciful; whatever the imperial purpose may have been, however, probably few Germans, when they warmly accepted these advances, had the slightest suspicion that they were compromising their American citizenship. Nor did the most patriotic un-hyphenated Americans see anything unpatriotic or unseemly in this new love feast. That a German, especially a recently arrived one, should nourish great love and respect for the Fatherland seemed entirely natural. A man who is devoted to his mother is likely to be devoted to his wife. Certainly the German-Americans responded cordially to the appeals from over the sea.

The hundreds of German organizations—bowling clubs, turnvereins, singing societies, church congregations, Lutheran and Catholic—formed natural centres for the imperial propaganda. All kinds of prizes were sent by the Kaiser to these organizations. A *saengerbund* that visited Germany frequently had the honor of singing before His Majesty. Minor decorations in large quantities found their way across the Atlantic. Distinguished German-Americans found warm reception at court as well as at the German Embassy in Washington. Von Holleben used to go around the country, making speeches, presenting imperial prizes, dedicating German monuments, in all ways seeking to arouse the enthusiasm of Germans for Germany. A press bureau furnished the German-American press all kinds of reading matter about things at home. Branches of the German Navy League, Von Tirpitz's main agency for building up the imperial navy, were organized in the United States and enticed many a good American dollar across the Atlantic. The triumphant outcome of all this work was the organization of the German-American Alliance "to give impulse to the idea of the consolidation of the German-American

ent." Its membership at present is to be 2,000,000; under the leadership s president, Mr. C. J. Hexamer, it has much heard from lately.

HE ERA OF EXCHANGE PROFESSORS

ɔlleben fell under the imperial dis- ɜure and, in 1903, was recalled, under ımstances extremely painful to his ds. His successor, Baron Speck von ıburg, a young man of varied accom- ments who had lived much in the ed States and who had a charming rican wife, represented an entirely kind of German Ambassador. His business was to show the genial side ıe German character; he was here, not arily to negotiate treaties, but to e friends. In this he succeeded ad- bly. He became a member of Roose- s tennis cabinet; he used to call the ident "Teddy" and the President to call him "Specky." During his mbency offerings of good-will began to ɔack and forth across the Atlantic. ıange professorships were established ıe leading universities of the two coun- . Men like Hadley of Yale and Bur- and Sloane of Columbia filled these rs; not only this, but the Kaiser heaped ı their heads all kinds of social atten- ɜ. So far as Professor Burgess and essor Sloane are concerned, these s evidently bore the destined fruit, these scholars have been among the educated Americans who now cham- the German cause; so far President ley has refrained from expressing enthusiasm for the German side. ', also, the Kaiser began presenting ıes of Frederick the Great and Ger- ic museums to the United States. s and pictures of the Kaiser came over ;reat profusion. Americans received noteworthy attentions at Berlin the ancient junker aristocracy lifted ts protesting voice. Regatta week at became almost as much an American ı German occasion. The more the sian aristocrats fumed, the more the er widened his American acquaint- . When Baron von Sternburg died, he midst of a successful career, the ıeror sent over, as his successor, an- other master of the American language and American psychology, Count Johann von Bernstorff. Like his predecessor, Bern- storff has married an American wife—Miss Jeanne Luckemeyer, of New York. In a degree he had become Americanized him- self. Poker, he once said, was the only game he knew and baseball he understood and loved as only an American can. Hardly had Von Bernstorff settled down in Massa- chusetts Avenue when the embassy flunkies were informed that American newspaper correspondents were to be treated with great consideration. We have seen per- haps an unfortunate side of Ambassador Bernstorff in the last few months; the fact remains, however, that he has for several years been one of the most popular, if not the very most popular, ambassador in Washington.

DERNBURG, MAN OF THE PEOPLE

When the European war broke out, therefore, Germany had apparently well fertilized American soil. She fully ex- pected American sympathy. She wanted our sympathy, if not our positive aid, for two reasons. Next to England, our trade has been greater with Germany than with any other country. Naturally Germany wished to retain and extend this; and con- tinued good feeling she regarded as essen- tial to its maintenance. Again, the United States, the Kaiser figured, would probably be the mediating power in establishing peace, and friendly relations would cer- tainly be an asset in such a crisis. Ger- many, therefore, began a systematic and expensive attempt to put her case before the American people. The Kaiser found a sublimated press agent in the person of Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, a great Jewish banker and business man of Berlin. Here, again, he selected the one man in the empire who ought to have proved most useful in interpreting German feeling to the American people. Americans who have heard Dr. Dernburg speak have ex- pressed amazement at his mastery of the American idiom. Inasmuch as Dr. Dern- burg spent several years as a young man in New York City and received his business education in a Wall Street bank, this ac- complishment is not surprising. His whole

career marks Dr. Dernburg as a man after the American heart. Though he made a great success as minister of the colonies from 1906 to 1910, a combination of clerical and aristocratic influence finally forced him into private life. These conservatives did not like him because he was a self-made man; because, among other disqualifications, he did not have the manners of good society, and made an awkward figure in court dress. Dr. Dernburg's father was a journalist on a Berlin newspaper; after his American experience, Dernburg returned to Berlin and became a clerk in the Deutsche Bank. Sheer ability forced him rapidly ahead, and, when a trust company was organized for salving wrecked business enterprises, Dernburg was made its head. His success as a reviver of bankrupt properties made his name famous from one end of the empire to the other. In 1906, the Kaiser had some pretty badly damaged properties on his own hands—his colonies. These for years had served chiefly as resting places for unavailing subsidies. A long line of painstaking Prussian statesmen, versed mainly in the arts of red tape and statistics, had accomplished nothing. The Kaiser, therefore, offered these colonies to Dernburg as a new problem in resuscitation. Though Dernburg was earning $75,000 a year in salaries and his new post netted only about $6,000, patriotism forced him to accept. Almost the first thing he did was to visit the colonies themselves—an unprecedented act in a German colonial secretary; he also traveled over our own Southern States, to study the possibilities of introducing cotton culture in German Africa. Then he began to clean out his force, discharging scores of young aristocrats who were holding down jobs only because they needed the money. In a few months Dr. Dernburg had become the most powerful man in Von Bülow's cabinet; he won an election on the issue of developing the colonies, and shone as a stump speaker. His unusual "shirt sleeves" methods, however, and his efficiency aroused such opposition that, soon after Von Bülow's resignation as Chancellor, his position became untenable. His next work for his Government followed his *sudden appearance* last fall in offices on the fifth floor of 1123 Broadway, New York, nominally in charge of the work of the German Red Cross, actually the unofficial spokesman and propagandist of the German cause.

A tremendous burst of activity followed Dr. Dernburg's arrival. Up to that time Count von Bernstorff had been exceedingly voluble in the German interest; now, however, Dr. Dernburg began to do the talking. At first the change seemed a distinct improvement. The New York newspapers, which printed Dr. Dernburg's statements in full, editorially noted that they represented an exceedingly skilful and plausible presentation of the German cause.

CIRCULARIZING THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

Editors welcomed his letters to the press and his magazine articles. Invitations from non-Germanic sources began to pour in for addresses at men's clubs and popular forums, Dr. Dernburg even becoming the guest of honor at banquets, where he frequently spoke with great felicity. He did not waste much time in talking to the converted—the German-speaking part of America; he went mainly for the "native American" contingent. His publicity bureau opened branch offices in other cities and German-Americans everywhere were pressed into service. Efforts were made to enlist the sympathy of the press. In the larger cities these met with little success. A particularly disheartening thing happened in New York, where the greatest dailies were controlled by men bearing German names and having more or less immediate German affiliations: Ochs of the *Times*, Villard of the *Evening Post*, Reick of the *Sun* and the *Evening Sun*, and Pulitzer of the *World*. Joseph Pulitzer, indeed, made his beginnings in American journalism as editor of a German newspaper, the *Westliche Post*, of St. Louis. Naturally these papers might be expected to adopt the German attitude; but they all unanimously and vigorously opposed it. In smaller communities the Germans had more success. "Pro Bono Publico" "An American of the Old Stock" and "Mayflower" began to flood the newspapers with pro-German letters, thousands of which were published. The authors of these, it is

ed, were young men and women, ıe most part members of German ies. Lutheran pastors also conspic- / took the field. Dr. Dernburg and ureau found enthusiastic supporters : most irreconcilable group of Irish ts. Joint Irish-American meetings held from the Atlantic to the Pa- Certain Irish papers, such as the -*American* in New York, whose edi- ohn Devoy, had served five years English prison for Fenianism, began ncing John Redmond as a traitor and ıding a German invasion of Ireland. Dr. Dernburg's office tons of litera- ound its way into the mails. Most icans of prominence received pam- ; on "the truth about the war," and ıentary evidence purporting to prove Belgium got just about what she de- l. Other printed matter from the source, emphasizing the points that any was forced into the war by Eng- nd that she was fighting for the liberty world and the freedom of the seas, ed one's front door with almost every Occasionally the Kaiser was com- with George Washington, fighting, he great American patriot, against h tyranny. German thoroughness ld responsible even for the impromptu ers who held vantage positions before bulletin board and took up the ls for Germany against all comers. d, in the whole United States it was sible anywhere to avoid the German ganda.

TIVITIES OF THE "FATHERLAND"

especially belligerent advocate of erman cause is the weekly newspaper, *Fatherland*. Mr. George Sylvester k, hitherto chiefly known as a poet ticism, established this enterprise on nth day of the mobilization. Soon Dr. Dernburg's arrival this paper was l up to 1123 Broadway, in an office ılly regarded as part of the Dernburg Its editorial "sanctum" is likewise adquarters of Mr. K. A. Fuehr, who arently Dr. Dernburg's assistant in ity work. That is, so far as externals ıough it is impossible to make the ıent in more definite form), *the Father- land* seems to be part and parcel of the Dernburg propaganda.

From the beginning, the *Fatherland* has vituperatively abused most things American. It is only necessary to quote its references to certain leaders of American thought to appreciate the delicacy with which it has preached its cause. The ex-president of our most venerable university is called "sleek old Eliot, who bartered away his reputation and the prestige of his university for a five-foot bookshelf." Our Secretary of State becomes Sir William J. Bryan: he is "silly and dishonest"; and constant reference is made to the fact that his daughter is the wife of a British army captain. President Wilson is the "weak-kneed sophist in the White House," and columns are given to denouncing him and his policies. Indeed, any prominent citizen who whispers a word against Germany is sure to have a vituperative paragraph in the *Fatherland*. When Mr. Percy Mackaye writes a pro-Ally poem he is described as a "very poor poet and a worse dramatist and his feeble quacks will not disturb the European equilibrium." The late Elbert Hubbard is disposed of as a "paretic." A former American Ambassador to England is styled "Mr. Joechoate." If the German press bureau backed this paper, it can be accused of something worse than poor taste; it has actively damaged its cause. Its pages are so vulgar, so indiscriminate in their abuse, so lacking in self-control and reasoned argument that it merits attention in this place only because of its apparent association with Dr. Dernburg's propaganda.

More serious still are the attempts of Dr. Dernburg and his associates to make the European war an issue in American politics. From the first the German spokesmen have called upon the German voters to organize against President Wilson. Congressman Richard Bartholdt, who was born in Germany, and Congressman Henry Vollmer, a man of German parentage, have acted as official spokesmen of this movement. These men and their associates have openly professed their ambition to organize German-American voters in opposition to the Wilson Administration. They profess to be the representatives of "true Americanism"; President Wilson's

failure to preserve actual neutrality, they assert, has resulted in making the United States an ally of England. They aim especially to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition to England, France, and Russia. That is the one point, the idea that runs most conspicuously through all their public utterances. President Wilson's failure to lay such an embargo, they assert, though perhaps not technically incorrect, amounts morally to a disregard of neutrality. All the political activities of German-Americans are directed to this very practical end. "We shall simply obliterate the Democratic Party," said Congressman Henry Vollmer to Mr. Frederic W. Wile, of the London Daily *Mail*, "at the Presidential and Congressional elections of 1916 unless President Wilson's Administration accedes to our demands of strict observation of American neutrality in the war. There are in the United States 30,000,000 German-Americans, 10,000,000 Austro-Hungarians, and 15,000,000 Irish-Americans. That makes a total of considerably more than half the present population of the Republic. These people are not all natives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Ireland. They include, however, first, second, and third generations. American politicians are accustomed to calculate that one in every five of the population is a voter, so that we may estimate that the foreign element under discussion represents a voting strength in a Presidential election of 5,500,000. That is one third of the probable aggregate vote which will be cast at the next election in 1916. It constitutes a decisive balance of power.

"Consider the circumstances, for example, under which President Wilson was elected in 1912. He is what we know as a 'plurality' or 'minority' President; that is to say, he failed to receive a majority of all the votes cast, having only 6,292,670 out of a total of 15,039,300, or 1,226,981 less than a majority. You will gather from these figures that even if my calculation of 5,500,000 as the German-Austrian-Irish vote were reduced by 1,500,000, it would still be a 'balance of power' sufficient easily to sway the national election in whichever direction it pleased.

"For the purpose of organizing this great political influence into a compact and cohesive force, my Congressional colleague from Missouri, Mr. Richard Bartholdt—unlike myself, he is a native of Germany—invited fifty-eight American citizens to meet in Washington on January 30th and form a great new party. The object of the association, as announced in the call, is to promote, during the present war, a policy of uncompromising neutrality on the part of the United States, and to initiate a national movement for the protection of American commerce. If the Administration cannot be brought back to a position of genuine impartiality and observation of neutrality which is neither pro-Ally nor pro-German but simply pro-American, we shall not hesitate to use our voting power relentlessly on behalf of what we believe to be, not Germany's interests, but the interests of America. The Germans in America are absolutely united on this point. They are as solidly for Germany as the Germans themselves."

Congressman Vollmer's statistics, of course, are ridiculous; at least fifty-eight German-Americans, however, regarded the organization of the proposed new party seriously enough to attend the Washington conference. Such organs of German-American opinion as the *Staats-Zeitung* of New York, the *Westliche Post* of St. Louis, and the *Mississippi Blätter* endorsed the movement. The meeting elected Mr. Herman Ridder, editor of the *Staats-Zeitung*, honorary president, Mr. Richard Bartholdt president, and Dr. Thomas C. Hall, an Irish "exchange professor," first vice-president. The delegates pledged themselves "individually and collectively to support only those candidates for public office, irrespective of party, who will place American interests above those of any other country, and who will aid in eliminating all undue foreign influences from American life." Expressed in concrete form, this general idea assumed the old familiar demands:

"We demand a free and open sea for the commerce of the United States, and unrestricted traffic in non-contraband goods as defined by international law.

"We favor as a strictly American policy

the immediate enactment of legislation prohibiting the export of arms, ammunition, and munitions of war."

The American press in general has not welcomed this new Germanic party with great cordiality. The idea of fighting American political battles on the basis of European politics is not likely to make a strong appeal to the American mind. It is impossible to say just what progress this movement has had; such tangible evidences as are at hand hardly indicate a large success. The eagerness with which these agitators grasp at straws implies that the response to their attempts to stir up ill feeling have not been very successful. Last fall, when the voters decreased the Democratic majority in Congress, the German-American politicians were jubilant. Here, they cried, is a positive indication that Mr. Wilson's neutrality policy has aroused the wrath of the American people. Other organs of public opinion attributed the Democratic slump to well known domestic causes; not at all, said Bartholdt and his associates—the people don't like his attitude on the war. They found great comfort in the fact that Ambassador James W. Gerard, a candidate for United States Senator on the Democratic ticket in New York, ran several thousand votes ahead of his colleagues. They regarded Mr. Gerard as pro-German, and the fact that he was beaten by a majority not quite so large as his associates was hailed as a great triumph for the Kaiser's cause in the United States.

The voters have had only one opportunity to meet this issue squarely. In Chicago, the German-Americans called upon their fellow countrymen to support Mr. Robert M. Sweitzer for mayor, frankly on the grounds that such support would imply sympathy with the German cause. The German leaders of Chicago signed a circular urging voters of German, Austrian, and Hungarian descent to vote for Mr. Sweitzer on this ground. This circular bore the photographs of Kaiser William and Emperor Francis Joseph. This step aroused the utmost resentment and Mr. Sweitzer's Republican opponent was elected by an enormous majority. As an indication of the position of German-Americans in case of a German-American war, this election is a happy augury.

HOW FAST CAN THE UNITED STATES MAKE ARMS AND AMMUNITION?

WHAT IS NEEDED FOR A FIGHTING ARMY OF A MILLION MEN—WHAT OUR FACTORIES CAN SUPPLY—THE UNITED STATES SUPPLYING LESS THAN ONE PER CENT. OF THE AMMUNITION OF THE ALLIES

CONGRESSMAN AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER of Massachusetts has been trying to convince the people of the United States that we are terribly short of arms and ammunition and the facilities for their manufacture.

At the same time the German press has been abusing us for sending vast quantities of arms and ammunition to the Allies which the Germans say are more effective than any others used against them.

Obviously, both of these points of view cannot be right. We cannot be entirely lacking in arms and ammunition and in the facilities for making them and still be furnishing large supplies to Europe. It is to our own interest as a measure of self-defense to know what is the truth.

In any war that we might get into we might, of course, get armament from other nations. In a war with a Pacific Power, it might be possible to import munitions from Europe, and should the aggressor come from the east the western door might serve the same purpose. But it is possible that the conditions of the conflict might force us to rely entirely upon our own resources.

Our manufacturing industries are so large that, with some exceptions, we could probably produce reasonably well the food, clothing, and miscellaneous equipment which we should need. The supply of rifles, field guns, and ammunition would be much the greatest problem.

WHAT AN ARMY NEEDS

Roughly speaking, the initial requirements for an army are: one rifle per man; three reserve rifles per man; 2,000 cartridges per rifle; 200 field guns (artillery) per army corps (of about 50,000 men); 2,000 rounds of ammunition per field gun; and 60 machine guns per army corps.

For an army of a million men, which would probably be required to resist successfully invasion by any possible enemy, we ought to have on hand at the beginning of the war 4 million rifles, 1,200 machine guns, 8 billion cartridges, 4,000 field guns, and 8 million rounds of field gun ammunition.

These initial supplies of ammunition would be almost wholly expended at the end of one month of active campaigning; the guns, at the end of from one to two years. Consequently the manufacturing forces of the country should be capable of renewing 8 billion cartridges and 8 million rounds of field gun ammunition per month, and at least 2 million rifles, 2,000 field guns, and 600 machine guns a year.

One year ago it would have been hopelessly beyond the capabilities of this country to cope with such a situation in a manner at all commensurate with the military necessities. For example, the capacity of private plants to manufacture field guns was then limited to less than four hundred yearly, and the capacity of the governmental factories was about the same. In other words, as our plants stood a year ago they were not half large enough to meet a war condition and we did not have the surplus stock to carry on hostilities while the plants were enlarging their facilities. It would have taken the combined efforts of then existing governmental and private plants more than ten years to turn out the original allowance of artillery ammunition and the same length of time to produce enough of this kind of ammunition to last the hypothetical army one month. The country's capacity for manufacturing rifle cartridges at that time was less than one hundredth of the needs of such an army while engaged in campaigning.

England to-day, in order to meet a situation similar to ours, although not so bad, has increased her facilities for manufacturing war munitions to sixteen times their capacity of a year ago.

In order to increase the capacity for manufacturing guns and ammunition—to meet General French's cry for ammunition, ammunition, and then more ammunition!—the original British plants have been enlarged by building new machinery, and every machine shop in the country is being utilized which contains tools of the type necessary for this kind of work. The makers of everything from pins to locomotives have diverted their machines as far as possible to meet the more imperative needs of the country.

WAR ORDERS HERE

The same thing to a more limited extent has been done in the United States in order to fill contracts which have been made for British, French, and Russian deliveries, and to permit the taking of more contracts. The regular makers of guns, shells, and explosives have increased their previously existing plants enormously, have put up additional factories, and have sublet contracts to firms that never before attempted the manufacture of articles of this sort. The E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Company has within a year multiplied its output of powder by nearly ten. The Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company has entered the rifle-producing field by purchasing and extending the works of the Stevens Arms & Tool Company. Shell and shrapnel manufacturers have sublet contracts to many steel and iron works which have never previously undertaken that kind of work. Such firms as the Maxwell-Briscoe Motor Company, the Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company, the Oil Well Supply Company, and in fact practically all machinery and automobile companies in the country, are now making projectiles, particularly in the districts around Detroit, Columbus, Cleveland, Toledo, and Pittsburg. More than fifty

firms are engaged in this kind of work where less than ten manufactured the same goods a year ago. Within the last eight months, six firms have begun the production of fuses for shell and shrapnel; previous to that time there were none. Whereas, before the war, the Du Ponts had practically a monopoly in the manufacture of powder, two other large firms have recently entered this important field. Several firms have also developed a new industry in the manufacture of petro-chloride of tin, which is used as an explosive in bombs and gives off asphyxiating gases.

Exactly to what extent our capacity has been increased is very difficult to estimate. Much secrecy has been maintained by the various firms as to the nature and the size of the contracts into which they have entered and it will probably therefore be impossible to determine immediately or accurately how great has been our stride toward an adequate capacity for material war preparation. If England, after expanding her facilities sixteen times, must still come to us for assistance, it may be conservatively stated that our less extensive facilities of a year ago would have to undergo an increase of fifty times their original capacity before the United States could be made independent of outside aid in this respect.

Germany's idea of the importance of our munition supplies goes far beyond the truth. The armies of the Triple Entente number approximately 10 million men, and their total requirements are therefore about ten times those given as being necessary for one million Americans. For example, the Allies must allow for an expenditure upon a most conservative estimate of at least 50 million rounds of artillery ammunition per month.

It is difficult to estimate accurately the quantities being furnished by America, not only because of the unsettled condition of the industry at this time, but also on account of the indisposition of the manufacturing firms to give out precise information concerning their contracts. But roughly speaking at present the total output of our factories is not more than 25,000 artillery rounds per month, or less than one twentieth of one per cent. of the total expenditure. One eighteenth of one per cent., by the same accounting, represents the total amount of cartridges shipped from this country per month.

As artillery ammunition is probably furnished in greater proportion than other munitions, it is apparent how really inconsiderable is our material aid to the enemies of Germany. Even making due allowance for a probable great increase in these exports in the future, and a greatly protracted war, our supplies for the contest cannot reasonably be expected greatly to alter its outcome, except perhaps through the exports of such materials as copper, cotton, rosin, oils, foodstuffs, etc., the uses of which are only partially for the belligerent purposes of war.

THE NEEDS OF A NAVY

In an army the need for readiness previous to the outbreak of war is very great; in a navy it is absolutely vital. While the Army is from necessity spending months in mobilizing—that is, in concentrating men and supplies, in gathering together the reserves and sending them to join the regular forces, in organizing lines of supplies, in providing for replacing the wastage of men and munitions, etc.—the Navy may probably be required to go out and meet a hostile fleet and engage it in decisive battle, upon the issue of which may depend whether or not the Army will be needed at all. Certainly if our fleet be successful, our Army will not have to face an enemy upon American soil, because no hostile nation can afford to jeopardize the safety of its army before it can be landed upon our shores, and will consequently be deterred from attempting invasion until our fleet is annihilated or driven from the sea.

The necessity of preparation afloat is greatly magnified in importance, not only on account of the probable necessity for meeting the enemy immediately after the outbreak of hostilities, but also because of the great length of time required for adequate preparation.

It takes longer to make a man-o'-war's-man than it does to make a soldier. The former must acquire familiarity with the artificial and peculiar conditions of life

on the water and he must be trained to be expert in weapons and mechanisms of much greater intricacy than any to be found ashore—in short, he is a more highly specialized warrior than his soldier brother, with whom he shares the superior importance of personnel over material.

Yet the sailor is even more dependent upon his material for existence than is the army man; to quote the time-honored Negro, if things go wrong in a shore fight "dah ye is," but under similar circumstances afloat the ship may sink, "an den whah is ye?" The floating material also requires a much longer time to construct than shore material, which again emphasizes the necessity for adequate preparation in advance.

To be equipped properly a navy must have ships of the fighting type, ships of the merchant type to carry fuel and supplies, armor, guns of great and small calibre, submarine automobile torpedoes, submarine and floating mines, great-gun ammunition in large quantities, fuel in vast quantity, and miscellaneous supplies of food, clothing, and ship's stores. Most of these naval necessities require special facilities of unusual type for their manufacture, and consequently it cannot be expected that after the outbreak of war the maximum production of the country along these lines can be greatly increased.

Therefore, the initial requirements of a fleet should include a reserve supply great enough to compensate for the necessarily small national capacity for rapid production. This applies particularly to ships, of both man-of-war and merchant types, armor, large guns, and torpedoes.

OUR DEFICIENCY IN AUXILIARIES

The shipbuilding plants of the country, private and governmental, are adequate to construct all ships of the fighting types which the Nation is likely to need, and probably to make most of the requisite additions to the present merchant marine to serve the Navy in time of war. Congress has been liberal in appropriating for men-of-war, though in the opinion of the best experts of the country, the General Board of the Navy, it has not been liberal enough. The small number of ships in the American merchant service has also been a source of considerable worry to naval officers who are responsible for safeguarding the national interests on the sea. The recent great revival of merchant shipbuilding, due to the European war, will eventually, if continued, greatly alleviate this condition in all types except the large fast ocean liner which is so necessary for scouting purposes. When it is remembered that after the outbreak of war the neutral ship markets will be denied us, the probable deficiency in scouts will be a serious one for the Navy. Not less than twenty fast vessels of the ocean-liner type would be required. There are only eight suitable ones under the American flag to-day and none under construction.

The vast quantity of fuel required by our fleet during hostilities must be supplied by ocean freighters. While the regular Navy possesses quite a number of these for peace uses, more than 200 additional ships would be necessary. This number would have to be greatly increased if an army was to be transported overseas. England to-day employs about 2,000 merchant ships to serve its fleet and its army upon the continent, not including a great number of small coasting vessels used for mine sweeping. Roughly speaking, at the present time the American merchant marine would be able to furnish about half the number of large fuel and supply ships which the fleet would need in the event of war. At the present rate of increase, however, due to the building revival and to the purchases being constantly made under the recent act of Congress permitting transfers of foreign-built vessels to American registry, it will not be more than a few years before our merchant service will be sufficiently large for the supply of the fleet in war.

Generally speaking, the facilities for the manufacture of armor, naval guns, and ammunition are already adequate to meet the present and probable future needs. The necessity for such munitions depends wholly upon the number of ships built and appropriated for, and can therefore be closely approximated and provided for well in advance. Data concerning the quantity of ammunition on hand and the

of reserve guns in stock is kept
y the Navy Department, but it is
hat Congress has wisely provided
ırge reserve supply to meet the
expenditures during hostilities.

LACKING IN TORPEDOES

pedoes, however (a very necessary
ortant weapon), there is a grave
:y, and to make matters worse
ilities in this country for their
:ture are small. About a year
vas said by a prominent naval
ıat the supply of torpedoes equalled
: for each discharging tube. There
ut 1,000 discharging tubes in all
:rican warships, while the total
capacity amounts to only about
ear. Approximately 50 torpedoes
each year in target practice, so
: net increase is only about 350.
:r war allowance is not less than
edoes per discharging tube. This
: makes no allowance for equipping
pedoes the new ships that may be
Jnfortunately, also, success in
torpedoes requires many years of
ce and great expense in equipping
t, so that any large augmentation
ities in this country cannot be
ly expected.
resent war has also demonstrated
ıt importance of the mine as a
eapon. Our supply is very small
-the exact number is held con-
—but happily this instrument of
ion is comparatively easily and
built, and our deficiency in mines,
hat in torpedoes, though serious is
duly alarming. One reassuring
that many mines are now being
this country for European belli-
so that the equipment and experi-
ıs gained is an asset to America.

N ADEQUATE FUEL SUPPLY

navy the question of the supply
almost as important as that of the
ırely military munitions. When
embled our fleet would consume
00,000 tons of coal each month
active hostile operations. The
of coal mined in this country is
ous, but that would not be of
great value to the Navy unless the process of getting it to the coast and of exporting it overseas had not also been developed on a large scale. At present our monthly export of coal amounts to nearly a million and a half tons a month—five times more than the maximum requirement of the fleet during war. This makes it unnecessary for our naval commanders to worry about their fuel supply—except about the means of getting it to the fleet from the seaports with our small number of merchant ships suitable for coal carriers. With fuel oil, of which the fleet's consumption is rapidly approaching that of coal, the United States is equally well endowed. In the course of ten or fifteen years oil fuel will have almost replaced coal for fleet purposes and our huge resources will give us an enviable advantage over all other great navies, except perhaps that of Russia. The American merchant fleet of "tankers" already comprises nearly a hundred large seagoing vessels with a total carrying capacity of almost 500,000 tons of fuel oil. Ten additional mammoth tankers are on the building ways and about one new vessel a week is being transferred by purchase to American registry.

Obviously the Navy is in a better position than the Army to obtain sufficient supplies from home sources before and during war. Its most serious deficiency is the lack of torpedoes and the very limited facilities for manufacturing them, and the only practicable means of relieving the situation seems to be through purchases from abroad, which of course is impossible during the continuance of the war.

In taking stock of our ability to supply the Army and Navy with their vast and numerous material needs for conducting war, it should always be borne in mind that the resources cannot be expected to remain available very long after the outbreak of hostilities unless the naval and military forces are strong and efficient enough in the beginning to protect securely the sources of their own existence. Practically all the reserve stocks as well as the facilities for manufacture are concentrated east of St. Louis and north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers, while probably 80 per cent. of the total is to be found within a

radius of 150 miles of New York City. In a war with a Pacific Power, these locations would be a source of security, but should the danger come from the other quarter they would be a weakness. If, in the latter contingency, our fleet should meet with an early defeat, and a large efficient army were landed near New York, it is well within the bounds of probability that the enemy would take possession of our main sources of supply before the combined army of regulars and militia, in its present state of efficiency and numbers, could seriously dispute the invasion.

Consequently it is manifestly necessary not only to have the material resources and facilities, but also to be able to hold them, if we are to count ourselves as insured properly against national disgrace and disaster.

THE TOLL OF THE SUBMARINES

GERMANY'S DESTRUCTION OF NEUTRAL AND BELLIGERENT MERCHANT SHIPS AND THE LIVES OF NON-COMBATANTS—HAS THE "WAR ZONE" ISOLATED GREAT BRITAIN?—THE MORAL EFFECT ON THE CIVILIZED WORLD

THE German decree of a submarine "war zone" around the British Isles, with all that it implied in peril to the lives of neutral travelers, was justified to the American Government by Germany upon the plea that it was designed to "isolate" Great Britain—as the only effective policy of retaliation for the British policy of "starving out" Germany. Has the war zone been a success? Has it isolated Great Britain? Has it been worth to Germany what it has cost her in the enmity aroused by the loss of American lives?

The German decree became effective on February 18th. The *Lusitania* was sunk on May 7th. In those 78 days, German mines destroyed 5 ships in that zone, German mines or torpedoes destroyed 3 ships, 1 ship was burned, and torpedoes from German submarines destroyed 81 ships—or 90 ships in all. Of these vessels, 63 were British, 5 were French, 3 were Russian. The rest sailed under neutral flags—American, Norwegian, Dutch, Swedish, Greek, and Danish.

If this record was Germany's best answer to England's policy of starvation, it was a failure, both by the test of arithmetic and by the test of history. Consider first the arithmetical test: Ninety ships destroyed in 78 days is at the rate of 1⅛ ships a day. In 1912, Great Britain had 3,386 sailing vessels and 9,672 steam vessels engaged in coastwise and foreign trade, or 13,058 vessels in all, To destroy these ships at the rate of 1⅛ ships a day would require 11,257 days, or 30 years, 10 months, and 7 days. (No allowance is made for new ships which Britain would build in that time.) In foreign trade alone, Great Britain had 242 sailing vessels and 4,128 steam vessels (4,370 in all), and to destroy these at the same rate would require 10 years, 3 months, and 27 days.

A COMPARISON WITH 1812

The historical test is equally unconsoling to Germany. In the War of 1812 the British navy was infinitely superior to the American in number of ships and men, and for the better part of the war the entire Atlantic coast of the United States was closely blockaded. Nevertheless, during the three years of that conflict, American warships and privateers captured about 2,500 vessels from the British, an average of about 2½ a day. One vessel alone, the American sloop *Argus*, in the English Channel, captured a British ship nearly every day for a month, from July 14th to August 14, 1813. And the best naval authority of its day, the *Pilot*, writing in March, 1813, said that "Lloyd's list contains notices of upward of five hundred British vessels captured in seven months by the Americans"—2½ vessels a day.

It seems likely, therefore—barring an improbable degree of panic among British seafarers or very great additions to the German submarine fleet—that Great Britain's overseas trade will not be greatly diminished by Von Tirpitz's policy of "isolating" the Isles.

Indeed, the statistics show a great increase in imports into Great Britain during last March over the same month of last year, notwithstanding that German submarines sunk 21 British and 4 neutral merchantmen in that month this year. This increase in imports of all kinds was from 334½ million dollars to practically 378 million dollars in value. The value of the grain and flour in these imports was nearly double the value of these foodstuffs imported in the same month last year, rising from 27½ million dollars in 1914 to 48 million dollars in 1915. Raw copper fell off 1,587 tons, but partly wrought and wrought copper increased 4,729 tons. The value of imported metals of all kinds was 3 million dollars greater than for the same month last year. The number of live horses imported from the United States in March, 1914, was 760; in March, 1915, it was 3,465. In other words, in representative foodstuffs and war materials, Great Britain was able to increase its commerce greatly over its importations in times of peace.

A closer analysis of the shipping already destroyed is even more disheartening to the advocates of a "frightful" war. The average net tonnage (cargo capacity) of British vessels engaged in foreign trade is 2,432 tons. Only 23 of the 63 lost British ships were anything like as big as that, and at least 22 more were of less than 500 tons' burden—mere tug-boats so far as cargo capacity was concerned.

These figures are even less encouraging to Germany than the figures for the 202 days from the outbreak of the war, August 1, 1914, to the date the war-zone decree became effective, February 18, 1915. In those 202 days, of the 95 ships destroyed by Germany, 80 (four fifths) were British,

MERCHANT VESSELS DESTROYED BEFORE THE GERMAN "WAR ZONE" DECREE

(August 1, 1914, to February 18, 1915—202 days)

NO. OF SHIPS	NATIONALITY	GROSS TONNAGE
	OF NEUTRAL NATIONS	
3	Danish	2,122
3	Dutch	7,067
1	Norwegian	1,507
5	Swedish	6,590
12		17,286
	OF BELLIGERENT NATIONS	
80	British	201,322
2	French	997
1	Japanese	3,912
83		206,231

MERCHANT VESSELS DESTROYED UNDER THE GERMAN "WAR ZONE" DECREE

(February 19, 1915, to May 7, 1915—78 days)

NO. OF SHIPS	NATIONALITY	GROSS TONNAGE	LIVES LOST
	OF NEUTRAL NATIONS		
3	American	8,489	4
1	Danish	4,076	0
4	Dutch	14,562	1
1	Greek	2,989	0
7	Norwegian	14,843	0
3	Swedish	1,767	6
19		46,726	11
	OF BELLIGERENT NATIONS		
63	British	138,438	1,218
5	French	6,616	20
3	Russian	6,681	0
71		151,735	1,238

whereas in the later period only a fraction more than two thirds were British. And of these 80 earlier vessels torpedoed, mined, or burned, 40 (one half) were of more than 2,500 tons' burden, as compared with a trifle more than one third in the later period that were that big.

From the beginning of the war to May 7, 1915—nine months and one week—Germany had destroyed 143 ships of Great Britain's 13,000, or rather more than one per cent. In tonnage, the comparison is 339,760 tons destroyed against 11,714,198 tons altogether, or about 3 per cent. Counting the life of a ship as twenty-five years, this is less than the normal percentage of depreciation for the same period, and is thus practically negligible in estimating the degree of financial injury to the great structure of British shipping.

The element of moral strain which these submarine attacks have introduced remains to be considered. It is, of course, out of all proportion more effective in hindering commerce than the economic loss of sunken ships. But no lesson of history teaches that adventurous men have long been deterred from risking death when the stakes were even less momentous than British commerce is to Great Britain. The crews of the five hundred American privateers who risked death and destruction during the War of 1812 did so more from the hope of gain than from the motives of patriotism. And the many blockade runners that adventured everything for the sake of getting supplies to the Confederacy and cotton to England are evidences of a spirit that did not hesitate to challenge a blockade much more effective than Germany's about Great Britain.

But the most unfortunate effect upon Germany's cause appears in a comparison of her destructive activities in the first period of the war and her barbarous policy in the later period. Of the 95 ships destroyed in the first 202 days, only 12 were under neutral flags, and only four neutral nations were affected—Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Norway. Eighty were British ships, 2 were French, and one was Japanese—all, as belligerents, fair game and no unnaturally hard feelings caused. The sinking of the last of these belligerents, however, the French *Ville de Lille*, cost ten lives that should have been spared, and opened the series of destruction in the second period in which the reckless disregard of human life, bad enough in the case of the crews of unarmed British merchantmen, became at first a matter of incredulity, then of alarm, and finally of execration, not only to the belligerent enemies of Germany, but to the entire civilized and neutral world. The lives of 19 non-combatants were lost in the sinking of the French *Emma* on March 31st, and of at least 218 non-combatants in the sinking of 16 British ships. A new terror was added to the neutral countries of Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Norway as more of their ships were sent to the bottom, and Germany's name became an irritant to Greece, which lost one ship, and especially to the United States, which lost three ships and the lives of at least four Americans.

Then came the destruction of the *Lusitania*, premeditated and advertised in advance, causing the loss of at least 1,000 lives of non-combatants, who were utterly helpless to prevent their fate. More than 100 Americans, besides scores of citizens of several other neutral countries, were drowned. The minor barbarities of earlier feats of the German submarines were here thrown dramatically upon the screen to the eyes of the whole world. "Wholesale murder" was the verdict of civilization, and the passing of the first days of passionate indignation did not alter that verdict.

Here Germany confronted an entirely new phase of her policy of isolating Great Britain. Howsoever her success in achieving the physical isolation of those islands may be judged, her success was complete in isolating herself from the moral sympathy of the entire world. Bismarck esteemed the moral support of his policies as worth at least as much as the physical power of Germany's military establishment. The present rulers of Germany esteem it not at all. Which is the better judge of the elements of victory time alone can tell. It may very conceivably happen that the decree of a war zone around Great Britain shall prove to be decisive of the downfall of the German Empire.

YOUR GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE NEWEST PART OF THE GOVERNMENT

1E creation of a Trade Commission affecting all business, the centring of the control of our currency in the Federal Reserve Board, the tremendously increased importance of our foreign relations—these, among many other things, are turning public attention and more toward the activities of the Federal Government. For this reason the LD'S WORK *has decided to supplement its customary discussion of governmental affairs o publish each month one or more editorial articles about the activities of the Federal nment. These articles will be written by a member of the magazine's staff in Washing- ho will keep in close and constant touch with the men and measures of which he writes. e Washington office (in the Munsey Building) will also answer readers' questions about ork of any department of the Government.*

IGHTEEN out of the twenty-one American republics were represented at the financial Congress which opened in Washington on May 24th. The ates are more representative of ister republics than any previous ring of the same character. Ex-vice-lents, former ministers of foreign s, governors of provinces, secretaries ministers of finance, are among the er. With scarcely an exception each ation contains some of the ablest rities on finance and trade in its ctive country.

e eighteen governments have all n their eagerness for financial coöpera-

But we in the New World must nize at least this one serious restric- n our republican forms of government unwieldiness of democracies in rs of international agreement. Other of government can make or break e made or broken—such agreements ight. This conference cannot make agreement which would bind the ent republics without the legislative ion of eighteen popular governments rying degrees of responsibility and of ng interest in these proceedings. may appear epoch-making in Wash- n may pass almost unnoticed in La what seems vital in Lima may not e interest in Buenos Aires.

Even supposing, as there are good reasons to hope, that this conference is a complete success as a meeting of minds, every one of the delegations must thereafter convince its respective home constituency before tangible results shall follow the conferring.

Those constituencies, some of them for generations skeptical in their attitude toward the United States, can and will be convinced only by concrete proposals. The time for general talk has passed.

The immediate object which the other American republics seek here is money. Every one of the other American republics is in dire financial distress at this moment. Argentina is in our markets asking for fifty millions of dollars on top of a twenty million dollar loan already made. Chile wants fifteen million dollars or more. Peru has already obtained ten millions. The practical part of the Pan-Americanism confronting this conference is financing the other republics.

South America—not necessarily Central America—has for a couple of centuries lived from and for Europe, socially, intellectually, and economically. During that time Pan-Americanism has been largely a curious amenity, an amicable curiosity, in international relations.

Now war has brought a new atmosphere. It has disturbed and in many cases blocked old currents. The trade winds no longer

blow east and west. Now for the first time American financial and trade lines may become vertical instead of horizontal. The war and the Canal have opened a way. New York must provide the means.

A few years ago "dollar diplomacy" became a political catchword. In some respects such diplomacy was a reproach. To exploit another country in the interests of a few people through diplomatic channels is a perversion of the proper relations of the Department of State. But the present Administration realizes that, in another sense, only diplomacy which is effective in dollars—that is to say, international dealings which shall bring mutual benefit to the countries concerned—has any real, practical value. This Administration has spent more than the two preceding Administrations for the promotion of trade through improved diplomatic relations. The Federal Reserve Board, the reorganized Department of Commerce, the maintenance of trade experts in addition to the consular service abroad, the Federal Trade Commission, are all instrumentalities brought into action by the present Administration which encourage the expansion of foreign trade.

All these agencies are set up to give assistance to every merchant and manufacturer in the United States who will take advantage of them. Beyond this the Government of a republic cannot well go. It cannot practically go into business partnership with its big exporting and engineering companies and banks as some foreign governments have done. The actual extension of our trade and finance to South America must therefore be made by private business concerns.

Whether the Conference will be looked back upon years hence as an important meeting, or forgotten along with many another Pan-American meeting, depends chiefly upon whether our business men meet these delegates, not in a body, but one by one and do business with them.

Now it is well known in commercial diplomacy that borrowing nations—and all the Latin-American republics are now borrowers—spend the greater part of the borrowed money in the lending country. *If the Rothschilds finance* a new navy for Brazil then the Vickers or the Armstrong shipbuilders get the contracts for Brazilian battleships. If the Deutsche Bank finances municipal improvements in Chile then German firms get the contracts for paving the streets of Santiago and Valparaiso. If Argentina borrows from France she buys in France. We have been told, therefore, that if we want trade from South America we must lend money to South America.

Then follows the particular argument that this is the time to lend, for when the war involved the great lending nations of Europe their money markets were closed to South America. So either public improvements and development must stop in those countries to the south of us or the money for them must be raised in the United States of North America. If we meet this opportunity we shall reap our reward in trade.

OUR TRADE WITH LATIN AMERICA

Although during eight months ending in February our exports to Latin America fell off 25 per cent., our imports increased 9 per cent., and this notwithstanding that our imports from the whole world fell off 13 per cent. The United States has been the best buying friend that Latin-America has had in this period of greatest need.

In the ten months since the war began the balance of trade with Latin America has reached the astounding total of 160 million dollars against the United States. This means that each month, at such a rate, the United States had to pay Europe on account of South America about 20 millions of dollars. The money we owe to Chile for nitrates, to Bolivia for tin, to Brazil for coffee, to Argentina for hides and beef, goes to Europe, and Europe sends clothes, and hats, and shoes, and machinery to South America therefor. Very little of it is now spent in this country for the reason, primarily, that we are not a lending nation to the republics of South America. That export and import balance sheet of South American trade also shows very concretely the worth-whileness of selling enough goods to South America to compensate what we buy from them.

All that money is spent and has been for

ions spent in Germany or France land or Spain because those nations in good steamship lines and do ther things, but particularly because re ready and willing to advance on terms acceptable to the borrow- ion. We can not stimulate South a's trade nor get our fair share of it larly at this time unless we are generously to help to finance it.

establishment of branch banks in American countries is one of the al results to be hoped for from this nce, and incidentally the present Congress authorizing the establish- f branch national banks is good as it goes. But it does not go far . It does not enable us to meet ition by the banking interests of ations unrestricted by the govern- of those nations. One of the first the Federal Trade Commission study, in connection with its an- d intention of investigating means nding foreign trade, is the best way ch the present United States law further amended in favor of inter- l banking arrangements. It is not that one banking institution in one matter how large that institution e, should venture forth into the American field. A healthier con- f affairs will result from the activi- bank representative of the bankers siness men of all sections of the —a national and business men's or international trade, a bank in he cotton-growers of the South and eat-growers of the North, manu- rs of Illinois, and the investors of at river valleys and the Pacific can have at least an equal chance equal part with the narrower s of Wall Street.

h America needs our money. South a needs that money now. We need ade, not so much now as we shall twenty years hence. But we ought e a beginning now, and that be- ought to be a national, not a sec- tional, beginning. Moreover, many of the difficulties have been exaggerated. For example: It may not even be true that our merchants to succeed must follow the European system of debauching credit. Many American manufacturers are holding back from the South American trade because they believe that success depends upon credits of six months or more. Some foreign credits in South America, like our long-time credits in our own South, were breeders of failure. They encouraged merchants to buy more than they should and to spend the profits of the goods they did sell long before they had to pay for them —in other words, long credits in South America had all the familiar symptoms of bleeding a country to death by interest charges that long credits have elsewhere. To some overstocked merchants the war appeared as a blessing in disguise, giving them a chance to clean up their stock and get down to a normal basis.

We should not be doing the South American merchant a favor by trying to fasten on him the credit system which we recognize as so detrimental to us at home, and it is not likely that, if we honestly serve him in other ways, the South American merchant will insist upon being ruined in this way.

The results of the Conference we shall have to wait for in any event. They cannot be chronicled in the papers of the week following the Conference.

Without being too optimistic it may be said that no department of the Government has been given a greater opportunity than the Treasury Department has in its hands. In the constructive work of the new Government of the United States this Conference may mark a great progressive step. It is almost an equally great opportunity for the business of this country to back up its Government in making a big, constructive advance in the relation between business and government. It is all part of a great fabric confronting the voters, the investors, and the captains of this generation.

AN INVESTMENT IN CANDY

Every month the WORLD'S WORK *will publish in this part of the magazine an article of experiences with investment and the lessons to be drawn therefrom*

MRS. MARY ANN WHITE is a widow whose home is in New Haven, Conn. Until a year or so ago, she was living comfortably on the income from the estate of her deceased husband, who had been an investor of rather discriminating tastes.

One day she happened to make the acquaintance of a gentleman whose business at that time took him frequently to New Haven and a number of other New England cities. He was a man of ministerial mien, sympathetic and interesting, who easily fell into the habit of just "dropping in" to see his elderly friend in a social way whenever he happened to be passing through the city.

During one of these casual visits, on which the gentleman was accompanied by one of his business associates, the conversation turned from social to business affairs. The visitors explained that they were representing a certain candy-making concern in New York which had a glorious future and was sure to be a big money maker for its stockholders. Indeed, as the prospectus of the candy company had set forth, the profits of this particular enterprise were not to be reckoned on "the customary commercial basis of 4, 5, 6, or even 10 per cent.," but on a basis "peculiar to the candy business of 100, 200, 300, and even 500 per cent." If the lady had money to invest, the gentlemen said, here was the opportunity for her to double her fortune in a few years.

The widow explained that she had comparatively little ready cash, but that in her safe deposit box were a lot of railroad and industrial stocks, some shares of a local national bank, and a few bonds, none of which were comparable, in income-producing capacity, to the candy stock as it had been represented to her.

She thought the matter over, and finally yielded to the temptation which her new friends had set before her. Arrangements were made to hand over to them a miscellaneous assortment of stocks and bonds of a total market value of more than $60,000. These were promptly sold and most of the proceeds used to buy the candy company's stock.

For a long time after this new "investment" had been made, the widow's friends continued to manifest a great deal of interest in her affairs. They stopped at nothing in their efforts to appear accommodating. Upon learning that it was her desire to leave her securities to her dead husband's nephews, the gentlemen called one day with a lawyer, who drew up a codicil to her will, bequeathing the candy stock as she desired. And to insure the beneficiaries against failure to realize at least a substantial part of the growth in the stock's value, which they said was sure to follow, the provision was made that the shares should not be sold for three years after the widow's death.

After that, the personal calls were discontinued. But Mrs. White's mail began to be burdened with circulars, dwelling enthusiastically upon the company's progress. A "new home" had been planned, and one circular referred to certain religious exercises which had attended the breaking of ground for the new factory building. Then, at various times, tempting boxes of candy, claimed to have been made at the new factory, were sent. One of these was a sample of a new brand which the president of the company granted Mrs. White the honor of naming.

But with none of these favors and manifestations of solicitude came any tangible evidence of the company's commercial success. The profits which had been figured with so little difficulty as sure to mount into the hundreds per cent. continued to be merely prospective. And Mrs. White began to feel that perhaps, after all, her sister, who had also been

advised to sell her securities and buy candy stock, but who had not hesitated to leave well enough alone, was a wiser woman than herself. She did not, however, fully realize that she had really made a grave mistake, until one day not long ago she received a summons to appear in New York as a witness for the Government at the trial of the promoters and officers of the candy company on the charge of fraudulent use of the mails in the sale of the stock. They were acquitted; but Mrs. White's capital is in their hands and she is getting no income.

The incidents of this story illustrate methods that are characteristic of the typical promoter of quack investment propositions, who, unfortunately, continues to find ways and means of luring millions of the public's money every year, despite the vigilance of the post office authorities and the spread of "blue sky" laws among the various states.

To begin with, the victim of this unfortunate transaction, from which she can hope to save but little, if any, of her competence, is herself typical. Occasionally it is the hard-headed business man, but more often the dependent widow, the orphan, the school teacher, or the clergyman who fails to discover in time the real intent behind the aggressive methods and polished exteriors of this class of promoters.

Then, the proposition itself had most of the characteristics which can as a rule, be taken as unfailing marks of distinction between hopeless speculation and legitimate investment.

The exorbitant percentage of income promised on the stock should have been, under any circumstances, sufficient to condemn it immediately as an investment.

But in the circulars of the company and of the stock-selling agency there were even more conspicuous earmarks of precarious promotion. There were the pretentious efforts of the founder of the concern to take prospective purchasers of the stock into his confidence by telling them his life story, with particular emphasis upon the honesty and sincerity of his motives, and upon his natural inclination to philanthropy. There was the customary cheap appeal to sentiment, rather amusingly illustrated by the following extract from one of the president's letters about candy in general:

"Who can measure by pound weight the solid, smeary joy it brings to the child; the tender heartbeats of the young girl when conveyed as a gift from her lover; or the happy contentment of the wife at the thoughtfulness of the husband?"

There was the familiar clap-trap effort to make a virtue of the fact that the stock of the company would not be "listed" because it was the purpose of the promoters to keep entirely free from "Wall Street" and its methods. There was the warning that to delay in the purchase of the shares meant loss of opportunity to "get in on the ground floor," because the price ere long was certain to advance. There was the abundance of extravagant statement of accomplishment in other kinds of established enterprise, many of them not even remotely connected with the manufacture of candy. And above all, there was the absence of even a pretense of submitting a verified financial statement.

Of course, no educated investor would allow himself to become the victim of such evasion. The pity of it is, however, that from the records of the very recent past it is possible to compute losses, running into the millions of dollars, suffered by credulous people who, like the widow of the story, were blinded by just this variety of what Rufus Choate called "glittering generalities."

Sometime the day may come when it will no longer be necessary to expose these simple and easily recognized tricks by which empty propositions are made to appear sound. In the meantime, the surest way to avoid the pitfalls of investment is to look for facts and to establish a relationship with some responsible and skilful banker.

JAPAN'S FIRST DEMOCRAT

JAPAN ON THE BRINK OF A DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE—THE PART THAT "THE SAGE OF WASEDA" HAS PLAYED IN THE SPREAD OF LIBERAL IDEAS

BY

CARL CROW

THE Japanese people are now enjoying the experience, rare in their history, of being ruled by a premier who is personally popular. In our own Republic we have come to think of popularity as the chief title to power, but in Japan the reverse is more often true. Since the Emperor possesses a divinity which his subjects do not share, the gulf which divides ruler from ruled is that which divides the Japanese heaven from the Japanese earth, and since the people can bestow no rewards while the Emperor can bestow everything, it naturally follows that the people have rarely been served so well as the divine master. The measure of official success has been, not the extent of their service to fellow man, but the glory they have been able to add to the name of that mysterious person who is supposed to rule Japan and is declared by the Japanese Constitution to be sacred and inviolable. This has been the inspiration of previous Ministries, which have piled up taxation in an ever increasing burden and forced on the people a hateful conscription, that the Emperor might glory in the strength of an army and navy, justified neither by the resources of his country nor the necessities of defense. One by one these Ministries have been forced out of office either by popular clamor or by quarrels between the army and navy factions, and each has been succeeded by another Ministry equally ambitious to carry out plans which would make prematurely a Power of the first class out of Japan no matter what the cost might be to Japanese subjects.

The Yamamoto cabinet was the last of these, the third in eighteen months to be forced out of office by demonstrations of the people against the expenditure of money on army and navy schemes which the people did not want. Its predecessor, the Katsura cabinet, was forced to resign because of popular disapproval of a plan to increase the standing army. [The second Katsura cabinet, after an existence of three years, resigned on August 25, 1911. It was succeeded by the second Saion-ji cabinet, which continued in power until December of the following year. The third Katsura cabinet lasted three months, falling in February, 1913. The Yamamoto cabinet was in power thirteen months, resigning on March, 24, 1914.] In the case of the Yamamoto cabinet, the accidental disclosure that a large part of the navy appropriations had gone into the pockets of high officials of the navy led to the belief that motives other than a desire to increase the national defenses were behind the insistent demands for liberal navy appropriations. The usually passive opposition of the people turned to threatening demonstrations. It was necessary to call out troops to guard the Houses of the Diet from violence, and the resignations of the Ministry were handed to the throne.

With the announcement of the Cabinet's resignation the senile Elder Statesmen, on whom the Emperor in such crises relies for advice, met to select a successor. They offered the post to Prince Tokugawa, heir of the last Shogun and president of the House of Peers. The Prince sensed the opposition of the people and declined the dangerous task. Viscount Kiyoura, a loyal henchman of Prince Yamagata, the leader of the Elder Statesmen, then accepted the appointment while the mob snarled its opposition and rage through the newspapers. After a short time he was compelled to report to the throne that he had been unable to form a Ministry.

Then, at last, the Elder Statesmen surrendered to popular clamor and Count Okuma, "The Sage of Waseda," in his seventy-seventh year took up the difficult task. Almost without exception the newspapers welcomed his return to political life and the news of his appointment caused a temporary boom in the stock exchange. For many years he had been the spokesman for democracy, the advocate of the people who could always be counted on to voice their demands. His appointment was regarded as a great popular victory which meant that the first step had been taken in the work of breaking down the power of the bureaucrats who rule Japan.

At the time of his appointment, Count Okuma was living in political retirement at his home in Waseda, a suburb of Tokio. There, surrounded by his books, he occupied his time by editing a political magazine and administering the affairs of Waseda University, which he founded and of which he is still head. He has always been, for his country, a remarkably advanced political thinker, for in Japan, with its sacred Emperor, democracy comes dangerously near being treason and the heads of socialists rest insecurely on their shoulders. But the Sage of Waseda has served his country so well and had such fame abroad that the government authorities allowed him a laxity of speech and of views which would have sent a man of fewer years and less celebrity to jail. Sometimes he overstepped the narrow boundary within which political questions may be discussed in Japan, and less than a month before his appointment to the premiership an entire issue of his magazine was confiscated by the police because it contained articles so democratic that they were believed to be dangerous. He was, in the opinion of the bureaucrats, thinking dangerous thoughts, for he had attacked the press laws which allow any minor police official to suppress a magazine, book, or newspaper, and he had often declared that the people should be freed from some of their heavy burden of taxation. He had even scorned the much-talked-of Japanese Bushido, declaring it to be the creed of the lawless and arrogant Samurai; and when bribery in the navy was under investigation, he had set all Japan to talking and thinking by a cryptic observation, which later results seem to justify, that the net of investigation would catch the little fish but the big fish would swallow the net.

AN INSURGENT BY BIRTH

The circumstances of his birth quite as much as his natural independence of mind have made Okuma an insurgent. Probably only in Japan could a man who has done so much for his country and has won such a high regard from his countrymen be kept in a minor position because of the personal animosity of a few powerful clan leaders.

Okuma was fifteen years old when Commodore Perry visited Japan, and his father, a Samurai of the Hizen clan, was in command of the Japanese forts at Nagasaki. Okuma was, of course, a Samurai and in his youth swaggered about with two long swords thrust in his belt though it is not on record that he ever used them. Like many others of his class, his tastes soon turned from fighting to politics and, in the troubled times which preceded the overthrow of the Shogunate, he played a prominent part, out of proportion to his age and the importance of his clan. He is one of the few Japanese now living who helped in the downfall of the Shogun and the restoration of the Emperor to that semblance of power of which the long rule of the Shogun had robbed him.

But from the first he has been an outsider. When the last Shogun was dispossessed, the powers which were nominally restored to the Emperor were in fact only transferred to the Satsuma and Choshu clans which had satisfied an ancient grudge by overthrowing the Shogun. Okuma, as a member of the minor Hizen clan, was not admitted to the share of power which he had earned by his aid in the overthrow of the Shogun and deserved by his abilities. The two dominant clans divided the government between them. the Satsumas taking the navy and the Choshus the army. All the generals and other high officials of the army are to-day Choshu men, while all the admirals and high officers of the navy are Satsuma men. In their struggles for power the Satsumas

and the Choshus have often quarreled between themselves, and most of the political turbulence of the past in Japan has arisen from disputes between these two clans as to the relative amount to be appropriated to the army and the navy. Against any outsider they have always forgotten their differences, and their opposition has been especially bitter against men who, like Okuma, were able by their own abilities to create positions for themselves in spite of clan opposition. Many years ago Okuma earned from the Government the title of Marquis, if not of Prince. These titles have been granted to many men of minor attainments. They have been withheld from Okuma for with them goes a seat in the House of Peers and the little clique of bureaucrats and clansmen are prudently timorous about allowing a man of Okuma's strong personality and liberal ideas a voice in that stronghold of conservatism.

OKUMA'S EARLY POLITICAL CAREER

So far as it has been possible to do so, high public office has been given only to the members of the two dominant clans, but in the past the number of men capable of holding high office has been limited and it is through this poverty of material that Okuma and other outsiders like himself have found their way to official position. At the age of forty he began his official career, first as Vice-minister and later as Minister of Finance. Ten years later, in 1888, when Japan began her attempts to secure the revision of her treaties and regain the rights of sovereignty which she had been forced to sign away, Okuma was named Foreign Minister, probably less because of his popularity with those in power than because he possessed something of which few Japanese at that time could boast, the confidence of foreigners.

The premature publication of a draft of the treaty he had negotiated disclosed the fact that provision had been made for the retention of foreign judges in the Japanese courts. This concession to foreign demands aroused violent opposition in Japan and a political fanatic attempted to assassinate Okuma. Two men were killed by the bomb the assassin threw, and, though Okuma survived, his leg was so shattered that it had to be amputated.

Okuma again retired and was again, in 1898, called to serve the throne, this time as Premier. His cabinet lasted but a few months, soon falling before the intrigues of the clansmen. The minor incident which led to the downfall of his cabinet at that time is interesting as it illustrates the zeal with which the clansmen who control the decisions of the Emperor uphold the theory of the Emperor's divinity. One of the members of the Okuma cabinet in a public speech was criticising the Japanese tendency to pay great honor to people with money. "You Japanese worship money even more reverently than the Americans do," he said. "If you had a Republic as they have, you would nominate an Iwasaki or a Mitsui to be President, whereas they don't think of electing a Gould or a Vanderbilt." This bare suggestion that Japan might be a republic aroused such a storm of opposition that the offending speaker was soon forced into retirement, while it so weakened the prestige of the Okuma cabinet that it resigned soon after.

HIS ENFORCED RETIREMENT

Okuma's retirement at that time was thought by the public and himself to be permanent. The clansmen had triumphed as they have always triumphed since the dawn of Japanese history, and it was hardly to be expected that the people's champion, ignominiously beaten at the age of sixty, would be able to repair his strength and renew the conflict. Apparently that was the view he took of the matter, for, amid his books at Waseda and surrounded by a circle of admirers, he lived the life of a gentleman student, enjoying the privileges and honors of a distinguished old age.

Despite his democratic ideas there is nothing of Jeffersonian simplicity in his Waseda home. Though Count Okuma has never been in business, he enjoys a very large income and his private home is one of the finest in Japan, probably the finest occupied by a private gentleman. There are many stories of the means by which he has acquired his wealth, and those told by his political opponents are the stories

always told by the enemies of an official who has grown wealthy. Among his friends judicious speculation in rice and land are advanced as the reasons for his wealth. He is very closely connected, by marriage, politics, and personal friendship, with the Iwasaki family, the richest in Japan, and among all Japanese enjoys the reputation of being very clever at making money. The rumor that he has subscribed to shares in a new company is enough to make the shares popular with purchasers. With a part of his money he has founded Waseda University, one of the leading educational institutions of Japan, and the centre from which radiate those ideas of democracy and personal liberties which the clansmen believe to be so dangerous. This school is one of his hobbies and the other is horticulture. He has one of the finest collections of tropical plants in Japan.

The Japanese cartoonists usually represent Okuma as a whale or a badger, while Americans often refer to him as the Bryan of Japan. The likeness to a whale is explained by the cartoonists to be in the fact that a whale is always spouting and Okuma is always talking. Even when in retirement at Waseda he poured forth a constant stream of newspaper and magazine articles. He seldom refused to see a newspaper man and no matter what the subject the "Sage of Waseda" would accommodate him with an interview. Apparently he knows something about every subject under the sun and he is always able to tell what he knows in an interesting fashion. The likeness to a badger is due to the same personal trait, for in Japan the badger is considered the craftiest of animals. Count Okuma is given credit for this craftiness, for he possesses that rare gift, so valuable to politicians, of being able to accommodate the expression of his views to the prejudices of his audience. He is able in the morning to attend a meeting of a peace society and out-peace them all, and in the afternoon address a detachment of soldiers bound for the attack on Tsing-tau and send them on their way thirsting for military glory.

It could not be expected that a man who talks so much and so pleasingly could always be consistent. Among his countrymen there are a good many stories told of how Okuma will assure a Chinese scholar of his admiration for the Chinese written characters, and, to an enthusiast over the Romanization of the Japanese language, refer to the Chinese system as antiquated and cumbersome. In the articles he has written and the interviews he has given for foreign readers, he is often an ardent defender of Japanese institutions against which he thunders at home. But that is not a characteristic of the Premier alone. Many Japanese ideas are made especially for export.

Count Okuma takes his comparison to Mr. Bryan as a great compliment for he is an outspoken admirer of our Secretary of State. When Mr. Bryan was on his trip around the world, he paid a visit to Count Okuma at Waseda and presented him with a set of the works of Jefferson, which occupy a place of honor, not in the library, but in the room which he reserves for the reception of foreign guests. Count Okuma reads English but makes no attempt to speak it.

A PREMIER UNABLE TO WRITE

Though he is the author of books and pamphlets and innumerable magazine and newspaper articles, Count Okuma dictates all his work to a secretary and so far as is known has never even written his own signature. The truth of the matter is that he forms the beautiful Chinese characters like a school boy. Though we forgive this inability in genius, Japan is not so lenient. The Chinese traditions persist and among the orthodox no one can claim to be a great scholar unless he is able to form the Chinese characters perfectly. Count Okuma, with his usual resourcefulness, meets this situation by not writing at all.

Since the autographs of the great are highly prized in Japan, many expedients have been unsuccessfully tried to get a scrap of his writing. A friend once made an attempt which came near being successful. He pretended to have forgotten how to form a certain Chinese character and asked how it should be written. Count Okuma took up the brush and paper which had been conveniently placed

at his elbow, but the plot failed at the last moment, for he put down the writing material with a smile and traced the character with his finger in the ashes of the hearth.

While there may be several opinions as to Count Okuma's political character, there is but one about what his private life has been and about the high standard of personal morality which he demands of his followers. When the personnel of his cabinet was announced there was naturally a great deal of comment and criticism, for there were many divergent opinions as to how he should distribute the offices. But one and all acclaimed it as a "non-geisha" cabinet, which may be bluntly stated as a cabinet of men who do not keep concubines. The amount of comment which this aroused justifies one in the conclusion, which may be reached by more direct means, that the Okuma cabinet is unique in this respect.

Despite his seventy-seven years, Count Okuma, like that other old-young man of the Orient, Wu Ting-fang, is full of energy which would shame many a younger man, and, like him, he expects to live to a very ripe old age. When, at the age of sixty, he retired from political life, he gravely announced that he expected to devote the remaining fifty years of his life to study and to promoting the cause of education in Japan. If regular and abstemious habits count for anything he will go far toward achieving his ambition. Crippled by the loss of a leg and compelled to walk always with the aid of a crutch or a companion, he is as careful as an athlete to take his daily exercise. He rises at 5 o'clock each morning and with Countess Okuma walks for an hour in the garden of which he is so fond. After breakfast, he begins his daily work at 7 o'clock and is usually hard at it until 10 o'clock at night. Despite his many official duties he always finds time to attend banquets and meetings and there is scarcely a day in the week when he is not the guest of honor at some function of this kind, staying up as late and eating as heartily as any of the younger men. He is a very forceful and popular speaker and the expression of his face and his animated gestures tell so much that even those who do not understand a word of Japanese listen to him with pleasure.

BUREAUCRACY OR DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN?

It is a political axiom in Japan that no matter what one's beliefs and actions in private life may be, he becomes a bureaucrat as soon as he takes office. It may be said without injustice that the Japanese think a great deal more about loyalty to men than they do about loyalty to principles, and there is little condemnation of a man who, after advocating certain principles for years, barters them over night for political power. There is naturally a great deal of curiosity as to whether Okuma will prove an exception to the rule. It would be remarkable if this rule did not apply in Japanese politics, for the highest office within the gift of the Japanese people is election to membership in the Diet, a position which carries with it a slender salary, small prestige, and smaller power. On the other hand within the gift of those who surround the Emperor is high office, title, riches, position, not alone for the successful man but also for his posterity.

There is revolt in the air against this system, which has enabled the Satsuma and Choshu clans, through their hold on the Emperor and the machinery of government, to rule with defiance to popular demands. Despite bureaucratic efforts to keep it out, democracy and socialism have crept into the country and their growth has been no less rapid because secret. With the growth of these ideas has disappeared a lot of the old belief in the divinity of the Emperor, though there are almost frantic efforts to support this fallacious idea. It has grown noticeably weaker since the death of Emperor Mutsuhito a few years ago. He was a monarch of commanding personality, and those who did not reverence him as a god respected him as a man, a homage they do not pay to the present occupant of the throne. It is well known that he is weak in body and, according to Tokio gossip, he is weak in mind as well. It is of no importance whether or not this is true. The important thing is that the Japanese are discussing it, for the Japanese State rests on

foundation: unshaken belief in the
of the Emperor. As it weakens,
ole system is weakened and with
ill must fall.

a situation which holds many ele-
f danger and presages a revolution.
not necessarily be a bloody revolu-
it when a force as irresistible as
democracy moves against an ob-
inflexible and as firmly fixed as the
e theory of divine right and sov-
, it would appear that there must
ther serious smash-up in the end.
r the belief in the Emperor's divin-
been weakened and how widespread
ocialistic movement no one can tell,
h is the punishment of those who
dvocate socialism as it is of those
nly speak ill of the Emperor. But
ng is certain: each year there are
cialists and each year there are
ho see in the divinity of the Em-
othing more divine than a clever
l expedient.

e meantime the democrats (though
respect for police regulations and
l prejudices they do not call them-
y that name) have decided on a
mise which will solve Japan's more
political problems, temporarily at
erhaps permanently. They insist
arty government instead of the
clan government. They would be
he Satsumas with their naval am-
and their admirals who take com-
s on the cost of battleships; and
Choshus who take all the high posi-
the army, create conscription and
taxes, and are always greedy for
They would be rid, too, of the
us power of the Emperor which
uch a situation possible, and keep
is palace with his concubines, free
e intrigues of clansmen.

ideal is a government like that of
l, where the Premiership, on the
ion of a Ministry, automatically
the leader of the Opposition Party.
what they expect Okuma to ac-
h. It is his big task, far more
nt in the end than any of the tem-
measures of armaments or tax
ns or finance.

lansmen fight this programme with all their strength. They have built modern Japan. With their autocratic authority, with no necessity of consulting the wishes of the public, it has been the duty of a few men to order the building of railroads, the establishment of banks and schools, the adoption of all the other tools of civilization with which Japan makes such a brave showing. The duty of the people has been to obey in haste and approve at their leisure. The clansmen believe and are doubtless right in their belief that popular government will mean faltering steps in the achievement of the national ambition to take a first place among the nations of the world. They argue the inefficiency of democracy against the efficiency of a highly developed autocratic government. A democratic Japan would spend less on battleships, would keep a smaller standing army, and there would be less taxes and more comforts, but the glory of Japan would be dimmed.

These academic arguments against democracy are not publicly advanced. It is not necessary to advance them, for the bureaucrats and clansmen have a weightier weapon than arguments, the favor of the Emperor, whose approval outweighs that of all Japanese subjects. They have another, probably equally strong, in the fact that they control the machinery of government. Nepotism and patronage are not the clumsy political tricks of America, but have been developed to a science in this country where political groups are composed of men with common interests rather than men with common principles. The ramifications of the most complicated and powerful political machine in America are simple compared to the great political machine of Japan, which is strong in the growth of centuries.

These are some of the influences which may turn Okuma from a democrat to a bureaucrat, some of the pitfalls which threaten every official who is expected to serve the people of Japan. He may be crushed by the power of the clansmen, or he may trade the friendship of the people for a title which will add lustre to his name for generations. But if Okuma fails, the chances that Japan's revolution will be bloodless will be all the more remote.

PORK-BARREL PENSIONS

CONCLUDED

"FROM THE EVIDENCE SUBMITTED"

A NEW ERA OF PRIVATE PENSION BILLS—ACTIVITY OF CONGRESSMEN IN BEHALF OF VETERANS OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

ANY one who wishes to learn the attitude of Congress on the pension question should attentively study the case of Private Charles N. Ashford, alias William Kenny. The details are somewhat complicated and bewildering; but the romantic facts, after a little disentanglement, stand out distinctly.

On February 20, 1862, Charles N. Ashford enlisted as a private in Company "D," 105th New York Volunteers. In August of the same year Ashford was dismissed from the service as physically unfit. He was suffering from left inguinal hernia—a difficulty which, according to the records of the War Department, had existed prior to his enlistment. A year afterward, however, on August 21, 1863, Ashford enlisted again, this time in Company "K," 97th New York Volunteers. On this occasion he gave the name of William Kenny—this concealment of his real name and of his earlier enlistment being in itself directly in violation of the law. After serving something more than a year he was again dismissed as physically unfit. This disability, however, was entirely to his credit, as he had received a gunshot wound in battle.

On September 17, 1866, William Kenny was pensioned for this gunshot wound. He received this pension until June 4, 1875, when, his disability having entirely ceased, his name disappeared from the pension rolls. The only thing illegal in this proceeding was Ashford's use of an assumed name; nevertheless, he had unquestionably received his wound and the Government had compensated him for it. On *June 4, 1875, therefore, his* account with his country might be regarded as having been satisfactorily balanced.

Years went on. Ashford, alias Kenny, wandered over the country, and finally settled down in the wilds of Minnesota, on the shores of Lake Superior. The documents in the case do not inform us just what happened in 1888, thirteen years after Kenny's pension had been discontinued; any one familiar with the pension technique, however, can satisfactorily bridge this hiatus. He had served under two names, and had received a pension under one of them; a rare opportunity here for the pension attorney! At this point, therefore, it is more than likely that the claim agent made his appearance. Kenny's gunshot wound, for which the Government had made reparation, was no longer manifest; Ashford's left inguinal hernia, however, which, according to the record, antedated the Civil War, and therefore, could never furnish an excuse for a pension, was still causing trouble. And now Charles N. Ashford applied for a pension on this ground. In this application, he made no reference to the fact that he was one and the same man as the already pensioned William Kenny. He produced the usual number of comrades who testified to the existence of this hernia and its origin in the service. In due course Ashford received his pension certificate and went upon the rolls at $4 a month. But his first pension check was for more than $1,000, as the department dated the pension back to the day, August 21, 1862, when Ashford left the army. The amount of his pension was increased as time went on, until in 1908 he was drawing $10 a month. Then,

by virtue of the service law passed in 1914, he automatically went upon the Government's rolls at $16.50.

This history—there are other details with which it is unnecessary to confuse the reader—discloses a complicated series of crimes against the pension laws. Here are a few of them:

1. Perjury.
2. Fraudulent concealment of the identity of Charles N. Ashford and William Kenny.
3. Drawing two pensions at the same time.
4. Misrepresentation and fraudulent testimony.
5. Subornation of perjury.

A few details invite particular scrutiny. Observe that, from August, 1863, to October, 1864, Ashford, as William Kenny, was carrying a gun in his country's service. Also note that his pension, as Charles N. Ashford, was dated from August, 1862. The practical result was this: at the very time this dual personality drew soldier's pay as an able infantryman he also received a pension as an invalid! Likewise, from September 17, 1866, to June 4, 1875, this same veteran drew a pension, as William Kenny, for gunshot wound, and another pension as Charles N. Ashford, for left inguinal hernia, in face of the law making it a crime for any soldier to draw two pensions at the same time. Moreover, according to the statement of the Bureau of Pensions, the second pension, on the ground of hernia, was obtained by fraudulent and perjured testimony. "The witnesses as to the origin of said disability in Company 'D,' 105th New York Infantry," says Acting Commissioner Stillwell, in his notification to Ashford, alias Kenny, that his frauds had been discovered, "had no personal knowledge thereof, as shown by special examination, and, in addition thereto, it is shown that you were ruptured on one side, at least, prior to your first enlistment." The Ashford pension, said the Bureau, "was obtained through misrepresentation, fraud, and false testimony." Ashford was also informed that his pension as William Kenny was "obtained through his fraudulent concealment of the fact that Ashford and Kenny were one and the same man." Thus both Ashford's and Kenny's original pensions were obtained by fraud.

A notation on these papers shows why the Pension Bureau did not proceed against Ashford criminally. "The statute of limitations bars prosecution."

CONGRESS COMES TO ASHFORD'S RESCUE

However, on February 5, 1907, Congress passed a law pensioning all honorably discharged soldiers who had seen service of at least ninety days, irrespective of any disabilities. On May 12, 1912, it passed the Sherwood bill, by which it increased the amounts, the increases based upon age and length of service. Under this law Charles N. Ashford became legally entitled to $16.50 a month. He held an honorable discharge; he had served at least ninety days; he had reached the stipulated age; he, therefore, like several hundred thousands of others, qualified for a new pension. The records, however, showed that he had swindled the Treasury out of something more than $4,000. Consequently the Pension Bureau, in issuing Ashford his new certificate, informed him that the payments would be withheld until the Government had been reimbursed for the money it had illegally paid. On the surface Ashford, alias Kenny, seemed to have escaped fairly well. Instead of serving a term in the penitentiary, as he might have done, had his offences been discovered earlier, the United States Government, at its own expense, was to make good his defalcation.

The scene now shifts from the Pension Bureau, which had certainly done its duty in Ashford's case, to the legislative branch of the Government. I invite attention to House Bill No. 2040, introduced at the last session by Congressman Clarence B. Miller, of Minnesota. This bill provides a pension "for Charles N. Ashford, alias William Kenny, aged about seventy years." The report of the House Committee on Invalid Pensions to which this bill was referred concluded as follows:

"It is recommended by this committee that the claimant be granted a pension of $30 a month, in lieu of that he is now receiving, provided that no part of the pension herein granted shall be withheld by the

United States or claimed by the United States on account of any pensions heretofore received from the said United States by said Charles N. Ashford."

In March, 1914, the United States Senate, following the lead of the House, passed this bill. In order to make its rebuke even more stinging, the Senate amended the bill by adding this clause:

"The same to be paid to him without deduction or rebate on account of former alleged overpayments or erroneous payments of pensions."

It required no detective skill on the writer's part to discover these amazing facts. They appear in all detail in the pages of the *Congressional Record*. The official documents of the Pension Bureau, including the findings of the Pension Commissioner, were placed at the disposal of Congress in open session, so that it might not act on Ashford's case in ignorance of the facts. Despite this, Congress put in action all the machinery of the legislative branch of the Government to pay a large pension to a demonstrated perjurer and swindler. Two great legislative chambers, the House of Representatives and the Senate, interfered to prevent the Pension Bureau from recovering part of the money Ashford had abstracted from the Federal Treasury. It not only declared that Ashford should receive the pension of $16.50 to which he became entitled under the Sherwood act, but actually increased the amount to $30 a month.

This incident may fairly be taken as representing the attitude of the Democratic majority on the pension question as recently as March, 1914.

CONGRESS AND PRIVATE PENSION BILLS

No incident more strikingly illustrates the abuses which are made possible by the American system of private pension bills. For the last fifty years Congress has passed a mass of remarkable general pension laws. These measures are precise in character. They stipulate just what veterans can receive pensions and the amounts they are to receive. That these constitute the most liberal and comprehensive pension system ever known has been made sufficiently plain. As a result any man who saw service ninety days in the Civil War and is now alive automatically qualifies for the pension rolls. The administration of these laws, however, is the exclusive province of the Bureau of Pensions. But Congress has never been content to leave the pension system in the hands of the Pension Bureau. In addition the House of Representatives has two committees, one on Invalid Pensions, dealing with Civil War cases, and the other on Pensions, dealing with the soldiers of all other wars, and the Senate one.

20,000 PRIVATE BILLS A YEAR

These Congressional committees are really little pension bureaus by themselves. Like the Pension Bureau they receive "applications" for pensions presented to Congressmen in the form of bills, listen to testimony, and make awards. Every year these committees consider not far from 20,000 claims of this kind. In picking out the "meritorious cases," the Congressional committees have one great advantage over the Pension Bureau. They are bound by no laws and no precedents. Their business is to do "substantial justice"; they make free grants of the taxpayers' money, regarding each separate case as a separate problem. Practically every private bill for a pension concerns some case that is not pensionable under the existing liberal laws. Each case, that is, is an "exception," a matter of Congressional favoritism; pensions distributed in this way are simply political patronage, intended purely to strengthen Congressmen in their districts.

The abuse is a long-standing one. So far as veterans of the Civil War are concerned, I have no intention of going into the subject at length at the present time. Thousands of unpensionable old veterans are made pensionable in this fashion every year. So long as Congressional government remains what it is to-day, the most sanguine critic has little hope of changing this practice in its application to Civil War veterans. The last article of this series, however, described the activities of an entirely new crop of pensioners: those provided by the Spanish-American War. Here is a body of young men, the average age probably not being forty years, the over-

ıing majority of whom never saw ser-
utside of a summer camp, who have
ly received in pensions one half the
nt we paid the veterans of the Revolu-
nd more than the total amount paid
ıldiers of the Mexican War. These
; men, however, profit not only from
:neral pension laws. In large num-
hey are attaching themselves to the
ɔn rolls by way of private bills. The
ɔn Committee of the House now
s practically all its time considering
aims of Spanish-American veterans.
eran of the Spanish War, Congress-
John A. Key, of Ohio—a Democrat,
ırse—presides over this committee.
veterans of the Spanish War are
ɔers. I have already shown that, in
al pension legislation, the Spanish-
ican War will provide us a growing
ɔn list for the next hundred years; I
now show that, in private pension
ıtion, these youthful, bloodless war-
already constitute a great pension
em.

can but grasp the extent this abuse
eached by citing certain concrete
. I could fill several numbers of the
zine and then not exhaust the mater-
: hand. I select merely a few—all
on by the Sixty-third Session of Con-
the one which adjourned in March.

CONGRESS REWARDS A CRIMINAL

re, for example, is House Bill No.
ɔ, providing a pension of $12 a month
ieorge C. Hazeltine, who served in
ɔany "K," 2d Regiment, Texas In-
y. Hazeltine's period of service cov-
only five months. The War Depart-
records show that he was never sick
:ceived any medical treatment for any
:. Before enlistment, according to
nedical record, he had had external
ɔrrhoids; this was the only defect
l on his mustering out, and this had
utely no relation to his military ser-

Hazeltine had filed two applica-
to the Pension Bureau alleging
ıic diarrhea and dyspepsia; both of
: the Bureau had rejected. In his
cation to Congress, Hazeltine set up a
claim; he asserted that, while in the
rmance of his duty, he had strained himself in the abdomen and back while unloading a provision train and that his intestinal trouble was the consequence of this strain. Had this story been true, Hazeltine would unquestionably have been entitled to a pension, not only legally but morally. But what are the facts? The medical records of the War Department contain no reference to any such injury. When mustered out and asked specifically about his physical condition, Hazeltine signed a paper saying that he was in good health. A surgeon's examination disclosed no disability except the one already described, acquired long before the soldier entered service.

Now either the official records are false in Hazeltine's case, or the man is deliberately falsifying. Of course, there is no probability that the war records are false; they were made on the spot with the utmost care by high grade medical men. Congress, however, rejects the testimony of the Government's records and accepts Hazeltine's statement. Another pertinent question now arises: how credible a witness is this man who is permitted to erase, to his own financial advantage, the records of the War Department? The evidence shows that in 1905, while acting as postmaster at Mobeetie, Tex., Hazeltine defaulted in his accounts. He languished in jail until his wife's relatives made good his defalcation. After that he forged the name of another relative and was indicted; and again his wife's relatives rescued him from his difficulties. They did this, however, only on his promise that he would leave the community; a number of people interested in his absence passed the hat and raised enough money to pack Hazeltine off to Colorado. His wife then obtained a divorce.

"From the evidence presented to the committee," reports Chairman Key and his associates, after reviewing these facts, "it is of the opinion that a pension to this soldier of $12 a month is justified and so recommends."

THE PERSISTENCE OF ONE STANLEY S. STOUT

In reading these committee reports, one frequently undergoes a peculiar mental experience. From the way the facts are presented, you get the idea that the com-

mittee is building up a strong case against the claimant. This evidence frequently recites a chain of circumstances, all clearly proving that the claim is unworthy and based upon demonstrated falsehood. Consequently a concluding paragraph, recommending a pension, has all the force of a dramatic surprise. Consider, for a moment, the case of Stanley S. Stout, of Neva, Johnson County, Tenn., who served for less than a year in the Spanish War as a member of Company "C," 6th Regiment, United States Infantry.

When mustered out, Stout signed a declaration saying that he was suffering from no complaint. His commanding officer signed another document to the same effect. The company surgeon, after examination, reported him well and strong. The hospital records contain no entry of treatment for any illness.

Thus, on March 18, 1899, Stout, according to his own statement and those of his superior officer and company surgeon, had suffered no physical deterioration as a result of his patriotic service. One year afterward, however, he put in a claim for a pension, declaring that he was incapacitated by rheumatism and "affection of the left side", acquired in service. A board of surgeons employed by the Pension Bureau examined him and made this report: "We find no evidence of rheumatism or affection of the left side. This claimant is, as far as we are able to ascertain, in sound physical condition and a proper subject for life insurance." A year afterward, however, Stout again applied for a pension. This time he had evidently recovered from the rheumatism and "affection of the left side"; now his pensionable difficulty was "gravel," also acquired in the service. According to the examining board of surgeons, however, Stout's "gravel" was as illusory as his rheumatism; consequently an ungrateful country once more refused to accept him as a pensioner. Undiscouraged, however, Stout, a few years later, again filed an application with the Pension Bureau. Again he alleged his discredited rheumatism and gravel; but now his physical difficulties had increased, for he had also "jaundice, malaria, pleurisy of side, and [illegible]rrhea." Once more the long-suffering board of surgeons examined Stout's physical tenement and made the following unfeeling report: "The board states that after careful search for evidence of jaundice, pleurisy, diarrhea, and gravel they are unable to find any existing."

In his repeated assault upon the pension list Stout now decided to ignore the Pension Bureau, and appeal directly to the source of all authority, Congress itself. House Bill No. 2750 was the result. Stout now brings to the front the usual "comrades," who testify that their associate—despite his own signed declaration that he was a well man on mustering out—was suffering from rheumatism, jaundice, and malaria. Stout also brings forth a physician in the person of Dr. J. G. Butler. Four months after his return from the war, Stout says, he suffered from an attack of something from which he was "bad off" and called in Dr. Butler. This latter physician, says Stout, informed him that he was afflicted with malaria and rheumatism. The same Dr. Butler is placed on the witness stand. He testifies that his office records do not disclose that he treated Stout on this occasion and that he has no recollection of any such occurrence.

Clearly, we conclude, after reading this evidence, Chairman Key and his fellow committeemen have pretty effectually demolished Stout's claim for a pension. However, here is their verdict:

"From the evidence submitted your committee believe that the disabilities from which the soldier now suffers were incurred in service and line of duty and recommend the allowance of pension at the rate of $12 a month."

They believe this, be it observed, not because they are really sorry for Stout and wish to oblige some Congressman, or for some other occult reason not disclosed. but—*"from the evidence submitted!"*

AN ELUSIVE CASE OF TYPHOID FEVER

Edward C. Franklin, of 335 London Street, Buffalo, served six months as a volunteer infantryman in the Spanish War. Congress has just pensioned him at the rate of $12 a month for disease of stomach, liver, and heart, claimed to be the sequel

)hoid fever suffered in the Cuban
According to Franklin's sworn state-
he was ill with typhoid fever from
er 8 to November 6, 1898—an attack
vere that it left three great vital
s, his heart, liver, and stomach,
ssly impaired. If Franklin's state-
is true, his case certainly forms a
e one in medical annals. This is an
ce where dates have the greatest
cance. Franklin says, for example,
e was taken ill on October 8th, and
fficiently recovered to return to his
nt on November 6th. His attack,
ing the acute stage and the convale-
e, lasted less than a month—a re-
bly short time for a case of typhoid
enough to injure permanently his
stomach, and liver. On November
he very day after his return to his
nt, his health was perfect. We
this because Franklin said so himself.
at day he underwent the usual physi-
amination on his mustering out. The
ning surgeon found Franklin in per-
ealth, according to the report in the
ffice; Franklin signed a paper declar-
at he had no physical ailment. In
words the official records disclose this
he examining surgeon, on almost the
lay Franklin had risen from the sick
n which he had suffered an unusually
nt attack of typhoid fever, found his
al condition ideal—a diagnosis with
Franklin himself agreed.

loser examination of the facts dis-
a plausible reason for Franklin's fix-
s period of illness from October 8th
)vember 6th. The hospital records
that he received no medical treat-
for typhoid fever or for anything in
months of service. Franklin's regi-
however, had a furlough for this crit-
onth. His sickness, swears Frank-
ok place during this month; that ex-
why there is no medical record. He
as witnesses two doctors and two
s, at whose house he was ill. One
se doctors is dead. The other, on
l examination, testifies as follows:
only treatment shown by his records
n November 11, 1898, when he gave
ome tablets to act on his bowels.
ant told him that he had had typhoid
fever in service, but witness could not recall that he exhibited any marked symptoms of a recent attack of typhoid fever, and his impression at that time was that it was malarial."

Still, there were the affidavits of Mr. and Mrs. William Carter, at whose house, according to Franklin's evidence, he had had this elusive illness. No court could have asked for more detailed evidence than these documents. They contained a long and affecting tale of Franklin's illness, the diagnosis of the physician as typhoid fever, the physical symptoms, and the like. Every line disclosed this paper as a masterpiece of the pension attorney's handiwork. This impression was further emphasized when Mr. and Mrs. Carter, who had signed this document, went on the stand for cross examination. Mrs. Carter could recall nothing of Franklin's illness except when she refreshed her memory by glancing at the affidavit. Finally she burst out: "I myself was sick all of this time and had little time to think of the ailments of others." "Her husband, William Carter (I am quoting from the pension committee's report), who stated that he had been advised by his wife to look over the copy of their affidavit but had been too busy to do so, could not recall the nature of the claimant's alleged sickness at his house, nor how long he was sick, 'nor anything about it,' even when questioned specifically in regard to typhoid fever, heart disease, liver disease, etc., but after hearing his affidavit read stated that he was willing to 'stick by' it, as he consulted with his wife at the time of making it."

The pension committee's report on Franklin's case itself sneers at his claim to having suffered from typhoid fever. "Some of his comrades testify that he did suffer from the alleged typhoid fever in service. The typhoid fever is alleged to have developed while the soldier was on furlough, it will be noted." (Clearly the committee asks this question: if the sickness took place on furlough, how could his "comrades" have personal knowledge of it?)

"From the evidence submitted your committee is of the opinion that the disabilities from which the soldier now suffers may be safely accepted as due to his ser-

vice, and recommends the allowance of pension at the rate of $12 per month."

SOME PENSIONABLE AFFLICTIONS

The extent to which the House Committee on Pensions will go in its generosity to veterans of the Spanish-American War is illustrated by the case of Martella M. George, of Vandervoort, Ark. She is the widow of Wallace E. George, who served in the war with Spain in Company "D," 20th Regiment, Kansas Volunteer Infantry. George died August 17, 1908, of typhoid fever. His widow applied to the Pension Committee of the House, through her Congressman, for a pension as his widow on the ground that the typhoid fever, from which he died, was the result of certain disabilities he had suffered in service. The medical records of the War Department show what these disabilities were:

July 5 to 24, 1898, acute gonorrhea; September 10 to 23, 1898, gonorrhea; December 11 to 21, 1898, gonorrhea; December 28, 1898, to March 5, 1899, gonorrhea, gonorrheal chancroidal adenitis, syphilis; May 10 to June 5, 1899, syphilitic rheumatism, shoulders, back, and legs; June 9 to August 2, 1899, secondary syphilis, mucous patches, mouth and throat; August 2 to August 28, 1899, syphilis, secondary. None of these in line of duty. Discharged August 28, 1899, services no longer required.

On these facts the Pension Committee finds as follows:

"From the evidence submitted your committee is of the opinion that a pension of $12 a month and $2 additional for each minor child until same reaches the age of sixteen years is justified and so recommends." (It should be added that, though the House of Representatives passed this bill after its character had been explained in detail by Congressman Dies, the Senate found it a little too brazen and threw it out.)

Charles Forbes, of Plato, Centre County, Tenn., who served in the war with Spain in Troop "E," 11th United States Cavalry, is at present the sufferer from a weak heart. He asks the Pension Committee of Congress for a pension of $12 a month, on the ground that he acquired this disability as a result of his military service. The War Department records show that from September 29 to November 8, 1901, Forbes was treated for "endocarditis (inflammation of heart lining) contracted prior to enlistment and not in the line of duty." As to Forbes's testimony that this official record is wrong, and that he had really acquired his disease in service, the Pension Committee reports: "His testimony was almost entirely discredited by the witnesses failing to sustain their former testimony when questioned by the special examiner. In the special examination it was shown that the claimant did suffer from weak heart prior to his enlistment, and also had a bad venereal disease which he said was syphilis."

On this set of facts, industriously collected by itself, the Pension Committee renders the following verdict:

"From the evidence submitted your committee believe that the disabilities from which the soldier now suffers may be safely accepted as due to the service, and recommend the allowance of pension at the rate of $12 a month."

THE CASE OF AVERY E. DAVIS

On January 20, 1912, Avery E. Davis, a veteran of the Spanish War, severed an artery in his neck while shaving himself—an accident, unintentional or otherwise, that resulted in his death. His widow applied for a pension to the Pension Bureau, but the claim was rejected on the ground that the soldier's death could not be regarded as due to his military service. When Mrs. Davis appealed to Congress, however, setting forth a unique pathological theory by which she traced her soldier's death, from a self-inflicted wound in 1912, directly to a military service that had ended fourteen years before, she found more attentive listeners. "With the bill the petitioner files an affidavit," the Pension Committee reports, "stating that she believes her husband's death was due to nervousness, resulting from malarial poisoning, which caused his hand to shake so when shaving that he accidentally cut the artery in his neck which caused his death."

The committee accepts this contention, awards Mrs. Davis $12 a month, and $2 a month for each of two minor children.

The Spanish War records show that

ır C. Cummings, of Company "C," Regiment, West Virginia Infantry, red in hospital from December 19, , to January 10, 1899, from "mumps. additional treatment shown." Soon leaving the service he applied for a ion for deafness of the right ear, as to his military service. The Pension au promptly awarded Cummings $10 nth for his impaired right ear—a pen- he has been drawing for fifteen years. : then Cummings has made periodical arances at the Pension Bureau, de- ling similar compensation for his other claims which the Pension Bureau has ted. Filed reports of medical ex- ers reveal an undoubted deafness in ight ear—for which Cummings is re- ng $10 a month; but they find no im- nent in the corresponding member on ther side of his head. However, the ion Committee of the House now s to the rescue, and increases Cum- s's pension from $10 to $24. This case ishes an interesting comparison be- n the methods of the Pension Bureau the Pension Committee of the House epresentatives. The former awards for a deafness of a right ear which un- tedly exists; the Pension Committee $14—or four dollars more—for a ness of a left ear which only interested esses can discover.

THE CAUSE OF RHEUMATISM

the last few years medical scientists ll parts of the world have devoted a amount of time to attempting to dis- r the cause of rheumatism. Many sug- ve theories have been proposed, but has yet been generally accepted. an who could actually run this mystery n would probably qualify for the Nobel e. The attention of the Rockefeller itute and of Professor Ehrlich of Frank- is now called to the report of the House ion Committee on Bill No. 5994, grant- a pension of $12 a month to Joseph ilbo, a veteran of the Spanish-Amer- War. Any one who reads this official ment will at once congratulate human- that an exceedingly baffling medical lem has been solved. "From the evi- e submitted your committee believe the disabilities from which the soldier now suffers were incurred in service and in line of duty." In Bilbo's medical record in the war with Spain we find only one brief entry: "January 11 to 13, 1899, measles."

According to the Pension Committee, therefore, a two days' sickness with measles explains rheumatism—of the pensionable variety—in after life.

There are other difficulties in Bilbo's case, however. Among them these:

At mustering out Bilbo signed a document saying that he was in perfect health.

The medical officer who examined Bilbo certified to the same effect.

As late as January 18, 1911, a board of surgeons, who examined Bilbo in the interest of the Pension Bureau, reported that they could find no evidence of rheumatism "at that time or during the past." His heart and other vital organs were normal. The best a well disposed board of surgeons could do for Bilbo was to report that "the soldier did have the appearance of one who could easily suffer from attacks of rheumatism."

Apparently measles—of two days' duration—not only causes rheumatism, but causes such a subtle variety of the disease that only the victim of the legislative branch of the Government can discover it.

Still, "from the evidence submitted," etc., etc.

The reader needs only one additional fact to understand completely this transaction. This veteran, now pensioned at $12 a month, is thirty-six years old.

However, there are many cases in which even all the ingenuity of the Pension Committee cannot trace "from the evidence submitted" a pensioner's disability to the service. This technicality, however, does not necessarily interfere with the pension.

John Abplanalp, of Midway, Utah, is a veteran of the war with Spain. In May, 1912, fourteen years after the peace treaty, he lost the sight of both eyes in a mine explosion. Were Utah a state sufficiently civilized to have a workmen's compensation act, this unfortunate miner would receive legitimate relief. Instead, the committee recommended that he become a charge on the Federal Treasury at the high rate of $50 a month.

Any one familiar with the pension question will note a certain dissimilarity between these "meritorious cases" and those introduced in the interest of veterans of the Civil War. The Invalid Pension Committee, which handles all Civil War cases, makes no attempt to prove that the claimant's injury is a consequence of his military service. The Pension Committee, which handles Spanish-American cases, feels in duty bound to trace the disability to the dangers associated in meeting the enemy. These attempts, as I have shown, are usually laborious and grotesque. This is necessarily the case since, had the soldier been able to demonstrate a service origin for his ill, it would have been unnecessary to appeal to Congress, as the Pension Bureau would have allowed his claim. The fact, however, that, in Spanish-American War cases, Congress usually finds it necessary to trace the injury to service, while in Civil War cases it makes no such attempt, indicates that these two classes of pensioners stand on entirely different ground. The explanation is simple. Civil War veterans, in order to qualify under the general laws, do not now have to prove disabilities of any kind, only age and service; therefore, Congress, in passing private bills, ignores these points. As yet, however, no general laws have been passed for the benefit of Spanish-American veterans. Like the veterans of the Civil War until 1890, they are pensioned only by the law of 1863, under which they have to trace their difficulties to patriotic service. The Pension Committee, therefore, in deciding on their claims, makes heroic efforts to establish this relation.

TIME TO CHECK SPANISH-AMERICAN ABUSES

The one important point is that the pension abuse is a kind of political rake's progress, starting innocently and eventually reaching the spectacle provided by our treatment of the veterans of the Civil War. We pensioned first only Civil War survivors who had really suffered in their country's cause; we also properly pensioned the widows and other dependents of such veterans. Then we pensioned all disabled veterans, irrespective of whether their injuries were the result of service, and also pensioned the widows of all veterans, provided the marriages had taken place prior to June 27, 1890. Then, in 1907, we pensioned all soldiers who had seen ninety days' service, whether they were disabled or not; and in 1912, we enormously increased the amount of such pensions. The Grand Army is now making a campaign for a removal of the time limitations on widows; to make all pensionable irrespective of the date of their marriage. These are the general laws, which, with their numerous amendments, have increased our pension bill from $29,000,000 in 1870 to $172,000,000 in 1914. That work, forming one of the most disgraceful chapters in our country's history, can not be undone at this late day.

There is one thing we can do, however, and that is to prevent its repetition. There are 400,000 or 500,000 veterans of the Spanish and Philippine wars, who are rapidly organizing themselves and using familiar political methods in an effort to create another huge pension roll. This thing the present generation can and must stop. Any veteran of the Spanish or Philippine war who was wounded or disabled as a result of his military service is entitled to a pension. The widow or other dependents of such a soldier also have claims upon the national bounty. The existing laws provide for such pensions. Beyond that point, however, Spanish-American pensioners must not go. Such soldiers can submit their evidence to a Pension Bureau, always disposed to view their claims liberally; failing in proving their case, they should not be permitted to hang on to the coat tails of political Congressmen in an effort to get through a private bill. A law pensioning their widows—such a bill as has recently passed the House and will come up again next winter—should not be tolerated. And any movement to apply to them the laws passed for the benefit of Civil War veterans should be squelched as soon as it shows its head.

We cannot end at this late day the pension abuses of the Civil War. We can, however, forestall the creation of another scandalous pension roll. Will the American people do it?

Copyright by H. C. White Co.

CONSTANTINOPLE THE KEY TO EMPIRE

HOW MODERN HISTORY, LIKE MODERN COMMERCE, CONVERGES TOWARD THE NARROW WATERS WHICH HAVE, DURING SIX CENTURIES, SEPARATED THE TURK'S EUROPEAN FROM HIS ASIATIC DOMINIONS—A REGION WHERE THE PAST SHAKES HANDS WITH THE PRESENT—THE STRAITS AND THE OPAL CITY VISUALIZED—THE TEMPER AND ATMOSPHERE OF THE LEVANT—THE CONFLICTING INTERESTS AND AMBITIONS OF BELLIGERENT AND NEUTRAL NATIONS DEFINED AS THEY CENTRE AT STAMBOUL

[*The author of this article spent five months in Constantinople and the Levant during the Turko-Balkan war of* 1912–13. — THE EDITORS.]

I. CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE DARDANELLES

CONSTANTINOPLE is a Janus-headed city sitting at the cross-roads of empire and holding in her hands the keys thereto. Eastward she looks through the Bosphorus into Asia. Westward she looks through the Dardanelles into Europe. Eastward she sees against a dim background of immemorial Asia the armies of a European nation, which is partly Asiatic, moving against her. In the mouth of the Hellespont the navies of dominant Europe have knocked with their great guns upon her western gates.

Copyright by Underwood & Underwood

TURKISH WARSHIPS IN THE MOUTH OF THE GOLDEN HORN

THE SHIP AT THE LEFT IS THE "BRESLAU," WHICH WAS TRANSFERRED TO THE TURKISH NAVY AFTER ITS ESCAPE FROM THE BRITISH AND FRENCH FLEETS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

THE GOLDEN HORN

LOOKING EASTERLY FROM THE MOHAMMEDAN BURYING GROUND, PAST THE ONLY TURKISH NAVY YARD, IN THE LEFT MIDDLE DISTANCE, TO ITS OUTLET INTO THE BOSPHORUS. GALATA IS ON THE LEFT AND STAMBOUL ON THE RIGHT

THE OUTER BRIDGE

ACROSS THE GOLDEN HORN (A LONG, NARROW BAY OF THE BOSPHORUS) LOOKING FROM STAMBOUL TOWARD GALATA. THE HISTORIC GALATA TOWER AT THE LEFT

Copyright by H. C. White Co.

THE BOSPHORUS

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE OUTER BRIDGE, LOOKING MORE TO THE RIGHT. IN THE DISTANCE TO THE RIGHT THE WATERFRONT OF GALATA FACING ON THE BOSPHORUS

Copyright by H. C. White Co.

THREE VIEWS OF THE GOLDEN HORN

AND OF STAMBOUL AND GALATA, TWO OF THE PRINCIPAL SECTIONS OF CONSTANTINOPLE. THESE VIEWS, AND THOSE ON THE FACING PAGE, WHEN STUDIED IN CONNECTION WITH THE MAP ON PAGE 181, GIVE A COMPREHENSIVE IDEA OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE CITY

THE INNER BRIDGE

ACROSS THE GOLDEN HORN TO STAMBOUL, LOOKING FROM THE GALATA TOWER, A LOOKOUT FOR FIRE WATCHMEN. THE MOSQUE OF MOHAMMED (LEFT) AND THE MOSQUE OF SULTAN SELIM (RIGHT) IN THE DISTANCE

Copyright by H. C. White Co.

SERAGLIO POINT

THE HISTORIC MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA AT THE RIGHT, AND BEHIND IT THE SEA OF MARMORA AND THE BOLD HEADLAND OF CHALCEDON ON THE ASIATIC SHORE

Copyright by H. C. White Co.

SCUTARI

IN THE DISTANCE ACROSS THE BOSPHORUS. SCUTARI, THOUGH ON THE ASIATIC SIDE, IS PRACTICALLY AN INTEGRAL PART OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Copyright by H. C. White Co.

THREE VIEWS FROM THE GALATA TOWER

THE UPPER PICTURE LOOKING SOUTHWESTWARD, THE MIDDLE PICTURE SOUTHEASTWARD, AND THE LOWER PICTURE EASTWARD. GALATA, ON THE NEAR SIDE OF THE WATER IN EACH PHOTOGRAPH, IS THE MODERN BUSINESS DISTRICT

Mankind and ships draw into the Dardanelles from all over the world as though obeying some great magnetic law. It has always been so and so it will always be. Probably no other stretch of water in the world is more universally known, for here the commerce and voyagers from across the seven seas meet to link this historic strait with the intimate life of every people under the sun.

Copyright by H. C. White Co.

THE KAISER'S FOUNTAIN

ERECTED IN FRONT OF THE MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA BY THE GERMAN EMPEROR IN 1899, ONE OF THE FIRST STEPS IN THE LONG PROCESS OF DIPLOMATIC COURTESIES BY WHICH TURKEY WAS DRAWN INTO A WILLING PARTICIPATION IN GERMANY'S "DRIFT TO THE EAST" FOR COMMERCIAL EXPANSION

The *Osmanieh* was one of an argosy of steamers in November, 1913, marking time on the edge of Mohammed's then unviolated mine fields at the mouth of the Straits. They had been collecting there all through the morning, waiting for the Turk to send down his pilot boat from Chanak. They had strolled in from north, west, and south—tramps, most of them—carrying the flags of nations then neutral but now at war. There was an old square-rigged Frenchman from the China coast, an Austrian-Lloyd from Trieste, a German trader out of the Baltic, a couple of Russian blue-funnels homing to Odessa or Sebastopol in the Black Sea, and four or five ocean vagabonds from everywhere. Next us, all derricks, lay a collier flying a grimy Italian flag, and at our own stern hung the British ensign of the Khedivial line, "weekly sailings between Alexandria and Stamboul." Eleven of us all told, some at anchor, and others flapping their half-submerged propellers just enough to keep steerage way against the four-knot current that sets out from the Marmora—and there we hung all morning, like a lot of flotsam in an eddy, waiting for the Turk to turn up and chaperon us safely through his mines. To the south of us, a black silhouette in Besika Bay, lay the British battle cruiser *Inflexible*, heroine since then of the Falkland Islands sea-fight and the bombardment of the Dardanelles. Westward, between us and the purple island of Imbros, four black streaks on the blue Ægean, lay a Greek destroyer squadron, like hostile watchdogs across the Turk's threshold.

On the decks of the *Osmanieh* the sun thawed out a polyglot life. Through the open ports of the saloon came drifting,

y distance, versions of Schubert
me Butterfly" as executed by the
midshipman. The *Inflexible's*
aced the deck with a black-
assin in a red fez, whose sinister
lated a belief in atrocities. As
f fact he was a Bulgar from Os-

and down linked arm in arm; one very old, with steel-rimmed spectacles and skin like a walnut; the second, a tranquil, pale-faced madonna in a shawl; the third bursting out of her clothes, red-lipped, level-eyed, and the wind in her yellow hair. A Spanish Jew played games with his children.

Copyright by H. C. White Co.

THE MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA

. D. 532 BY JUSTINIAN THE GREAT AS A CHRISTIAN CATHEDRAL AND TRANSFORMED INTO A MOSQUE IN 1453 WHEN CONSTANTINOPLE WAS CAPTURED BY THE TURKS. IT HAS SEEN EFORE THE PRESENT ONE, WAGED FOR THE SAME PURPOSES OF DRIVING THE TURKS OUT ND OF OBTAINING A FREE WATERWAY TO THE MEDITERRANEAN FOR RUSSIA

, who made a handsome living
es selling McCormick harvesters
d Russian farmers. Near the
great swell of an old Nigerian
ogany face swathed in his white
quinting around on Europe and
h German field glasses. Three
of Armenian women shuffled up

Watching them, an Italian and his wife talked to a lady missionary.

"No," said the Italian woman sweetly, "I do not afraid de cholera. Constantinople, it ees our home, an' de cholera we have alla de time. You boila de wat' an' do not buya de fruit. No decference."

The lady missionary had a wintry, New

THE SULTAN'S PALACE ON THE BOSPHORUS

THE "STATIONAIRES" OF THE FOREIGN POWERS AT CONSTANTINOPLE

E ARE THE DESPATCH BOATS OF THE EMBASSIES AND MINISTRIES. AT THE LEFT IS THE "SCORPION," THE AMERICAN BOAT, LYING AT THE POINT WHERE THE GOLDEN HORN ENTERS THE BOSPHORUS

land profile, hair slicked back, firm but a motherly, kind eye beamed on sinners round about her. Two of them, sinful Greek carpet merchants from Smyrna, smoked big cigars and talked French comfortably with a bearded priest.

Up forward a nomad encampment, strayed out of Deuteronomy, was parked

ON THE BUSY GOLDEN HORN

ONE OF THE OLDEST AND MOST IMPORTANT COMMERCIAL HARBORS IN THE WORLD

ONE OF THE FORTIFIED TURKISH TOWNS ON THE DARDANELLES

on rugs and mattresses in a fine mosaic of babies and food and dogs and household chattels. And right in the middle of the whole composition, in the best place on the ship, sat a fat and imperturbable Turk industriously picking Levantine fauna out of himself.

There we had that morning on the deck of the steamer, and on the sea all around us, a perfect epitome of the situation these last four hundred years.

By and by the Turk pilot got good and ready and came down the Straits to take our assorted fleet through submarine danger zones up to Chanak. His little black tub of a boat chugged manfully away up at the head of the procession like a proud little boy at the head of a marching band. Those first fifteen or twenty miles of the Hellespont are, in the general relation of water and land, not unlike Long Island Sound as you go from a point opposite Greenwich toward New York close along the Long Island side.

On the left, as you go in, Europe comes down to Cape Helles at the extreme end of the Gallipoli peninsula in a long brown headland, poking out into the Ægean. As far as you can see up into the Straits, the European shore stretches away, uniformly bleak and barren, a flat sky-line topping yellow cliffs which seem a hundred feet or more in height. Inside the tip of the Cape a white lighthouse and signal station used to stand flanked by some houses and the walls of old fortifications, and down at the foot of the cliff, as though spilled over from the top, a few houses seemed to have taken root and sprouted forlornly at the water's edge. This was the ancient fortress and town of Sidd-el-Bahr, the Turk's right-hand sentinel at his sea-gate.

A GREEK TORPEDO BOAT DESTROYER

STOPPING A NEUTRAL MERCHANTMAN IN THE ÆGEAN SEA AT THE MOUTH OF THE DARDANELLES DURING THE TURKO-BALKAN WAR

Over on the other side, about two miles across the Straits, the yellow towers of an old stone fort crowned the tip end of Asia, also a bleak, brown headland. Back of the

A TURKISH WARSHIP IN THE DARDANELLES

fort, on higher ground, facing seaward, stood a flock of what looked like windmills. The windmills, the old castle-fort, and some scattered buildings made up all that could be seen of Kum Kaleh, the Sultan's left-hand guardian of the gate. Those two bleak headlands must be more desolate than ever now, with the old forts leveled, the houses in ruins, and the white light-house tumbled down.

Just round the corner from Kum Kaleh, Homer's river Scamander, under another name, still flows into the Hellespont. Along the beach at its mouth Agamemnon hauled up his "black ships" three thousand years ago. Its waters now, as then, flow from springs on Mount Ida and drain the "windy plains of Troy," but in all these ages they have brought down a lot of classic mud out of the Troad and with it filled up the crescent bay used by the Greeks long ago. When landing parties went ashore in March from the French and British ships to take possession of the Sigeum promontory, they hauled up their cutters on the soil of "many-towered Ilium." Thus in the Dardanelles the Past shakes hands with the Present, face to face. History never does anything else but repeat itself here.

From a steamer going in along the channel on the European side you can see on the Asiatic side the misty hinterland of Anatolia stretching away southward to the distant mountains in the land where the Osmanli Turks originally came from. Absence of heavy foliage, peculiarities of rock formation, and a crystal quality in the air combine to paint the distant hills, ridges, and islands in this history-haunted part of the world with rare tones of rose and bronze and dusty purple. Valleys are marked by faint shadows or long slants of light, the whole composition of landscape, in a region that is always being fought for, giving a curious impression of profound and abiding serenity.

THROUGH THE MINE FIELDS

NEUTRAL MERCHANTMEN BEING PILOTED THROUGH THE DARDANELLES BY A TURKISH PILOT BOAT

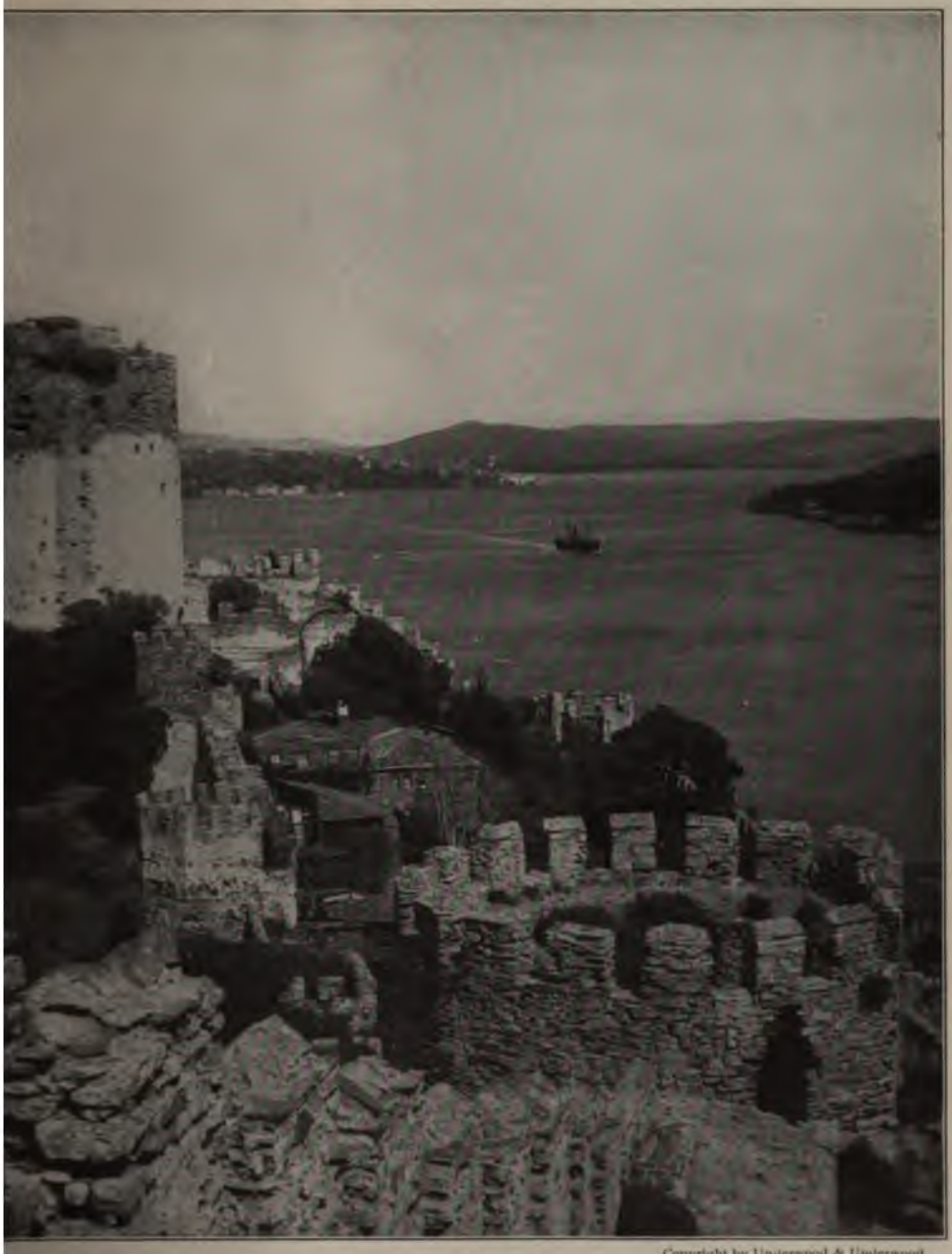
SUNK BY A BRITISH SUBMARINE

THE "MESSUDIEH," WHICH THE "B-11" SUNK IN THE DARDANELLES AFTER IT HAD TRAVELED SUBMERGED FOR SEVERAL HOURS THROUGH THE TURKISH MINE FIELDS

Once you have reached Kilid Bahr and Chanak the character of the Straits changes entirely. From a broad sound the Dardanelles becomes a river, flowing between high banks. Here another familiar comparison will help. The double turn from Chanak Kalesi around Nagara and Abydos suggests the Hudson at West Point. Big guns on the high cliffs at Kilid Bahr and on the lower heights above Chanak can rake the narrow waters below them as mercilessly as heavy ordnance mounted at West Point and across the river at Garrison could sweep the Hudson upstream to Newburgh

THE "MEJIDIEH" OF THE TURKISH NAVY

WHICH IS AIDING THE LAND FORTS IN THE DEFENSE OF THE DARDANELLES AGAINST THE ATTACK OF THE ALLIES



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood

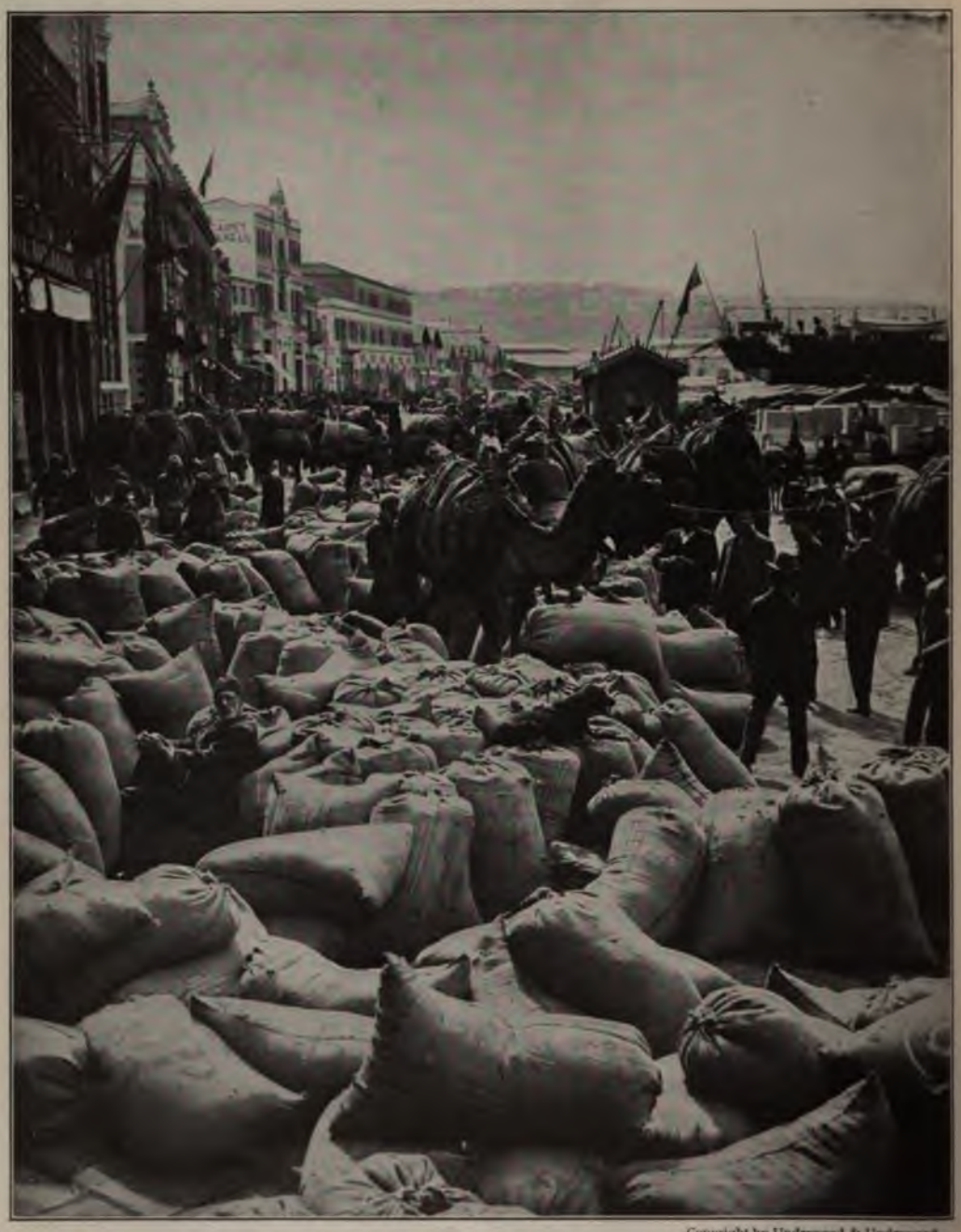
"SEVEN TOWERS"

SOUTHERLY END OF THE OLD ROMAN WALL WHICH IS ROUGHLY THE WESTERN BOUNDARY OF STAMBOUL

traight downstream to the limit of nges. A realization of this topo- y will help any one to understand, ut going into technicalities, why the est fleet which has ever bombarded re position was unable during two s of active operations to pass the s from the Ægean to Constantinople.

On the other side of Abydos, the "Hudson River" broadens out again to the proportions of a sound, with receding low shores and blue mountains following in the south.

It was sunset when the *Osmanieh* reached Gallipoli, nearly forty miles from the western gates of the Dardanelles. And the



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood

SMYRNA, THE GREAT ÆGEAN PORT OF ASIA MINOR

A FAMOUS TRADING CENTRE WITH A LARGE EXPORT OF FIGS, WHEAT, AND OTHER PRODUCTS OF WORLD COMMERCE, AND AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE RICH PRIZE OF TRADE ADVANTAGES FOR WHICH THE ALLIES ARE FIGHTING AGAINST GERMANY

lights of that straggling city, the first settlement of the Osmanli in Europe, beaconed us as we steamed on into a vast dim Marmora which looked like the open sea. It was at Gallipoli that the British squadron lay in 1878, at the end of the Russian-Turkish War, while the Powers browbeat a victorious Russia out of the peace of San Stefano into the so-called Treaty of Berlin, a "Truce of the Bear," which settled noth-

nd, thirty-seven
ago, sowed the
able seeds of the
nt war.
akes all night to
ie hundred and
y miles between
oli and Con-
nople. Next
ng we awoke in
Golden Horn.
that point let us
ack briefly over
ast thirty-seven
Such a glance
elp us to under-
the puzzling and
rful present.
und the shores
e Golden Horn
istory and des-
of peoples have
rged for cen-
just as shipping
the seven seas
into the Dar-
es. There is no
place in the

Copyright by H. C. White Co.

A VISTA OF TWO CONTINENTS

ACROSS THE NARROW WATERS OF THE BOSPHORUS FROM EUROPE INTO ASIA. THE CASTLE RUMILI HISSAR IN THE FOREGROUND

BRUSA, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF THE TURKS IN ASIA MINOR

UNTAINS OF ANATOLIA IN THE BACKGROUND AND, IN THE FOREGROUND, SOME OF THE MODERN MILITARY ROADS THAT FRENCH ENGINEERS BUILT FOR THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT

THE SUBLIME PORTE

I. THE EVERYDAY BUSINESS ENTRANCE TO THE TURKISH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN CONSTANTINOPLE, WHERE FOR GENERATIONS THE TEMPORIZING MEASURES TO SAVE "THE SICK MAN OF EUROPE" FROM BANISHMENT TO ASIA HAVE BEEN CONTRIVED

world of such vital interest to so many nations as Constantinople. Protected by the narrow defiles of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, by the deadlock of the European Concert, and in recent years by the entrenched lines at Bulair and Tchatalja, the most universally desired city in Europe has during the last 450 years remained in the hands of a fighting Asiatic tribe.

During those centuries, while the borders of an Oriental Empire on three continents have steadily contracted in their hands, they have still managed to cling to the city which, with its matchless approaches, is now the key to European empire.

For a long time, when the Sultans were personages, wrought into iron by continual strife, mating only with the picked women of their own people or their conquests, when the Turk was a scimitar with the contempt of the scimitar for anything it could cut, then Ottoman hands were more than strong enough by themselves to hold their capital on the Bosphorus. Europe has been in the habit of regarding those as barbarous years of the sword and militant Islam.

Since then, in the years of gunpowder and pacific Christian civilization, the Osmanli's weakening grip on his jewel of a city with its perilous sea-gates has been sustained by that unreal thing, first promulgated as an ideal by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and talked about ever since in chancelleries, "the Powers." The Turk, the Sick Man of Europe, has been kept from dying in Europe by "the Powers," they say. The balance of power these last thirty-seven years has kept Islam balanced across the Bosphorus and kept the Turkish flag flying over a dozen different kinds of Christian people, perpetuating

THE SUBLIME PORTE

II. THE CEREMONIAL GATE THAT IS OPENED ONLY ON STATE OCCASIONS TO *RECEIVE THE CARRIAGES* OF FOREIGN DIPLOMATS

THE SULTAN AT THE HEAD OF HIS ARMY

MOHAMMED V, THE NOMINAL RULER OF TURKEY, SUCCEEDED TO THE CROWN AFTER DEPOSITION OF HIS ELDER BROTHER, ABDUL HAMID II, ON APRIL 27, 1909. THE REAL AUTHORITY IN THE GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, IS IN THE HANDS OF THE PRO-GERMAN POLITICAL GROUP HEADED BY ENVER PASHA

the erroneous idea that Turkey was a country inhabited by Turks.

Translated out of diplomatic language, "the Powers" meant—even now it is a strange sensation to speak of them in the past tense—Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria, Italy, and more recently Russia, the six strongest nations in Europe, bound together by the uncertain ties of mutual apprehension. The Turk has held Constantinople these last one hundred years simply because this interlocking directorate in mutual apprehension, fear, and jealousy has been strong enough all that time to keep any one Power or group of Powers from taking his city and his European sovereignty away from him.

But now, in these ultra-civilized days of 16-inch guns, submarines, and aeroplanes, the chancelleries must find a new shibboleth to take the place of "the Powers." As understood a year ago, no such thing now exists. It died on the first of August and you may read its obituary in the White, Yellow, Blue, and the other, books of assorted outside colors and uniform recriminative content. Of "power" the "balance" is lost; the scales which weighed it are discarded with the "scraps of paper" and "judicial niceties" which have long made a masked ball of European diplomacy.

Now the masks are torn off and you can see the expressions on the nations' faces as they look fairly at one another and, one and all, turn covetous eyes on the Turk's jewel, stolen in 1453, and shining brightly by the Straits. No one can now foretell who will own the Opal City and control the Straits when the smoke of this great settlement has cleared away. But whatever nations then, singly or in common,

THE SUCCESSOR OF SALADIN

A WEAK MONARCH AT THE HEAD OF A BADLY ORGANIZED BUT STILL VIGOROUS PEOPLE THAT HAS OF LATE YEARS SHOWN MANY SIGNS OF PROGRESS

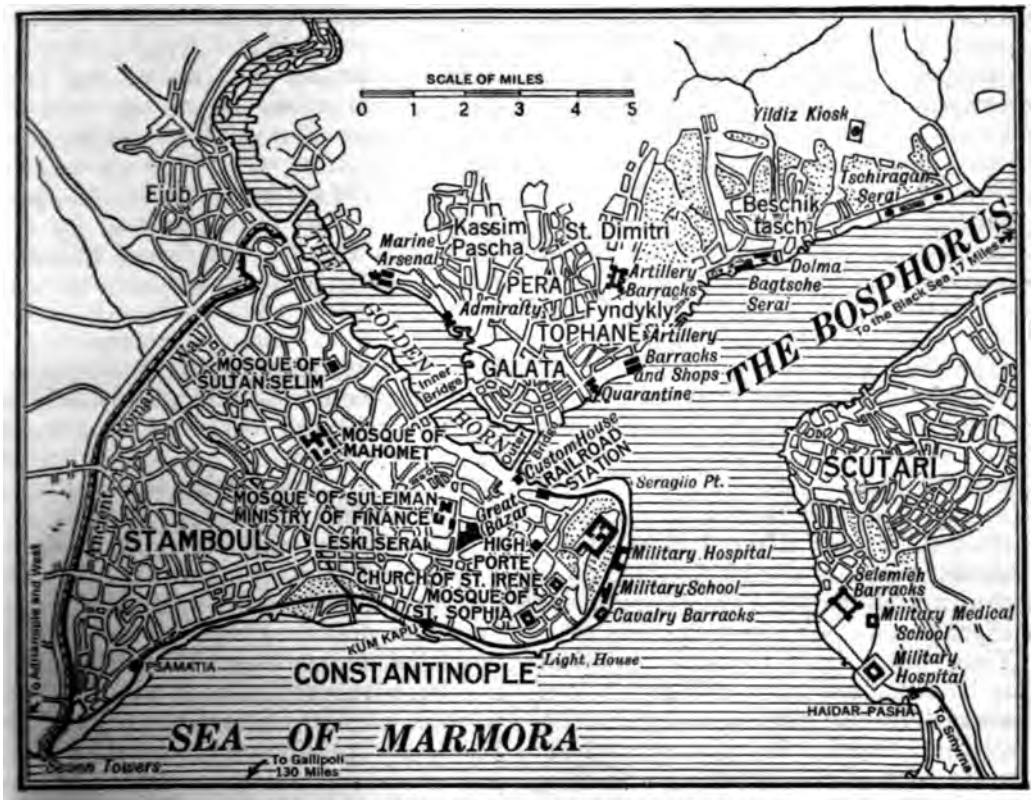
possess these keys to empire there is a singular unanimity of opinion all over Christendom that it can never again be the Turk alone.

Nevertheless, stranger things than that might happen. Ottoman hands are not palsied yet. Although seemingly inert to reach out for more territory, they vitalize mightily in defense as though they gripped the sword again. But even then the Turk must have quickly failed in this unequal fight if a great military nation, which used to be a "Power," had not made desperate cause with him and showed him how best to use the weapons of civilized war. German guns and gunnery made it possible for the Turks to hold the Straits at Chanak and Kilid Bahr; German strategy launched the expedition against Egypt and kept it going, and German ships made Ottoman sea power in the Black Sea.

Copyright by H. C. White Co.

AMERICA'S TURKISH COLLEGE

ROBERT COLLEGE, IN CONSTANTINOPLE, WAS FOUNDED IN 1863 BY CHRISTOPHER R. ROBERT, OF NEW YORK, AS AN INSTITUTION OF HIGHER LEARNING FOR MEN. IT GIVES NON-SECTARIAN PREPARATORY AND COLLEGE INSTRUCTION TO NEARLY FOUR HUNDRED TURKS, GREEKS, ARMENIANS, BULGARIANS, ISRAELITES, AND PERSIANS



CONSTANTINOPLE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

This quaint brotherhood in arms of Ottoman and Teuton probably began in a picturesque meeting which took place in Constantinople as far back as November 2, 1889. On that day two representatives of first-rate fighting clans met and greeted one another. One was the German Kaiser; the other, the Sultan, Abdul Hamid. The Hohenzollern looked the part; the Osmanli, a nervous recluse, did not. But what the Hohenzollerns have been to Prussia and are to Germany the descendants of Osman, in uninterrupted succession since 1326, have been to Turkey and are to Islam—and for similar reasons.

There began, as nearly as you can trace a movement to an event, a constructive stage in the very practical call of the East for Germany, "Der Drang nach Osten." Shut off in other directions, Germany finds her only outlet for expansion southeastward. South America is barred by the Monroe Doctrine. Expansion westward in Europe has been impossible without what was, only a year ago, almost an unthinkable war. Russia lay east of her, and England controlled the seas.

Through Austria-Hungary and the Balkan states a way lay open in a complacent Turkey down into the rich undeveloped regions of Anatolia and Syria to the Persian Gulf. This was a region also not particularly coveted by Germany's brother directors in the great interlocked Concert. Thousands of German emigrants followed this imperialistic dream by practical colonization in Asia Minor and Syria, establishing there their characteristic control of industry and trade. Von der Goltz was sent to Germanize the Turkish army, and Young Turks, like Enver Bey, were induced to get their military education in Berlin. German banks cropped up in Constantinople, and the Young Turk policy of nationalism, which rendered a war with the Balkan states inevitable, linked itself up in principle and in practice with the nationalism of Germany.

In 1898, the Kaiser paid a second visit to Constantinople on his way to Jerusalem,

and this time a more tangible result marked the growing "understanding" of the German Government and the Ottoman misgovernment. The Sultan then granted to Germany the concession for the Bagdad, or Anatolian, Railway, which opened up for the Fatherland a broad and rich avenue, 2,000 miles in length, reaching from the Haidar Pasha station, across the Bosphorus from Stamboul, southward over Anatolia and Syria down the Babylonian valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates to the Persian Gulf.

This was a great coup for the Kaiser. For not only was it a magnificent outlet for commercial development and colonization but it effectually circumvented the Russian-British scheme of building a trans-Persian railroad, also terminating at the Persian Gulf and outflanking commercially and in a military sense the German line of expansion.

Thus territorially German ambitions may be visualized in a continuous belt of German "Kultur," commerce, and *Weltmacht* held together by railroads and the German idea of civilization and reaching from the North Sea to the Indian Ocean. In this magnificent conception the possession of Constantinople, either by Germany or by Germanized Turkey, is a vital ingredient.

Across this broad plank of national ambition stretches the equally broad plank by which Russia for more than a hundred years has schemed and plotted to reach open water in the Mediterranean.

On the cross thus formed the peace of Europe was crucified.

THE WESTWARD SEA THIRST OF THE SLAV

The most important thing to realize in the key to empire situation is this fundamental cross purpose between Germanic and Slavic territorial ambition. Indeed, we may define this world war in two simple phrases: the struggle of England and Germany for eventual dominion of the seas, with all it represents, and the clash of Slav and Teuton for Constantinople and all it represents.

For two hundred years Russia has had her weather eye, sharpened by sea thirst, fixed on the Golden Horn. Twice in the eighteenth century Russia and Austria discussed the possibility of dividing the Sultan's empire between them. By slow degrees the Russian Bear possessed himself of the northern shore of the Black Sea and, under the pretext of protecting Christian subjects of the Porte, crept southward into Moldavia and Wallachia, just as for ten years he crept through Manchuria and Korea to a Japanese-inflicted Waterloo in 1905. When Russia came south of the Danube a scared Turkey first became the ward of the western Powers.

In the nineteenth century Russia threw off all disguise and fought for the prize of Turkish dominion. The first time British and French troops, fighting with Ottoman armies, stopped Russia in the Crimea and shackled her by the Treaty of Paris in 1856. In 1877, Russia broke the shackles and got within sight of Stamboul before the Powers again intervened. This time it was "diplomatic pressure" instead of force of arms, but the result was equally effective. Russian armies, under Gurko and Skobeloff, fought their way through the Balkan passes, driving Suleiman out of Shipka and capturing Osman at Plevna, across Thrace — the road the Bulgars followed in 1912 — and their headquarters staff camped finally in the spring of 1878 at the pretty suburb of San Stefano on the Marmora. From the rising ground above San Stefano railroad station, where the Turks dumped their cholera victims in the Balkan War, you can plainly see the mosques and minarets of Stamboul, a tantalizing ten miles away, shining iridescent in the sun.

That was when the British squadron passed unopposed through the Dardanelles and anchored at Gallipoli. With a look askance at those ships, an exhausted but victorious Russian army made a peace at San Stefano which really settled something. It made Turkey pay 300 hundred million roubles ($150,000,000) for the war, ceded portions of Armenia and the Balkan Ottoman provinces to Russia, and left a Russian army of 50,000 men established on Turkish soil.

But England in 1878 would not stand for even a fraction of the concession which now, in extremis, she must make.

Russian ambition which was balked
878, Sir Edward Grey on February
last recognized and admitted. It is
interesting to notice how a little
changes the alignment of nations.
hile the British fleet still lay at anchor
e Dardanelles, the Congress of Berlin
in June, 1878, under the presidency of
ıarck. And in that Congress, Ger-
y and Austria helped England to balk
ia: Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania
carved out of the Turk's European
ınions, Russian troops were hauled
narily back out of the territory they
so hardly won, and the Porte ceded to
ria the administration of Bosnia and
egovina, with the military occupation
ıe place—the name of which sounds
ı new Arabian Night—the "Sanjak of
bazaar." (In Turkey a Sanjak has
hly the same relation to a Vilayet that
ınty has to a state in America.)
ıt of that peace have directly grown
nore wars in the same harrowed terri-
fought over in '77 and '78. Let the
e-at-any-price advocates thoughtfully
ider the Treaty of Berlin. It settled
ing. Out of it also grew, with other
dients contributing, the alliance be-
n Germany and Austria in 1879, ex-
ed three years later by the inclusion of
into the Triple Alliance. The Treaty
erlin was a mistake in another sense:
ught to perpetuate a sick and reac-
ıry dominion at the expense of a healthy
progressive race. It slammed a half-
door in the face of Russia.

YOUNG RUSSIA

is highly probable that this mistake
ıever be made again. Here is a nation
70,000,000 people, young ethnically,
iplying at the rate of three million a
despite war, pestilence, famine, and
reless government. And this people,
its abounding vitality, inhabiting a
tory two and a half times greater than
of the United States, must be an in-
nation, living in commercial and polit-
twilight because, forsooth, some older
ns apprehensively have told it so!
ter the Great got a window open on to
Baltic. It is now called Petrograd, to
rid of the German word *burg*, which
used to constitute its last syllable. But it is a high-up dormer window and it looks out on a back yard. The Russian people can't see anything through it. There are other Russian windows, at Archangel on the Arctic and Vladivostock on the North Pacific, opaque with ice half the year. For the Russian people windows are no longer good enough; they want, they need, and they will have, doors, open *sea* doors.

Thus we find two irreconcilable national and racial destinies crossing at Constantinople, each with a kind of elemental justice animating it and driving it against the conciliatory paper arrangements by which governments seek to achieve a superficial balance of justice. For Germany, too, is a young nation, fertile, dedicated, stirred by visions. But the "Drang nach Osten" is neither as elemental nor as just as the long sea thirst of Russia.

ENGLAND THE OLD ARBITER

Now England, and with her France, having balanced so long, must choose. England has lain across the door of Russian expansion westward, as she has barred the avenues of German expansion eastward. Almost as literally has Great Britain done this, as British fleets lie across the Dardanelles and block the Baltic thoroughfares. An older empire, which has nearly stopped growing because it has all the land and sea it wants, an empire of glorious tradition and still unweakened, has held in check and skilfully thwarted, as she must needs have done, two younger, growing empires. But now she must choose between them, and she has chosen.

The British fleet at Gallipoli in 1878 typified Great Britain's attitude, then, on the question of the Dardanelles. The fleet which began the bombardment in February of this year also typified the attitude of Great Britain on that question, but in an entirely different way. British sea power, more than any other one influence, has kept those Straits for thirty-seven years out of European hands. British sea power in 1915 is fighting to place those same Straits in European hands.

When Sir Edward Grey affirmed in the House of Commons that England was in

sympathy with Russian aspirations in the Mediterranean he made a very great, history-changing concession. He made it under very great pressure. But, even under that pressure, he was forehanded enough to go no further than "some form" of Russian realization of their national aspiration. At that time, with the Russian offensive in Poland stopped at a cost no other nation but Russia could pay without breaking, and with the delicate balance in the Balkans trembling back and forth, the Asquith ministry presumably felt they had to do something to reanimate Russian coöperation and dispel the spectre of a separate Russo-German peace by which the Slav, with an Oriental cunning, characteristic of his half-Oriental nature, might hope eventually to achieve his ends.

England has got to beat Germany or be beaten in this war. England cannot have Germany on her flanks and with interior lines of trade and empire at Suez and in Persia and India any more restfully than she can survey a German seacoast across the Channel where Belgium used to be. Anything is better than that, even the formerly dreaded Adam Zad, at last admitted into warm sea waters which England has long regarded as peculiarly her own.

THE BOSPHORUS AND THE BALKANS

In the tumbled geography of the Balkan peninsula are six political divisions generally called Balkan states: Roumania, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, and Albania. Their history has been as volcanic, and their populations are as mixed up, as is their physical geography.

All of them together, with Macedonia, Bosnia, and Herzgovina, once made up what was called in school books Turkey in Europe—"Rumili" the Turks called it, and Constantinople was the capital of Rumeli, as it was of Anatolia. The scimitar of Ottoman supremacy conquered those states. Islam never won them. One by one for a hundred years Turkey has been losing them. Greece began it in 1830; Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro went in 1878, Austria bagged Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, Bulgaria broke clear away in 1909, and Albania and Macedonia were lost as the spoils of the Balkan War of 1912–1913. Turkey in Europe now means only Constantinople and a part of Thrace.

United in the spirit of revolt against Turkey the Balkan states, nourishing involved hatreds, have always kept up an internecine strife among themselves. The one brilliant exception was the almost miraculous confederation which united Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian armies in a sudden, crushing attack on an Ottoman empire as sceptical, up to the last minute, of any possible Balkan coöperation as it was unprepared for a united attack. That confederation was the joint achievement of Venezelos, Premier of Greece, and Dr. Daneff, his Bulgarian colleague. It drove the Turk down into his last ditch at Tchataljа and all but drove him across the Bosphorus into Asia.

But the constructive genius which had built up the confederation and steered it to victory could not hold it when the time came to divide the spoils. Europe thought that out of the Ottoman defeat a new United States had been born in the Balkans. But in the second Balkan War of 1913, they established again a complete disunion.

On that disunion Turkey has counted. The Ottoman Government has continually nourished it, as China, the Sick Man of the Far East, has played off other states against each other. Turkey, depending remotely upon the interlocked Powers, a superficial union, has been protected at close range by the very sincere disunion of her immediate neighbors. Once more, but possibly for the last time, the Young Turk government counted upon this condition when in February, 1913, under Shevket and Enver, they threw out Kiamil's Old Turk, peace-making ministry, rebegan the war, and started what they believed to be a new and progressive Turkey.

Two Powers, looming in the background, have also been counting on this disunion and seeing in it the materials for their own ambitions—Austria-Hungary and Russia. Out of their scheming grew immediately the present war. The Young Turks began their national movement in the revolution of 1908 and Count Aehrenthal, the Austrian Foreign Minister, took advantage of that moment to annex Bosnia and Herze-

govina and to get from the Porte the concession for the Novibazar railroad on the road to Salonica which, as he said, "*would constitute a new and important route from Central Europe to Egypt and India.*"

Six years before, Count Aehrenthal's predecessor, Count Goluchowski, had made with Count Lamsdorf, the Russian Foreign Minister, the "Mürzsteg agreement" —so called because it was signed at the Emperor Joseph's shooting box at Mürzsteg in Styria, by the terms of which both governments bound themselves to a mutual oversight of Turkish administrative districts. Aehrenthal, who had been ambassador at St. Petersburg, was a Bohemian-German. By his coup of 1908 he completely outwitted M. Isvolsky, the new Russian Foreign Minister, and by that act of bad faith put Russian diplomacy on edge against the Dual Monarchy. And in that mood Russia shook hands with England, establishing the Triple Entente.

Now when we come to understand that Bosnia and Herzegovina had to be "occupied" with arms, that they were unwillingly annexed, and that the population of the two provinces is largely irreconcilable Servian Slavs; when we remember that after victories which seemed to Servia brilliant and glorious in 1913 she was nevertheless deprived of her dearly bought Adriatic seaport of Durazzo by Austria-Hungary—then we have the background necessary to understand the assassination of Grand Duke Ferdinand at Sarajevo in June, 1914.

All of this was defined thirty-seven years ago in the Treaty of Berlin, which settled nothing. And Constantinople has remained now, as then, the centre of the events by which the nations are seeking to work out their destinies.

HOW JOFFRE AND FOCH SAVED THE FRENCH ARMY

A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF "THE BATTLE MISCALLED OF THE MARNE," OF THE ROUT OF VON KLUCK, AND OF THE SETTING OF FOCH'S FAMOUS MESSAGE: "MY LEFT HAS BEEN FORCED BACK, MY RIGHT IS ROUTED, I SHALL ATTACK WITH THE CENTRE"

BY

E. V. STODDARD

[*This sketch of the battle called of the Marne was read, as first written, by an officer of the French General Staff, and the corrections and additions he made give it a claim to greater accuracy than any account which has yet been published. Through his hands have passed the despatches and reports of the battle and he is one of the few who can really speak with authority on it. The field of battle is familiar to me, with the exception of the portion about Verdun, from visits before and since the engagement. The accompanying drawings are geographically accurate but the position of the armies is merely indicated.—The Author.*]

THE battle has been likened to the case of a big man chasing a little one who ducks around a corner and butts his adversary over before the latter expects it, the trick of the Paris apache, and this picturesque offhand summary is amusingly near the truth.

But in more detail there are a few things about the battle which have never yet, so far as I know, been thoroughly explained: why the battle was fought; when and where it was; how the French came to win so decisively; why Paris, which seemed to lie under the invader's hand, was not even attacked; why the action was named after

the Marne. The reason for this last is still a mystery to me.

To understand the battle, miscalled of the Marne, it is necessary to go back to the moment of the abandonment of the French offensive along the Belgian frontier and follow the French retreat and the German advance. This advance was in the form of a great turning movement which, had it been carried to its conclusion, would have folded the French back against the German and Swiss frontiers, cutting them off from Paris, from the possibility of getting adequate supplies and reinforcements, and from the chance of English help. It was magnificently conceived and well executed.

Above all else this movement depended for its success on speed, particularly of the German right. This explains why Paris was left unbesieged, this, and the army under Maunoury, which was being collected in the region of Amiens and was apparently unnoticed by the Germans and which, according to Joffre, "poked its elbow in Von Kluck's ribs and jostled him into our lines." Once the French field army was defeated, the Germans could spare time for the reduction of the entrenched camp of Paris; until then they could not.

The order for the French retreat came after some successes in their offensive, notably against the Crown Prince, but as a whole this offensive was going badly, and rather suddenly they realized that they were greatly outnumbered and outflanked at Charleroi. At this time the three French armies occupied a line running through Charleroi, Givet, and the heights north of the Semois, while the five German armies stretched from the region of Mons to Luxemburg. The English expeditionary force arrived in the region of Charleroi almost at the moment of the beginning of the retreat. At this time the line of the armies ran northwest: at the time of the battle the turning movement had so far succeeded that they ran east and west.

The five German armies consisted of twenty-four corps, exclusive of additional cavalry, and contained 1,500,000 to 1,800,000 men, including the cavalry. On a war footing the German corps numbers 50,000 men, but the army had been strengthened by sundry extra divisions of reserve. At the battle the Germans had probably 1,400,000 men.

In the three French armies were eleven corps, representing a strength of 600,000 men, to which the English contingent added 80,000. The French corps on a war footing numbers 40,000, but like the German they had been strengthened by divisions of reserve. At the beginning of the battle this number had risen to 800,000 reinforcements, a new army having joined them, and before the end the number of men engaged was at least 1,000,000.

The reason for the great discrepancy between the two combatants was not, as has been said, because the French mobilization plans went wrong or lagged, but because the Germans had a long start of them in mobilization, the Landwehr having been called out on July 26th. This I know from evidence of those who saw the order on that date.

Up to the time of the retreat no general engagement had been fought, but the retreat was none the less forced. It was not, however, a rout, though portions of the allied forces were unquestionably routed, but these were counterbalanced by successful actions.

THE POSITION OF THE GERMAN ARMIES

The position of the German armies and their lines of advance are important enough to be given in some detail: on the right (west) flank was the 1st army under Von Kluck—"Old One O'Clock" as the English Tommy has dubbed him—lying north of Charleroi and Mons (this army consisted of six corps and additional cavalry); then the 2d army, that of Von Bülow, five corps with cavalry added, lying from Charleroi to the neighborhood of Florrennes; then Von Hausen's Saxon army, the 3d, three corps and a full corps of cavalry in the region of Dinant; the 4th army under the Duke of Wurtemburg, consisting of five corps and a division of cavalry in the region of Neufchâteau; and on the left flank (east) the Crown Prince's or 5th army of five corps and, as with all the rest, additional cavalry.

Von Kluck knew that the English were

coming, but did not know, apparently, from what point; and, expecting that their reinforcements would come from Calais and Boulogne, advanced to Lille and beyond in the hope of cutting their communications and barring a possible line of retreat. When he discovered that they were coming from Havre and even from Nantes he swung about, and thereafter, until the German retreat, there remained in northern France only cavalry and some reserve troops to serve as a screen for the flank. Von Kluck then swept southwest against Paris, creating great uneasiness there at the prospect of a seemingly inevitable siege. Important intrenchments were made in the suburbs—to impress the population as much as the enemy, I believe, and a strong garrison thrown into the city and forts. Then for the reasons already given Von Kluck turned south, leaving Paris on the right (west).

Von Bülow from Charleroi came south to Guise, and, after Von Kluck had flanked the French out of their positions there, continued by way of Rheims.

Von Hausen advanced by way of Rocroi and Châlons.

The Duke of Wurtemburg advanced by way of Sedan through the forest of the Argonne and along the Marne Valley.

The Crown Prince came through the Argonne against Verdun, Clermont, and Ste. Menehould.

THE FRENCH POSITION

When the Allies' retreat started, the English, newly arrived, were on the extreme left (west). They went back as best they could, their 80,000 men helpless before Von Kluck, until at La Fère their battered regiments, with the help of a French corps, turned against two of Von Kluck's and defeated them, while at Montépilloy they roughly handled the German's cavalry. Thereafter they were able to move back in better order. Before that their retreat had been a nightmare.

Lanrezac's army, of four corps, was on the left (west) of the French line next to the English. A rear guard had been left at Charleroi, sacrificed so that the rest of the army might escape. Their losses were great but Von Bülow was checked. However, this army was under severe pressure until it reached a position back of Guise and Vervins, where, reserving its wings, it met Von Bülow's advance with a counter attack and threw it back. In this action the Prussian guard was so badly cut to pieces that it was withdrawn for reorganization, and then Lanrezac retreated in comparative peace until Von Kluck came down on his flank at La Fère and hustled him out.

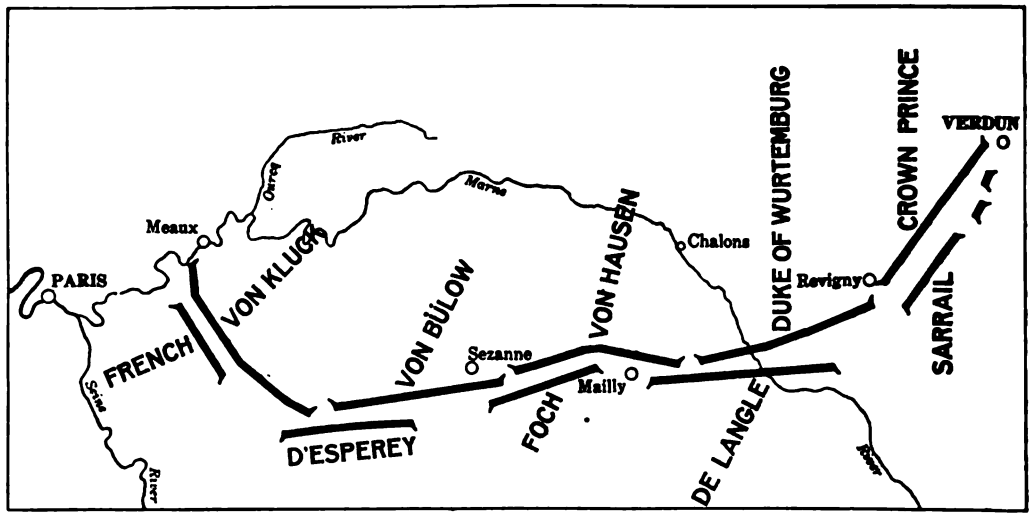
The centre army, the four corps of De Langle, retreated on Châlons by way of Vouzieres under continual pressure from Von Hausen and the Duke of Wurtemburg.

On the right (east) Ruffey's army, now commanded by Sarrail, consisting of three corps, retreated from the region of Longwy at their leisure. Its offensive had been effective before the retreat began, and when, on September 1st, two corps of the Crown Prince's army advanced against it, the 5th and 6th corps attacked them and threw them back in a brisk action at Cierges. Thereafter the retreat was without serious interference. During the day they would move, at night the Germans would follow, and the armies were in serious contact only for a short time every day. Mézières and Sedan held out for three days, and this helped the retirement.

The general opinion is that Joffre intended to continue his retreat to the line of the Seine but that he took advantage of the fact that the Germans were not at their best and that he could bring up reinforcements from another field of operations to force a battle. The French had been successful in Alsace-Lorraine and the Germans were not in condition there to attack in force immediately. This allowed Joffre to withdraw two of the six corps the French had in that region and reinforce the main army with them. These reinforcements had a decisive effect on the battle.

WHEN THE FRENCH STOPPED RETREATING

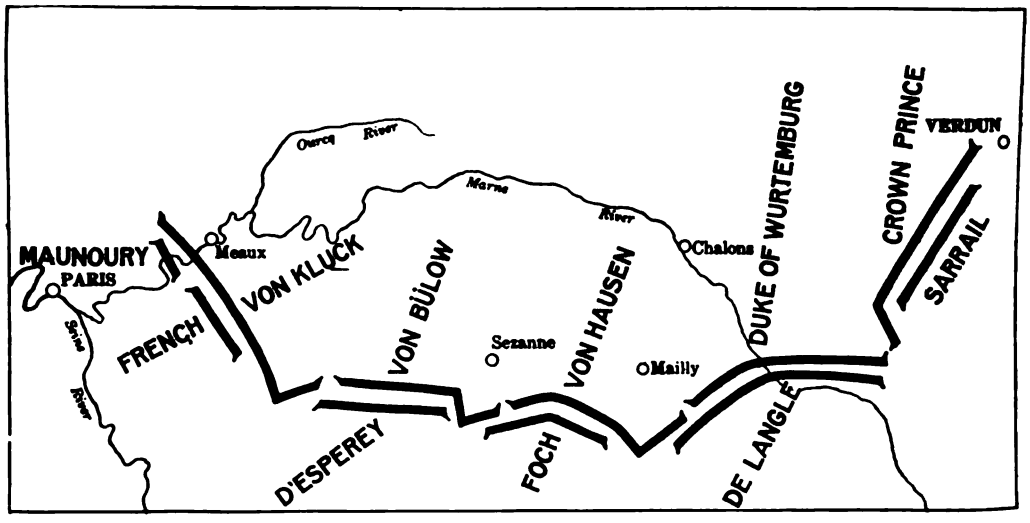
When the order to stop the retreat was given the Allies' left was at Crécy, about fifteen miles east of Paris, and from this point the English, three small corps under French, stretched in a southeasterly di-



THE BATTLE-FRONT ON SEPTEMBER 5TH

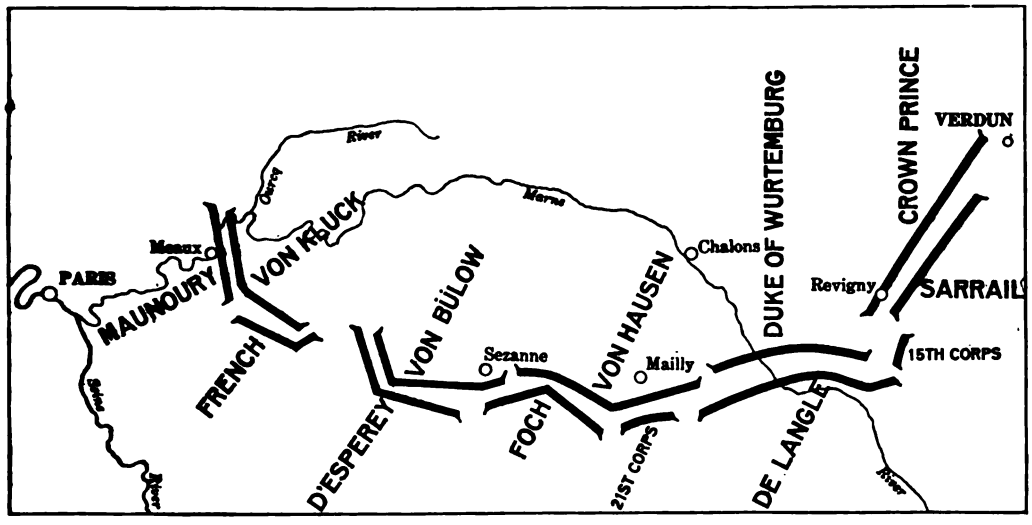
ON THE 5TH OF SEPTEMBER THE FRENCH HAD SUCCEEDED IN WITHDRAWING THE BULK OF THEIR ARMY FROM NORTHERN FRANCE AND REARRANGING IT SOUTH OF THE MARNE RIVER. ITS LEFT RESTED IN THE AREA SURROUNDING NOGENT, ON THE SEINE RIVER, AND FROM THERE IT EXTENDED IN A BOW SHAPE TO THE FORTRESS OF VERDUN. BETWEEN THE FRENCH LEFT AND PARIS THE BRITISH ARMY, ROUGHLY HANDLED IN ITS RETREAT SOUTH, FACED VON KLUCK'S GERMANS, WHILE IN PARIS AND TO THE NORTH ADDITIONAL FRENCH FORCES WERE BEING ASSEMBLED. THE GERMANS WERE RIGHT AT THE HEELS OF THE RETREATING FRENCH AND CAME UPON THEM JUST AS THEY WERE ARRANGING THEIR LINES. THERE WERE MANY GAPS, WHICH THE GERMANS LOST NO TIME IN FINDING. INTO THESE THEY PUSHED TROOPS. THE FRENCH, HOWEVER, STOOD THEIR GROUND AND HURRIED UP TROOPS TO FILL THE GAPS IN THEIR LINE

rection a dozen miles to Vaudoy The nearest French army was that of D'Esperey —who had succeeded Lanrezac—its left ten miles away at Courchamps, while the gap between it and the English was filled by three divisions of cavalry. The right



THE BATTLE-FRONT ON SEPTEMBER 7TH

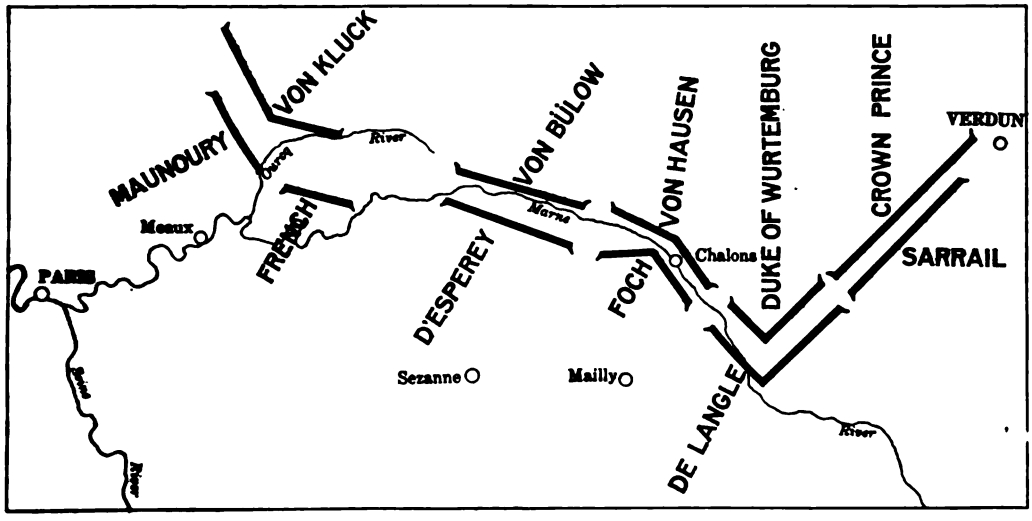
BY SEPTEMBER 7TH THE GERMANS HAD SUCCEEDED IN POURING TROOPS INTO PRACTICALLY ALL THE GAPS IN THE FRENCH LINE, AND IT APPEARED FOR A WHILE AS IF THE FRENCH CENTRE WERE IRRETRIEVABLY SMASHED. THE EXTREME GERMAN RIGHT UNDER VON KLUCK WAS ATTACKED, HOWEVER, IN A DETERMINED MANNER BY THE BRITISH UNDER GENERAL FRENCH AND BY TROOPS SENT OUT FROM PARIS UNDER MAUNOURY. VON KLUCK WAS THUS FORCED TO MAKE NEW DISPOSITIONS AND TO LESSEN THE PRESSURE HE HAD EXERTED ON D'ESPEREY'S LEFT. IN THE MEANTIME REINFORCEMENTS WERE COMING TO THE CRITICAL POINTS IN THE FRENCH LINE WITH ALL POSSIBLE SPEED



THE BATTLE-FRONT ON SEPTEMBER 9TH

ON SEPTEMBER 9TH THE FRENCH REINFORCEMENTS HAD REACHED THE CRITICAL POINTS IN THE LINE, EFFECTED THEIR DEPLOYMENT, AND GONE INTO BATTLE. JOFFRE ORDERED A GENERAL ATTACK ALL ALONG THE LINE. FOCH, WHOSE ARMY WAS BEING VERY HARD PRESSED, SENT THE FOLLOWING REPLY TO HIS CHIEF'S ORDER TO ATTACK: "MY LEFT HAS BEEN FORCED BACK, MY RIGHT IS ROUTED, I SHALL ATTACK WITH THE CENTRE." AT THIS TIME, THE FRENCH TROOPS ACTING AGAINST VON KLUCK'S RIGHT BEING REINFORCED VERY RAPIDLY, HE BEAT A HASTY RETREAT TO PREVENT BEING COMPLETELY OUTFLANKED. THIS WITHDRAWAL UNCOVERED THE RIGHT OF VON BÜLOW'S GERMAN ARMY, WHICH WAS PROMPTLY ATTACKED BY D'ESPEREY AND FORCED TO GIVE GROUND. THIS IN TURN FORCED VON HAUSEN TO GIVE WAY AND THE GENERAL RETREAT OF THE GERMANS WAS STARTED FOR THE MARNE RIVER

was twenty milea away at Sézanne, where the new army of Foch, composed of African and reserve troops, three corps in all, stretched twenty miles to Sommesous. Then came another gap of ten miles, filled as best possible with artillery and cavalry,



THE BATTLE-FRONT ON SEPTEMBER 12TH

ON SEPTEMBER 12TH THE FRENCH HAD PURSUED THE GERMANS TO THE MARNE RIVER, WHERE THEIR FURTHER RAPID PURSUIT WAS ARRESTED AS THE GERMANS BLEW UP THE BRIDGES AND RESISTED STRENUOUSLY WITH THEIR REAR GUARD. THE FRENCH, DUE TO THEIR EXHAUSTING PURSUIT AND THEIR WORN-OUT CAVALRY, WERE UNABLE TO BREAK THROUGH QUICKLY ENOUGH TO CAUSE THE GERMANS SERIOUS EMBARRASSMENT AND TO DISORGANIZE THEIR RETREAT. THE RIGHT OF THE DUKE OF WURTEMBURG'S ARMY WAS NOW UNCOVERED AND FORCED IN A FEW DAYS INTO RETREAT, FOLLOWED BY THE CROWN PRINCE'S ARMY. THE GERMANS STOPPED THEIR RETREAT AT THE AISNE RIVER

until the left of De Langle's army was reached at Sompuis, whence it stretched twenty-five miles to Sermaize. Then another gap, and Sarrail's army lying in a northeasterly direction from Revigny to Souilly. Then a gap and the fortress of Verdun. Troops from the garrison of Paris and Maunoury were placed between French and Paris. A division under Maunoury was near Meaux. Coutanceau, commander of Verdun, sent a division to connect the right of the French army with this point.

A BOW-SHAPED BATTLE LINE

The French armies lay in the form of a bow about 150 miles long with its right near Verdun and its left near Paris but separated from both. Into the hollow of this bow the Germans poured their troops and all but succeeded in breaking it.

The German armies were opposed to the Allies as follows: that of Von Kluck against the English, the cavalry-filled gap, and D'Esperey's left; Von Bülow against D'Esperey's right and Foch's left; Von Hausen against Foch's right, the cavalry between that and De Langle, and against De Langle's left; the Duke of Wurtemburg against De Langle and the Crown Prince against Sarrail.

The battlefield where this bow lay has three distinct parts: beginning at Crécy it is rolling or hilly and heavily wooded, in the centre it is a vast plain with detached elevations tending to run together in a ridge along the French lines, and in front of the middle of this line are the marshes of St. Gond; on the right it again becomes hilly and wooded until about Verdun it is an exceedingly difficult country. But as a whole the locality offers an excellent field for manœuvres.

THE THREE STAGES OF THE BATTLE

Like the field the battle divides itself naturally into three sections, the west, middle, and east; and into three periods, that of the German attack and advance, when the French were all but broken, that of the French counter offensive, and that of the German retreat. These periods were not synchronous on all parts of the field, being most rapid on the west and slowest on the east.

During the first period the battle had the character of several independent engagements, and as such, after roughly outlining it, it is best to follow it. The French had a fairly strong defensive position which they had had no time to strengthen artificially as they arrived on the night of the 5th and the German attack began on the morning of the 6th. The gaps in the French line were serious and, had Joffre not been able to fill them, would have led to disaster. The first period of the battle consisted in the Germans' finding these gaps, breaking through them, and threatening to cut the French army into fragments. The second period was the arrival of French reinforcements which checked the German advance and made successful counter attacks. The French wings, guarded by Verdun and Paris, were fairly secure.

The German army was weak in the centre. Von Bülow's left and Von Hausen's right stretched over a great extent of territory, and, in the efforts to beat back the wings of the French armies to which they were opposed, this centre was further weakened.

HOW THE GERMANS BLUNDERED

This was the great tactical blunder of the Germans. They threw all their forces against the French positions as if in pursuit of the enemy, holding nothing in reserve to overcome some weakness should it develop. When the French counter offensive began they had nothing to call up to meet it. Another blunder was that of Von Kluck in placing too low an estimate on the French and English on the west. A third was perhaps unavoidable: the German movement to succeed must needs be speedy but it was so fast that the army got ahead of its supplies. Though events proved that there were enough supplies for several days there were not enough for the intense and long-drawn-out battles of the present. But the great blunder was the tactical one of the weak, unsupported centre.

When, on September 5th, the order to stop the retreat came, the effect on the troops was marvelous, the change in the spirit of the men being instantaneous. Laggards revived and seemed to feel no

:r the heat or the weight of their ac-rements, cavalrymen, swaying ex-ted on weary animals, laughed and ed one another on the back. The horses seemed to be refreshed.

VON KLUCK HALTED

the first phase each general fought his ' as best he could: on the west Von k apparently paid no attention to the ish troops, believing that they had so thoroughly mauled as to have lost organization and be worthless, or to rench garrison of Paris.

: held in reserve one corps on his right t) to hold off any possible offensive of Allies on that flank, and with the rest s army moved forward toward Troyes there were nothing in the way. Orders s given on September 5th with regard e position of his troops well south of e the fighting took place make amus-reading in the light of after events. ttacked on the 5th late and gained : ground. Galliéni sent Maunoury Paris with a division which took its ion about Meaux on Von Kluck's , and other troops from Paris were in reserve between that and the capi-Among these were the troops which to war in taxicabs.

VON KLUCK ROUTED

n the morning of the 6th the German nce was counter-attacked by the Eng-and this unexpected episode halted bsolutely. Then the French under noury began to exert pressure on Von k's right and by moving north threat-to turn it. One corps was drawn the centre, where it had opposed the lish, and with great rapidity was wn against the French near Meaux extended until it threatened to out-them. The corps which were held eserve between this point and Paris not brought into action and Von k's manœuvre was therefore successful mporarily checking the movement on lank. But at the same time it allowed English to advance and threaten to cut is right from his left (September 7th), e late in the day the French began to e around his flank again. Against D'Esperey and the cavalry between him and the English, Von Kluck's offensive had met with some success and he was able to withdraw another corps from his centre and throw it on his right, actually succeeding in outflanking the French flanking movement (September 8th). But this allowed D'Esperey to advance against the weakened centre and left, and on the night of the 8th there was nothing for Von Kluck to do but get his troops out of what threatened to become a bag for the whole army. The speed with which he succeeded in withdrawing his troops was remarkable, and the inhabitants of the towns through which the routed Germans passed tell of haggard, panting men, their accoutrements carried on wagons, being driven to even greater speed by the voices and blows of their officers. Von Kluck got clean away but his losses were great, as were those of the French in their advance north from Meaux against his right flank. Only the German general's extreme shrewdness in guessing just what was happening and getting back while he still could saved his army from practical annihilation.

BENDING THE FRENCH BOW

Owing to the difficulties of Von Kluck almost from the beginning of the battle the pressure on D'Esperey was less than on his neighbor, Foch. D'Esperey was able to advance, whereas Foch was hammered by Von Bülow and Von Hausen, particularly on the wings, until his right was driven from Sommesous to Herbisse (September 9th), his left forced back, and even his centre was in danger of losing its positions. Had not D'Esperey been able to send a corps to the relief of Foch the centre of the French army would have been broken.

By eliminating the German right the numerical preponderance of the Germans over the French was overcome, and D'Esperey was, by his advance, able to threaten the right of the German armies which still held the field.

Foch's left was forced to give a little ground, but his centre held fairly well. It was posted on a series of slight elevations back of the marshes of St. Gond, and here, particularly about the group of con-

nected buildings known as the Château de Mondemont, some of the most desperate fighting of the whole battle took place. For three days the French succeeded in holding this position; on the fourth they were driven out, but when the Germans occupied the buildings the French artillery made the place a perfect hell. Then the tirailleurs charged, and in the rooms of the château a hand-to-hand fight occurred in confined spaces where the rifle and bayonet could not be used and men fought with short iron bars they had found in an outhouse. The number of killed was appalling for so small a space. The ceilings dripped blood.

FOCH HARD-PRESSED

The right of Foch's army was forced to give ground almost constantly before the assaults of the Guard (Von Bülow), half of the 12th Saxon corps, and all the 13th Saxon corps of reserve (Von Hausen). Foch's right was bent back to Herbisse, and on the 9th the 12th Saxon reserve corps had begun to enter Mailly.

De Langle was in somewhat better condition than Foch. His centre, well posted on high ground back of the Saulx River and the Marne-Rhine canal, held well enough, beating off almost easily the attacks of the Duke of Wurtemburg. The Germans forced their way across the canal but were unable to dislodge their opponents. But De Langle's left (west) was attacked by the other half of the 12th Saxon corps, the 19th Saxon corps (Von Hausen), the 8th corps (Wurtemburg), while the 12th corps of reserve had broken through the cavalry screen between him and Foch and was advancing on Mailly. To meet this he had to reserve the 17th corps on his left. His right was forced to give some ground and a German corps (the 18th of reserve) had broken through beyond it toward Sermaize and Vassincourt and reached Robert Espagne (September 8th).

Sarrail had lost less ground than any of the others (except on the west where Von Kluck had been thrown back). The Crown Prince had attacked him and the fighting had been very severe, but the difficult nature of the country made defense more easy.

This was the situation of the various battles—as I have said, it is better to consider them as yet as disconnected engagements—on the night of the 8th and morning of the 9th before the beginning of the general French offensive: On the west Von Kluck routed and D'Esperey beginning to advance and able to help Foch, who was in a precarious position, his left weakened, his centre unsteady, and his right all but demolished; the other army of the centre, that of De Langle, though it had not been forced to give quite so much ground as Foch's, under heavy pressure on all its positions and cut off from the armies on either flank by heavy forces of German troops; on the east Sarrail, though holding stronger positions than the other armies, was threatened on the flank by the Germans at Robert Espagne.

It seemed that the French centre was smashed and that in spite of the success on the right the battle had gone against them. It seemed so, for Joffre's answer to the German attack had not yet been made.

FOCH'S MAGNIFICENT MESSAGE

It was under these conditions that Foch sent his superb message to his commander-in-chief. "My left has been forced back, my right is routed. I shall attack with the centre."

There was sound sense back of the seeming braggadocio of this remark, for the Germans had weakened their centre, never too strong owing to the positions of Von Bülow and Von Hausen, and there was a good chance that Foch, unaided, might break it.

But at this time the battle lost its character of separate engagements and Joffre unified it. On the 8th and 9th two corps had arrived from Lorraine with the confidence of a recent victory, and with them Joffre proceeded to plug the holes in his line. The 15th corps had reached the neighborhood of Bar-le-Duc on the 8th. The inhabitants tell how during the first days the sound of battle grew nearer until the very houses shook under the concussion of the guns and the German advance seemed irresistible. Then the French artillery began to pass through the streets going toward the front, and after a short

roar increased in volume and grow more distant. This corps the Germans at Robert Espagne e them back in some confusion. ved De Langle to take one division l corps and one division of the corps and send them to his hard eft.

right was reinforced by a divi- eserve, while the second of the m Alsace, the 21st, checked the offensive between Foch and De nd allowed these to reëstablish sitions (morning of September

: 9th De Langle began a violent ı Sompuis and Foch on La Fère ıoise which the German centre ble to withstand. After their ttacks of the 6th, 7th, and 8th hard to believe that they were ɔ easily and forced to begin a defi- at almost at the beginning of the ffensive.

GERMAN CENTRE DEMOLISHED

erey, now that Von Kluck was of, was advancing rapidly. His ight, the corps he had sent to the och, broke through the German eptember 9th) and by night was e. On the 9th the German centre ɔlished.

e morning of the 10th, the 21st t Mailly, and on the night of the h it had reached the Marne near ustling the Germans ahead of it. y's advance turned east from d reached Vertus, threatening to Bülow.

as the third period of the battle, nan retreat, when the centre was nto pieces, which were cut off tual support and threatened with heir retreat barred. They were o retreat with all speed, in fact e routed. Had the French been follow up their victory it would n an utter disaster for the Ger- But the French were exhausted. Their cavalry, insufficient to begin with, had been sent from point to point in the line during their retreat from the frontier and had been used as infantry during the battle. Men and horses were worn out. The slow English advance and the non-utilization of the garrison of Paris in its entirety had allowed the escape of Von Kluck: the exhaustion of the French allowed the escape of the centre. On the east, owing to the same difficult country which had made their advance small, the Crown Prince and the Duke of Wurtemburg were able to hold on until the 12th, when the pressure on their flank was too great and they retreated.

THE GERMAN RETREAT

How complete the French victory was is shown by the fact that the Germans were unable to hold the extremely strong line of the Marne, though the necessity of repairing the bridges across this river which the Germans had destroyed delayed the French sufficiently to allow them to take up the positions they have occupied more or less exactly ever since. The advance of the French was so rapid in the centre that not only were brigades and regiments mixed in the hurry of the retreat but portions of corps and even of armies became confused with each other. Though the French did not annihilate or cripple the German army, the battle miscalled of the Marne was a decisive one and the feeling of superiority which it has given to the French soldiers over their opponents has lasted through the weary months of trench warfare until the present.

Concerning the losses, it is impossible to tell with absolute accuracy as yet, and those most likely to know approximately are most unwilling to hazard an estimate. There is no question that they were great. That they were in the neighborhood of 10 per cent. of the numbers engaged is likely and that they exceeded this is by no means improbable. This excludes losses in prisoners, which were slight for the French and heavy for the Germans.

SOFT LIVING AND EASY DYING

THE MISUSE OF FOOD AND DRINK IN ITS RELATION TO LONGEVITY

BY

WILLIAM C. JOHNSON

DURING the last four years, with the coöperation of the life insurance companies of the United States and Canada, there has been conducted probably the most thorough investigation of the causes of mortality ever attempted in the history of the world. This investigation was carried on by a joint committee of the two scientific bodies in this country best equipped to deal with the subject—the Actuarial Society of America and the Medical Directors' Association. First a table of mortality was worked out, showing the normal death rate at all ages for insured lives, based upon the actual experience of the life insurance companies. Having thus established a standard of comparison, i. e., the normal death rate for insured lives, the actual mortality among certain classes of risks was compared to this standard.

Each life insurance company contributed its experience for thirty years in each class investigated. The experience of all the companies was then pooled for each class, and the results were drawn off and compared with the standard for all insured lives, which had previously been established. In many of the classes the lives under consideration ran into tens or hundreds of thousands, and the experience, covering the combined results in all companies throughout a long period of years, was so broad as to establish the fact that certain classes show a higher or lower death rate than the normal.

The classes to be considered, in dealing with the effect of food and drink upon longevity, consist of:

1. Overweights.
2. Underweights.
3. Users of alcoholic liquors.
4. Those connected with the trade in liquor.

As a preliminary to an intelligent study of the results in these classes, it must be borne in mind that insurance companies do not freely accept as policyholders men who are unduly heavy or men who use liquors either periodically or regularly to excess. The results, therefore, reflect the death rate among the *better class* of overweights, and the *moderate* users of liquor; and we can only guess at the still further increased mortality among those who are less moderate in the use of food and drink.

Overweight is frequently a family characteristic; often the extra weight is caused by a large frame, large hands, feet, and limbs, and is represented by muscle rather than by fat. Excessive weight, however, may broadly be regarded as the result of the excessive use of food or the use of an excessive proportion of the wrong kind of food. It does not, at any rate, usually result from abstemious self-denial. Actual experience shows an excessive mortality even among the better-class of overweights, as culled out by the insurance companies.

The following table is based upon an analysis of more than 220,000 select male lives, and shows the average weight at different heights and ages (the figures for female lives differ slightly, but only to the extent of a few pounds):

THE NORMAL WEIGHT OF A MAN

Height Ft.	in.	Weight in pounds at ages 20 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	35 to 39	40 to 44	45 to 49	50 & over
5	0	119	124	127	129	132	134	135
5	1	121	126	129	131	134	136	137
5	2	124	128	131	133	136	138	139
5	3	127	131	134	136	139	141	142
5	4	131	134	137	140	142	144	145
5	5	135	138	141	144	146	148	149
5	6	139	142	145	148	150	152	153
5	7	142	146	149	152	154	156	157
5	8	146	150	154	157	159	161	162
5	9	150	154	158	162	164	166	167
5	10	154	158	163	167	169	171	172
5	11	158	163	168	172	175	177	178
6	0	163	169	174	178	181	183	184
6	1	168	175	180	184	187	190	191
6	2	173	181	186	191	194	197	198

We will now give the variation in mortality over the average in three groups of

: where the insured were from 5 to 10 ıds under normal weight; 15 to 20 ıds under normal weight; and 25 to 45 ıds under normal weight, as compared similar groups where the insured were ;ame number of pounds above normal ht. This experience is based on re- in dealing with hundreds of thou- s of lives. In compiling these figures, entering prior to age thirty have been ted, both because weight put on in r years by vigorous lives does not seem ave so great an effect upon mortality the case of older men (though the more rable experience here may be affected the greater number of withdrawals ıg the younger lives), and because the ality of underweights at ages below y is affected by an undue proportion aths from tuberculosis, those who are light and young showing a predispo- ı to that disease. The experience is more nearly normal among entrants thirty or upward.

RATIO OF ACTUAL TO EXPECTED DEATHS

10 pounds underweight	94 per cent.
10 pounds overweight	99 per cent.
20 pounds underweight	97 per cent.
20 pounds overweight	106 per cent.
45 pounds underweight	98 per cent.
45 pounds overweight	128 per cent.

ıat the mortality on heavyweights further increases with those who are heavier is indicated by experience n from men 50 to 80 pounds over the ıal, in which the deaths were 152 per of the expected for ages of entry more thirty. The significance of these s will be appreciated when it is real- that in this class there would be 1,520 hs to only 1,000 in a class experiencing rmal mortality.

l the experience quoted above was e up on the basis of the age of the in- l at entry for the reason that the ht was not known at any other time the age at entry.

:garding the effect of the use of al- lic liquors on longevity, an investiga- was made of the mortality among ps which admitted, prior to acceptance, xcessive use of liquors on one or more sions within a specified number of years. The ratio of actual to expected deaths in these groups was as follows:

One excess or more within two years of application . .	174 per cent.
One excess or more within two to five years of application .	148 per cent.
One excess or more within five to ten years of application .	150 per cent.
Excess at some indefinite time in the past	146 per cent.

This experience would seem to indicate that mortality is distinctly high on lives reporting the use of alcohol *occasionally* to excess. Also the death rate from suicide and accident was higher than the normal.

Turning from those who occasionally used liquors to excess, an investigation covering about 42,000 lives was made of those who made a *steady* use of alcohol but were not supposed to use it to excess. The experience as to these was divided into two classes: first, where the standard of acceptance included those who drank daily two or more glasses of beer or one glass of whiskey (or their equivalents); and, second, where the standard included men who admitted using two ounces of alcohol or more per day, but not sufficient to have led to rejection. The experience follows:

RATIO OF ACTUAL TO EXPECTED DEATHS

Class 1	118 per cent.
Class 2	186 per cent.

In class 2 the death rate from cirrhosis of the liver, diabetes, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and suicide was twice the normal.

Taking next the experience among men whose habits had formerly been intemperate but who had, prior to date of application, reformed without treatment, it was found that the deaths were 132 per cent. of the expected. The death rate from Bright's disease, pneumonia, and suicide was higher than the normal in this class.

The experience was then drawn off of those formerly intemperate who had taken a cure and had been total abstainers since the cure. In this group the ratio of actual to expected was 135 per cent. The death rate from cirrhosis of the liver, Bright's disease, and suicide was high.

It is evident that the heavier mortality which is experienced among the users of

alcoholic liquors extends to those who are directly or indirectly engaged in the manufacture or distribution of liquor. From the various occupations investigated we give the following experience:

Hotel proprietors and managers not attending bar	135 per cent.
Hotel proprietors and managers attending bar occasionally or regularly	178 per cent.

In these classes the deaths from cirrhosis of the liver were six times the standard; from diabetes and Bright's disease, about three times the standard; from apoplexy, heart disease, and pneumonia, nearly twice the standard.

Dealing with the keepers of saloons, billiard rooms, pool rooms, and bowling alleys with bar, the experience was found to be as follows:

Proprietors and managers not attending bar	182 per cent.
Proprietors and managers attending bar occasionally or regularly	173 per cent.

Taking up those engaged in breweries, the experience was as follows:

Proprietors, managers, and superintendents	135 per cent.
Clerks	130 per cent.
Foremen, maltsters, beer-pump repairers, and journeymen	152 per cent.

In this class, deaths from cirrhosis of the liver, Bright's disease, and suicide were also higher than the standard.

The experience upon the proprietors, managers, and superintendents of distilleries proved satisfactory (perhaps because only few of them had been accepted, and those most carefully selected because of their contact with whisky), but in dealing with those connected with wholesale liquor houses the death rate is again found high:

Proprietors and managers	122 per cent.
Clerks	112 per cent.

The experience was then taken of proprietors and managers of restaurants with a bar, where such proprietors or managers did not attend bar. The ratio of actual deaths to those expected in this class was 152 per cent., indicating a higher mortality than in the case of the managers of hotels not attending bar.

This experience was followed through to cover waiters in hotels, restaurants, and clubs where liquor is served. This class showed a mortality of 177 per cent. of the expected.

In dealing with the experience on men engaged in these various occupations it should again be borne in mind that the insurance companies have selected risks from these occupations with great care, and written many of them on endowment forms only, thus eliminating the less desirable and the less thrifty classes. The mortality throughout is excessive notwithstanding the care exercised in originally selecting the best grade of risks from these occupations, and one can only guess at the exceedingly heavy mortality which must be experienced among these classes as a whole.

The general conclusions to be drawn from the experience just given, and a study of the data from which it is collated, are:

1. That light weight (except at the younger ages where there has been a family history of or exposure to tuberculosis) has no adverse effect on one's prospects of longevity. On the contrary, particularly at the middle or later ages, lightweights show a better experience even than the average for insured lives.

2. That the causes which tend to create overweight tend also to shorten life.

3. That in view of the care exercised in the selection of overweights from whom this experience is gathered, and the exclusion of those showing degenerative diseases in the family history, or undue weight or size in the abdominal region, or weight due to fat as distinguished from muscle or large frame, a mortality even far heavier than that given above is indicated for overweights as a class.

4. That the use of alcoholic liquors, even to an extent so moderate that insurance companies have not held it against the applicant, tends to shorten life.

5. That the heavier mortality to be found among the users of alcoholic liquors extends also to those who are directly or indirectly connected with the liquor business.

"A SALOONLESS NATION BY 1920"

THE WAR-CRY OF THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE — EIGHTEEN STATES HAVE ALREADY ADOPTED STATE-WIDE PROHIBITION

BY

JOHN S. GREGORY

We are coming, we are coming,
From every sovereign state,
From rockbound old Atlantic
To Pacific's golden gate.
From where the Northern Rockies
Lift their snow-crowned peaks on high,
To where the Southern breezes play
'Neath soft and sunny sky.
From the land of fluffy cotton,
From the fields of golden grain,
From the mountains, from the valleys,
From the broad and fertile plain,
We're the vanguard of the millions,
Who have raised this battle cry,
'Neath the star-emblazoned banner:
"King Alcohol must die!"

THE poet-laureate of the movement for National Prohibition, the Rev. James K. Shields, celebrates, in these fiery verses, the most stirring and persistent agitation of the time. The anti-liquor forces, after fifty years of pioneer work against the legalized saloon, are now advancing toward their ultimate goal. A dozen organizations have joined in one unanimous battle cry: "On to Washington!" The year 1920 will mark the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers; for this occasion the anti-liquor forces are preparing a magnificent celebration. By that time, if their anticipations are realized, the United States will be a saloonless nation; for prohibition will then be established by an amendment to the Federal Constitution. King Alcohol must die!

About a year ago three thousand men and women marched up Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, singing well known temperance songs. They were representatives of the Anti-Saloon League, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and of other prohibition organizations. They were a committee appointed a few months before at a huge prohibition convention held in Columbus, O. For the most part they were men and women who had spent practically their whole lives fighting the liquor traffic. In the last twenty years they had won victory after victory; in that time nine states had outlawed the saloon and enormous areas had adopted anti-whisky laws. Their whole bearing reflected this hour of triumph. There was nothing about them mean-spirited and suppliant; their attitude was resolute, conquering, Messianic. As they swung up the Avenue six abreast, four men and two women, carrying banners, singing halleluiahs and war songs, they certainly gave an impression of personal conviction and power.

Their purpose was the inauguration of this new reform — nation-wide prohibition. Congressman Richmond P. Hobson, of Alabama, and Senator Morris Sheppard, of Texas, met the aggregation at the Capitol steps. There were prayers, speeches, and hymns. With great ceremony the leaders handed the law makers the following proposed amendment to the Constitution, which, the next day, they introduced in both Houses of Congress:

Article XVIII

Section 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale, and exportation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction, thereof are forever prohibited.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to provide for the manufacture, sale, importation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for sacramental, medicinal, mechanical, pharmaceutical, or scientific purposes, or for use in the arts, and shall have power to enforce this article by all needful legislation.

A few months afterward the House of Representatives gave this amendment a majority vote. As it did not receive the constitutional requirement of two-thirds, the Senate did not act upon it. The mere fact that a majority of Congressmen voted for nation-wide prohibition, however, shows the progress that the prohibition movement has made.

This amendment proposes to introduce sumptuary legislation on a national scale. What are the forces back of it?

A RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT

Fundamentally, of course, the movement is a religious one. No reform in the country's history, not even anti-slavery, has so predominantly found its inspiration in religion. The Anti-Saloon League, the prime mover for a Constitutional amendment, aims almost exclusively to organize the churches against the liquor traffic. Its head officers are clergymen; the majority of its active workers have seen preliminary service in the pulpit. The institution is not only religious but essentially sectarian. This fact its spokesmen would probably dispute. On all occasions it advertises the fact that it has no sectarian limitations. It attempts to organize all churches, Protestant and Catholic; the fact is, however, that it finds its strongest supporters among the evangelicals. Its membership does contain Roman Catholics — Archbishop Ireland was a vice-president in the early days; the mass of American Catholics, however, are clearly opposed to prohibition, and the American Primate, Cardinal Gibbons, openly condemns it, except in rural communities. The Protestant Episcopal Church has figured little in its councils; such well known churchmen as the late Bishop Potter and Dr. Rainsford, of New York, have spoken against it. The Anti-Saloon agitation is very largely a Methodist and a Baptist movement. Its methods are largely the methods of the old-fashioned religious revival. One of its strongest champions is the Rev. Billy Sunday. The states that, in recent years, have led the movement for prohibition — Tennessee, Georgia, West Virginia, North Carolina — are states in which the evangelical denominations are numerically strongest. The Anti-Saloon League started in that northern section of Ohio, the Western Reserve, which is really a piece of New England bodily transplanted. Its birthplace was Oberlin — a headquarters of many religious enthusiasms and of the most implacable forms of abolition.

The saloon fighters, indeed, have taken over most of the spirit of the anti-slavery agitation. They are constantly comparing themselves with the moral leaders of sixty years ago; like many movements of the kind, they find their inspiration and patron saint in Abraham Lincoln. "This Nation," they are fond of saying, "cannot endure half drunk and half sober." In plain speaking and even in violence of language they resemble the old abolition leaders. In their minds the liquor traffic is the "league with death and the covenant with Hell." They would solve the liquor problem in the same way that the Garrisonians would have solved the slavery problem — that is, by destroying it. They see nothing about it that is not bad; and they reserve their choicest scorn for those who would seek to "minimize" or "regulate" the evil. "You might as well try to sweeten a polecat by sprinkling it with rose water," says the Rev. Purley Baker, the national superintendent. In their language a liquor saloon is always a "dirty hole"; a liquor dealer is a "rum seller"; a clergyman who does not favor radical methods is sometimes referred to as a "fallen preacher." Like the Puritans, the anti-saloon leaders clothe their ideas with imagery taken from the Bible. A man like Ex-governor Patterson, who once persecuted the prohibitionists, but is now a zealous missionary in the cause, is a "Saul of Tarsus made Paul the Apostle." The Rev. Purley A. Baker, the national superintendent, is the "Joshua, who, under God's decree, will lead us into the completed emancipation of the promised land of liberty," and national prohibition is a "Patmos vision." These facts indicate the kind of spirit that is enlisted in this new crusade. It is the spirit that sees only one side, that refuses anything mildly suggesting compromise, that never tires, never gives up, never gets discouraged,

presses on, from victory to victory, finds in a temporary defeat only an ıtive to renew the struggle.

The destruction of the liquor traffic," Mrs. Lillian M. Stevens, late presi- of the Woman's Christian Temper- Union, as her dying message to the ful, "will glorify God in Heaven and arth will hasten the establishment of Kingdom of our Lord and Savior, s Christ." This spiritual exaltation perhaps its most emphatic expression ıe life of the Rev. Howard H. Russell, nan who, as the founder of the Anti- ɔn League, is mainly responsible for ıresent campaign. Mr. Russell's mind s to have all the essential constituents e religious fanatic's. He is a man of d experience; he has been a lawyer, ewspaper man, a preacher; and in y occupation he has gone on accumu- g hatred of the liquor traffic. As a ıg man he barely escaped becoming a kard himself; his brother for many s was a slave of the saloon. Experi- ıg, like many of these Middle Western ious leaders, a sudden conversion, Mr. ell's new spiritual energy found its object of attack in legalized whisky. le living in Kansas City, where Mr. ell once had a congregation, still tell s visible agitation as he daily passed of the city's largest breweries. He d raise his hands heavenward and nur, "Oh God, will you not stop this rsed thing!"

"A MAN DIVINELY CHOSEN"

on Mr. Russell felt the consciousness Divine mission: God had sent him the world, he believed, for one specific ose — to destroy this whisky monster. ı the day he began work, he has never ted that the Almighty has directed very step. Once a pastor in Ohio duced him in these words: "There ı man sent from God whose name was ; it is equally true that there was a sent from God whose name was ell." "In the awed silence of my t," said Mr. Russell, a few months recalling this episode, "I was com- d to believe that the statement was In the beginning God!" He always refers to the Anti-Saloon League as "God's plan." In the early days of the struggle Mr. Russell and his wife regularly devoted one day a week to fasting and prayer. The Anti-Saloon League then consisted mainly of Mr. Russell and his family, living in a back alley of Columbus and subsisting by occasional visits to the pawnshop. Mr. Russell was ridiculed, vilified, and was once even villainously assaulted by his enemies of the saloon; through it all, however, he found himself strengthened by his faith in himself as the chosen vessel. He now attributes every detail of progress to the guiding hand of the Almighty.

THE COUNTRY TO CONVERT THE TOWN

Here, then, in an age especially marked by religious doubt and materialism, we have a movement, already immensely successful, which represents pure religious exaltation. Every step it takes it regards as an act of Divine intervention. But the national prohibition cause implies more than a Divine assault upon the Powers of Evil. It represents an attempt of the rural communities to regenerate the towns. Kansas is warring on the wickedness of New York; North Dakota and Oklahoma propose to purify Pennsylvania. The liquor problem in this country at the present moment is largely a city problem. Whatever varying opinions we may have of the general success of prohibition, one point at least is plain: and that is its success in rural communities. Those states that have general prohibition or any large measure of local option have practically driven the saloon out of the villages and towns. Moreover, they have done something that is vastly more important: they have enormously decreased drinking. This is in itself a great reform; when one studies the situation more closely, however, the gain appears to be almost infinitesimal.

For the liquor problem in this country is not a rural problem; it is a city problem. One could easily go over the map and pick out thirty-six states — enough to ratify a Constitutional amendment — that, taken together, do not have as many saloons as New York City. Chicago has

more drinking places than all the states south of Mason and Dixon's line. Two thirds of all the saloons in the United States are found in ten states — and these are the states that have the largest cities. In fact, a large centralized population is economically essential to the success of the liquor traffic. The great increase in the consumption of alcohol in the last twenty years only indicates again the drift of the population from the country to the town. One great division of the business — the brewing and retailing of lager beer — would cease to exist, in any appreciable extent, except for the large cities. A saloonkeeper, to make the draught-beer business possible, must sell at least a barrel a day. If he does not do this, the product goes stale and makes a loss. And he cannot do this unless he has a large purchasing public at his doors — which he cannot get in villages and towns.

CITIES FAVOR THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

The one thing that the last twenty years has definitely established is that the cities, of their own volition, will not abolish the liquor traffic. Occasionally a good sized town, like Worcester, Mass., votes dry; but it practically never stays so. The anti-saloon fighters can usually carry state-wide prohibition or a comprehensive system of local option in a state whose rural population is larger than its urban. They cannot do so, or at least cannot do so permanently, when the city population exceeds that of the country. If we run over the states that are now dry, we find that the population is predominantly rural; all of them combined have a city population of only 25 per cent. Maine is the dry state that has the largest city vote; here it is about 50 per cent. and here, illustrating again the point already made, prohibition won three years ago by less than one thousand votes. Many explanations have been given for the closeness of this vote. The real one lies upon the surface: the close election merely reflected the even division between city and rural populations. There are at the present time several legally dry cities, but these invariably fall into two classes. In one case, like Atlanta, Ga., they are located in prohibition states, and so cannot help themselves; in the other, they are half suburban divisions like Cambridge, Mass., or Pasadena, Cal., that are immediately accessible to large license cities. The people in these large suburban communities thus have a saloonless town to live in and a saloon city immediately at hand; in other words, they have all the advantages of prohibition without any of its discomforts.

No, the cities by themselves will probably never abolish the saloon. The rural sections, however, have risen with the determination of reforming their city brethren, even against their will. In this, two motives guide them: pure zeal and self-preservation. They have the reforming and religious enthusiasm, and they are likewise struggling to keep their own communities sober. The prohibition movement has had a curious history; it has grown and thrived upon its own failures.

FOR FAILURES, MORE PROHIBITION

If prohibition collapses anywhere, the usual remedy is more prohibition. The Anti-Saloon League, for example, although state- and nation-wide prohibition have always been part of its programme, for many years centred its activities upon local option. First there were local option laws for the smaller political units, like villages and towns. But the cities could easily ship liquors into these places, and the laws therefore were hard to enforce. Then came county local option. Here again the liquor dealers in other counties began to nullify the law by intercounty shipments. To protect themselves from this, several states made the prohibition state-wide. Immediately on the borders a lively liquor industry started. Mail order houses in other parts of the country flooded the people with circulars, and carloads of stuff came in every day. The temperance workers, therefore, now propose to push the reform one step further. Nation-wide prohibition, they argue, will end for all time these interstate shipments and make us in reality a dry nation. Meanwhile the country will have performed one of its highest missions in saving the town. The cities have proved over and over again

hey do not want prohibition and will ote for it. "Very well," say Kansas Tennessee and North Carolina, "we ave you in spite of yourselves."

ese, then, are the forces and the ideals ng this particular crusade. What ıe chances that it will succeed?

e most illuminating fact of all, in connection, is the genuine panic of quor interests. Whatever the aver- ıewspaper reader thinks of national bition, the liquor men themselves 'e that they are facing a really press- roblem. According to their own ruin stares them in the face. Every- : they are "sounding the alarm" st the approaching fire of "fanati- " They have had abundant experience hting the temperance workers; and evidently take at face value the s now set forth. Brewers and liquor rs' associations everywhere are col- g money for what they regard as the of their lives; their publications are with premonitions of approaching

Last September, for example, the *nal Liquor Dealers' Journal* detailed ircumstances which it described as ling doom" to the liquor interest.

prohibition fight henceforth," this kable article declared, "will be n-wide and contemplates writing into National Constitution a prohibition e manufacture and sale of alcoholic ages. To us there is the handwriting ıe wall and its interpretation spells . For this the liquor business is to :; it seems incapable of learning any ıs of advancement or any motive profit. To perpetuate itself it has d alliances with the slums that repel nscientious citizens. It deliberately the most corrupt political powers. Because it has to ask immunity ; own lawlessness."

searching in bitterness the silent ; of its heart, says the liquor interest

Many facts support this some- pessimistic outlook. The average ican citizen has little conception of ttent to which the anti-liquor senti- is making progress. He has had things to read about in the last 'ears — the tariff, conservation, the initiative and referendum, woman's suffrage, corporate corruption — and has ignored the most substantial fight against the whisky interest.

EIGHTEEN PROHIBITION STATES

The facts in the prohibition situation sufficiently explain the pessimism of this professional attitude. Last fall nine states had state-wide prohibition—a circumstance in itself sufficiently discouraging to the liquor interest. The elections since that time, however, have precisely doubled that number. The anti-liquor forces had been working sixty years, as a result of which they could show nine prohibition states — a result that seemed amply to justify all their labors; then suddenly, in six months, nine more added themselves to the water-wagon column.

Maine, Kansas, Oklahoma, North Dakota, North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, and West Virginia — these were the states that up to November, 1914, had already outlawed the saloon. Now Virginia, Arizona, Colorado, Oregon, Washington, Alabama, Arkansas, Iowa, and Idaho are already prohibition states or have passed laws that will soon make them dry. Alabama, which in recent years has had prohibition and abandoned it, has apparently decided again to join the fold. Moreover, there are many other states which, though they have not gone in for state-wide prohibition, have county option on a scale that amounts almost to the same thing.

The last twenty years have demonstrated an enormous voting mass ready to throw their support against the saloon. In that period, 30,000,000 votes have been cast for prohibition. As a result, 46,000,000 American citizens, nearly one half our total population, are living under no-license laws. One has to repeat these figures and ponder them for a few minutes before their complete meaning is understood. They are probably new to the casual reader of these lines. One half the American people have outlawed so cherished an institution as the dramshop! The thing seems incredible. And yet it is true. A temperance map of the United States shows the larger part of our territory white.

Clearly the enthusiasts who have started this struggle have a powerful nucleus to begin with. There has probably been no Constitutional amendment upon which so great a number of people had registered their approval in advance. There may perhaps be some error in assuming that because 46,000,000 people have adopted state-wide prohibition or local option laws they will also accept national prohibition. A man or a state conceivably may believe in one without believing in the other. The one thing that cannot be disputed, however, is that this vote represents a large anti-liquor sentiment. The advocates of national prohibition have the solidest kind of a foundation for their labors — a carefully worked up public opinion. The liquor interests themselves evidently believe that this enormous "white" area represents an element distinctly hostile to them, and that it can be readily pressed into line on the side of national prohibition. On this basis, the Anti-Saloon League forces start with the battle four fifths won.

TWO THOUSAND PAID WORKERS

In one way the fight now started for national prohibition is unparalleled. It enlists a force of nearly two thousand regularly and in some cases highly paid employees, who will devote all their time to this work. With these men it is not an "outside interest," an avocation — it is a job. They keep at it all their working hours. There are only two branches of Society, so far as I know, that make politics a twenty-four hour occupation: the professional politicians represented by Tammany Hall, and the prohibition workers represented by the Anti-Saloon League. Reformers have often been advised to adopt the steady working hours of professional politicians; good men fail, we have been told, and bad men succeed, chiefly because the former work spasmodically and the latter keep at it all the time. Well, the prohibition workers have adopted this advice. The Anti-Saloon League has from 1,500 to 2,000 regularly paid workers — superintendents, assistant superintendents, and the like. In a majority of cases these officers are wide awake, practical men. Once the leaders in this reform were more or less broken down clergymen; there are many clergymen still employed, but they are not of the broken down variety; and the organization also has a considerable assortment of experienced lawyers. Fighting the liquor interest is now a regularly recognized profession, and there are many men engaged in it who have never known any other occupation. The Anti-Saloon League is constantly on the outlook for fresh material. It regularly scans the graduating classes of our best universities, picking out here and there young men of devout lives and native organizing talent. These young men, on graduation, join the anti-liquor forces as a life work, just as others enter the legal and medical professions. That is, they become professional politicians in the interest of prohibitory laws. They are "scholars in politics."

A GAME OF PRACTICAL POLITICS

And these men not only know what they want but they have definitely formulated plans for getting it. There is nothing vague or haphazard about their goal or their methods. They fight the enemy rum wherever he shows his head. In addition to local option and other battles in their states they are working shoulder to shoulder for a Federal amendment. Their methods are almost exclusively political. The prohibition fight represents church activity in politics. The prohibition forces are after one thing and one thing only — the church vote. According to their calculations, there are thousands of church members in every community opposed to the saloon. Their programme is to organize this voting hostility so as to make it most effective politically. They utilize what is the most potent political force known — the balance of power. Here, for example, is a political community containing 100,000 votes. About 45,000 of these invariably go one way; about 45,000 another; this leaves a balance of 10,000 which controls the situation. Now the prohibition forces figure that they can control that 10,000. This minority represents a force of church members opposed to the saloon. With these 10,000 votes in their hands the leaders

:tate to the regular political parties. care nothing about having a party ir own; this would be much less :al than the control of this minority. these votes in their hands they can he regular parties and dicker. They e thing and one thing only. They othing for the tariff, the currency, conservation of national resources. elected candidate can hold any n on these minor subjects. Neither ey especially squeamish on general al character. They will take a ogue like Mr. Hobson in preference tatesman like Mr. Underwood pro- that he meets their one requirement. s that he support all the League's :ion against the saloon. The candi- ho accepts this pledge receives the aloon League's 10,000 votes. That here is to the matter — it is a clear f crass political bargaining.

"OMNI-PARTISANSHIP"

clerical gentlemen who play this f politics have a particular name They are not bi-partisan or non- n. They are "omni-partisan." political outlook is so catholic that embrace all parties that may prove

They admit that they are itly practical. Nor do they conceal urce from which they learned this thing. The liquor interests taught the trick. This is the way, they :, that the rum-sellers obtained their olitical power; and this is the way ey propose to get theirs.

he famous gathering at Columbus ev. Purley A. Baker, the national itendent, outlined the methods of ure in the Federal amendment gn. This was first to elect a United Senate and a House of Representa- hat would pass such legislation, :n to elect legislatures in the several hat would ratify it. Lay emphasis, pon Washington; then upon the

It is the purpose of the League ress "a courteous, clear, dignified communication" to every candi- r both the Upper and Lower House ngress. This communication will ly one question: if nominated and elected, will the candidate vote for submitting to the states a constitutional amendment making illegal the sale and manufacture of alcoholic beverages? If the candidate says yes, he will receive the powerful support of the local league; if he says no, its votes will go against him. If he refuses to commit himself, such refusal will count the same as a negative answer. The candidate cannot qualify or hedge; he must reply directly. There may be other important issues in Washington, but the League has no interest in them; the rum evil is the one enemy at which it aims.

And for the other side of the equation — the ability of the temperance forces to deliver its votes — take, as one symptom, the pledge now being made by Christian Endeavorers, church members, and members of other evangelical organizations. With uplifted hands they say: "God helping me, no political candidate or party not declaring for the destruction of the liquor traffic can have my vote." Everywhere church clubs are being formed with the one purpose of pushing nation-wide prohibition. Women's clubs are taking a hand. Petitions by the tens of thousands have been finding their way every twenty-four hours to Washington; more than 3,000,000 were received while the Constitutional amendment was under discussion in committee last spring. No organization has used quite so much as the anti-saloon forces the now somewhat stale and discredited plan of creating public opinion by flooding law makers with inspired telegrams and letters. Every Sunday school and every public school is now a headquarters for the fight. Last year school children wrote 1,000,000 essays on the dangers of alcohol and received $10,000 in prizes. Factory girls are listening every day to addresses on the subject; preachers everywhere are making wine the text of their sermons. A force of highly paid lecturers, including such men as Ex-governor Patterson of Tennessee, Ex-governor Hanly of Indiana, Mr. John G. Wooley, once a Prohibition Presidential candidate, Ex-governor Glenn, of North Carolina, Mr. Richmond P. Hobson, and the Rev. Sam Small, the Georgian evan-

gelist, are constantly stirring up the public conscience. Perhaps the most significant evidence of popular enthusiasm is the ease with which the League raises money. Financial support, like moral support, comes mainly from the churches. Mr. William H. Anderson, New York superintendent, recently said that the League would raise $1,000,000 for this campaign. Its constant literary activity evidences a basic vitality. Its large printing plant at Westerville, O., is constantly going, day and night, working with three shifts of employees, turning out a bewildering number of weekly and monthly periodicals besides cartloads of miscellaneous literature. At Washington, D. C., the League is beginning the publication of a daily newspaper devoted to this one issue and starts with an assured circulation of 100,000. What could more eloquently testify its influence with its followers than this one fact? There is only one other organization in this country that can begin the publication of a daily newspaper with a large subscription list pledged in advance. That is the Christian Science Church. And the hold that the anti-saloon forces have upon the rank and file resembles considerably that of the Christian Science Church upon its followers. It is hardly necessary to ask whether it can deliver votes on election day; it has done so thousands of times.

DEPENDENCE UPON RURAL STATES

Probably the most difficult part of the programme will be to get the Constitutional amendment through both Houses of Congress. Once this is secured, its ratification by thirty-six legislatures seems under present circumstances fairly certain. The prohibition forces can pick their states. The vote of Arizona or Nevada counts just as much as that of New York. Clearly the leaders will not waste effort and money on such Gomorrahs as New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Illinois. They do not need them. They may conduct campaigns in these large commonwealths, but not in the hope of carrying them for prohibition — merely with the idea of keeping the forces of evil busy at home, so that they will have no opportunity to go to the assistance of other states. They will simply select the states with the largest rural populations. They have one immense advantage. Once a state ratifies a Constitutional amendment its ratification stands for all time; it cannot withdraw it. If a state rejects the same amendment, however, it can change its mind and endorse it. A state that accepts this amendment, therefore, can safely be placed on the shelf. There the battle will be over, and the anti-saloon leaders can concentrate their energies in other sections. And no state will have peace until it ratifies; year after year the thing will be a disturbing political issue. "National prohibition by 1920" is the object of the present struggle; but if it is not won by 1920, the anti-liquor forces will still keep at work. They announce a determination to maintain the fight for a hundred years, if necessary.

Only one thing can stop national prohibition; and that is a falling off in present enthusiasm and support. Is this probable? According to the head workers, their cause is gaining strength every day. The liquor traffic, however, may find some small comfort in history. This is not the first time prohibition has swept over this land. One "wave" that deluged the United States from 1846 to about 1855 really gathered greater force than the present one. Probably few educated Americans to-day know anything about it. In 1855, the American Union comprised thirty-one states. By that time fourteen had adopted prohibition — nearly one half. They included Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island — all New England — New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and the territories of Nebraska and Minnesota. How many to-day realize that, for a year or two, even the State of New York, the despair of saloon reformers to-day, lived under a prohibitory law? But this "wave" receded, leaving only solitary Maine as an evidence that it had ever been. Like the present movement it included Federal prohibition as the culmination of its programme.

Thus this early movement failed; will the present one succeed?

A "TEETOTAL" WAR

IMPROVEMENT IN RUSSIA AS A RESULT OF THE PROHIBITION OF VODKA—A QUESTION OF MILITARY EFFICIENCY—DRINK INTERFERING WITH ENGLISH PROGRESS

BY

JAMES MIDDLETON

ABOUT two years ago Mr. William Jennings Bryan gave a diplomatic dinner in Washington, distinguished particularly by the absence of wine. Immediately the world burst into a roar of laughter; Europeans, especially, hailed the proceeding as an amusing illustration of American provincialism. A few months ago the King of England announced that he would himself abstain from alcoholic drinks for the rest of the war, and that wines would no longer be served in any of the royal households. Nine American states have adopted prohibition in the last eight months. France has legally forbidden the manufacture and sale of absinthe, and the Russian Empire is "dryer" at the present moment than Kansas or Maine ever were. Facts like these testify to the progress that the cause of anti-alcoholism has made in less than a year. When the leader of the most sophisticated society in Europe follows the example of our own somewhat homespun Secretary of State, the cause of teetotalism has ceased to be ridiculous.

One of Gladstone's favorite sayings was that alcohol caused more destruction than war, pestilence, and famine put together. Europe, in the present war, has had an unparalleled opportunity to test the accuracy of this indictment. A few weeks ago Mr. David Lloyd George, in the course of a speech to the shipbuilders of England, rendered the official verdict: "We are fighting," he said, "Germany, Austria, and Drink; and, as far as I can see, the greatest of these deadly foes is Drink. If we are to settle with German militarism we must first of all settle with Drink."

Russia's act in abolishing the sale of vodka strikes most observers as one of the most bewildering consequences of the war. For many years the Czar's government had enjoyed a peculiar infamy in the minds of temperance workers. The encouragement of intemperance there seemed to be well established as a definite governmental policy. The grievance was a long-standing one. The temperance enthusiasm of the early and middle nineteenth century reached Russia as well as the rest of the world. The imperial authorities did their best to suppress it, using precisely the same methods that they have always used to put down any manifestation of political liberalism. As far back as 1836, an organization of Lutheran pastors started a temperance movement in the Baltic provinces, only to have the Russian Government crush it.

Until 1887 the Czar forbade the organization of temperance societies; the empire seemed engaged in a huge conspiracy to soak the peasantry in vodka. For many centuries this coarse spirit had been the great national drink; what beer has been to Germany, what light wines have been to Italy and absinthe to France, vodka has been to the Russian populace. It differs from whisky and other largely used beverages chiefly in that it contains a larger amount of alcohol. It is derived from the distillation of potatoes, or maize, or rye; it contains, in its natural state, from 90 to 96 per cent. of alcohol, and, as finally sold to the consumer, from 40 to 60 per cent. It is thus a particularly intensfied form of fire water. Not only the drink itself, but everything connected with its commercialization, meant the negation of all principles of civilization. One of the main causes of the anti-Jewish agitation in Russia was that the vodka trade was largely in the hands of Jews. The liquor dealer was not only the purveyor of vodka, but was also

money lender and pawnbroker. There is abundant testimony concerning the extent to which the peasantry was exploited. A popular saying was that the serfs had been freed from their slavery to the nobles only to become slaves to the vodka sellers. Russian literature testifies abundantly to the social and industrial effects. "Everything," says Turgénieff in *Virgin Soil*, "sleeps in Russia—officers, soldiers, merchants, judges, fathers, children—all are asleep. Only the vodka shop sleeps not, saturating Holy Russia with drink."

VODKA MONOPOLY ESTABLISHED

Conditions became so bad that, in 1895, the Government interfered. Its solution of the alcohol problem took the shape both of governmental monopoly and governmental regulation. It decided to leave the sale of beer and wine precisely where it was, in the hands of retail liquor proprietors—what we should call here saloon keepers. The sale of the great national beverage, however, and to some extent its manufacture, now became a state monopoly. At that time there were 100,000 vodka shops in European Russia, all of which, on January 1, 1895, simultaneously closed their doors. At the same time tens of thousands of governmental dispensaries were opened. The reform was regarded as such a great and beneficent one that it was made the occasion of a grand ceremonial. All over Russia the bishops and the lower clergy attended the openings, blessing the vodka and everything connected with the enterprise. Grand religious exercises in honor of the occasion were held in the Kazan cathedral. The ladies and gentlemen of the nobility did all in their power to lend respectability to the occasion. The most distinguished women of the empire acted as barmaids in the local vodka shops on the opening day; counts, dukes, and other social leaders officiated as barkeepers. The Russian peasants thus received their first bottles of the Government's vodka from exalted hands. Evidently Russia believed that it had really solved the great problem of intemperance.

The Government put in operation many of the ideas now being widely advocated, frequently by the liquor interest itself, in the United States as ideal methods of handling the saloon. The thing to do, Russians had urged, was to abolish the saloon, with all its evils of drunkenness, treating, extortion, exploitation, illegal selling and the like, and to introduce an era of temperate drinking. Again, they said, one must find "substitutes" for this poor man's club; it is only because men have no rational recreations that they besot their moral and physical natures with alcohol. The cure of the drink evil, they insisted, was not prohibition, but regulation. Russia now introduced many of these modern ideas in her great alcohol reform. The vodka shops merely sold the vodka; there was no drinking on the premises. For a few cents the overburdened peasant received a small bottle, with a thin, high nozzle, the whole filled with a colorless, watery fluid. The law specifically prohibited the vodka shops from having drinking glasses or corkscrews on the premises; the purchaser, therefore, instead of leaning on a bar, had to take the stuff away with him. He drank outside in the street, or took it home. If he were drunk, he could not buy vodka at all; the law also forbade selling the drink to children. Sunday closing laws, of course, have never prevailed in Russia; the best the law could do was to prohibit the sale on Christmas, Ash Wednesday, and Good Friday. If the vodka shop were near a factory, it must close on all pay days; the lid was also down on days when the village council assembled, and at six o'clock in the evening on all holidays. The Government established also a considerable number of "counter attractions"—what we call here substitutes for the saloons, such as coffee houses, concert halls, and the like. But it still prohibited temperance organizations, perhaps not actuated so much by hostility to the cause as by the general fear of organized movements of any character.

In instituting this new alcoholic era, the Government had two purposes, officially announced as follows:

"1. To decrease drunkenness.

"2. To increase the revenue of the Government."

So far as the second purpose was con-

l, the new development appears to been astonishingly successful. Govnt statistics tell the eloquent story. 97—two years after the monopoly tarted—the Government's receipts the sale of vodka were $148,000,000. 913, this amount had grown to 00,000. Since 1895 Russia has ob- l nearly $5,000,000,000 from this :. The vodka drinkers contributed ' one third of the Government's ues. Russia derives more revenue this item than from any other; in vodka yielded $100,000,000 more he state-owned railroads. The spirit oly thus became the foundation of Russian imperial finance; the of millions of peasants has given t the wherewithal to prepare for the t war. Militarism and alcohol conion are thus interdependent; the nment has been poisoning its own :, as some one has said, in order that ght buy knives with which to cut ghbors' throats.

EAT INCREASE IN DRUNKENNESS

s phenomenal success in increasing revenues from vodka sheds light the first object aimed at in the Czar's —a decrease in drunkenness. In the government shops sold 44,000,000 s of vodka; in 1913, they sold 0,000. In view of these figures it hardly likely that drunkenness have materially decreased. All testifrom Russia in the last ten years ns this conclusion. A Russian corident of the London *Globe* said, in "So enormous has been the increase consumption of vodka that Russian s, which were never prosperous, are lying from drunkenness."

tory probably records nothing like olicy of the Russian Government in natically debauching its people for vn financial gain. "They call me ther of the drink monopoly," said late, Count Witte, "and I do not it. I am the father of the child. wanted to make the girl an honest n, whereas she has been brought up her persons in such a way that she is walking the Nevski Prospekt. I intended her for an honest life, and not for one of vice. My heart aches on her account." According to the reports of travelers in Russia, Count Witte might well have lamented the consequences of his reform. Until the opening of the vodka shops, drunkenness among Russian women was uncommon. However, the moujik, because he could not drink his vodka at the selling place, now took it home, and after drowning himself, proceeded to force it down the throats of his wife and children. Thus thousands of women became as dependent on alcohol as their husbands; and reeling and sodden women were now commonplace sights in the industrial centres. An investigation a year ago showed that, in some public schools, 40 per cent. of the pupils, both boys and girls, drank vodka more or less regularly. In certain places women rose and stormed and attempted to destroy the Government's shops. Crime increased so much that, in 1909, the Criminological Congress, held in Moscow, demanded that the Government intervene, even at the risk of sacrificing the revenue from alcohol. Pauperism and suicides had increased with the increased vodka consumption. "It would be beyond belief," said one writer, "were the facts not so notorious, that any government would deliberately pursue a policy fraught with such terrible consequences for the sake of obtaining revenue which means the degradation and ruin of the people."

RUSSIA FIGHTS PROHIBITION

Still the Government opposed all attempts to improve conditions. It prohibited the circulation of a book on "The Great Monopoly" and still forbade the organization of temperance societies. In 1910, the Finnish Landtag passed a bill adopting prohibition, but the Czar, acting, it is said, practically in obedience to the demands of French wine exporters, vetoed it. In 1910, certain Russian trade unionists organized themselves into workmen's development clubs in order to take part in the first Russian alcohol congress. The police suppressed this movement. Meanwhile a strong feeling against vodka had shown its head in the Duma, the new Russian parliament. M. Tchelicheff, a

gantic representative from the Caucasus, a man who, starting life as a housepainter, had become a millionaire and an influential politician, led this reform. His attack in 1907 upon the Government for its vodka monopoly attracted nation-wide attention. However, the Government opposed all these legislative assaults. "If Russia does not take steps to stop the evil," said M. Kramer, in one of the alcohol debates, "there will not be a sober peasant left in Russia in ten years. The recent crimes, such as the massacres of the Jews and the burning of estates, are due to drink." In January, 1911, Mr. Tchelicheff made a speech, five hours long, demanding a change in governmental policy. "One million Russians die annually from alcoholic excess," he declared, "and this deplorable state of affairs must cease if Russia is to hold her own with other nations." The public press now began to second this appeal. A commission, appointed by the Duma to study the liquor question, reported in 1913. It made one recommendation interesting to Americans, as it represents a law that our own prohibition "fanatics" have attempted at times to place on the statute books. It proposed that the following label should be placed on every bottle of vodka sold—an inscription said to have been originally written by Count Tolstoi: "Man! Although thou hast bought this spirit, yet know that thou drinkest poison which destroys thee. Before it is too late, never buy another bottle. (Signed) Minister of Finance." Attempted legislation in the Duma, however, came to nothing. The Government needed money to prepare for war; besides, suppression of drunkenness was an "insoluble problem."

VODKA SHOPS SEALED

This was essentially the situation until the early days of August, 1914—the time of mobilization for the great war. Then Holy Russia witnessed a most amazing thing. Representatives of the police suddenly appeared in every Russian vodka shop and placed the imperial seal on all the supplies of the popular drink. At the same time they informed the people that the sale had suddenly ceased. Any one caught selling vodka, the populace was informed, would be speedily hustled off to Siberia. In a moment, with a stroke of the Czar's pen, Russia had adopted nation-wide prohibition, at least so far as the sale of the national drink was concerned. At this stage, the imperial veto did not cover wines or beer; these, as always, could be obtained in ordinary wine shops. As the masses never drank these milder beverages, however, the sudden change amounted essentially to prohibition.

What had happened to change so suddenly the official attitude? Instead of persecuting the temperance advocates, the autocratic power now suddenly placed itself upon their side. Certain stories insist that the Czar, in a recent tour of the provinces, had personally witnessed the ravages worked by alcohol, and, manifesting that idealistic spirit which he has shown on other occasions, had decided to signalize his reign by a great, sweeping reform. Explanations of this kind, however, are hardly needed. The one supereminent fact was the war. Wild living among the officers and sodden drunkenness among the men had marked the Manchurian campaign in the war with Japan; certain spectators believe that these things largely explained Russia's humiliation. The simple fact was that Russia's military leaders, especially the Grand Duke Nicholas, declared that Russia could not enter on the tremendous campaigns facing her unless her armies were freed from their great internal enemy—drink. It was purely a question of military efficiency. Lord Kitchener, when the English expeditionary force crossed to France, issued a warning against drink. France, on mobilization, had abolished absinthe. Russia's sealing of the vodka shops was an act of the same character.

Before studying its effects, we should get well in mind precisely what the Government has done. The original prohibition of vodka was intended to cover only the period of mobilization—the idea being to prevent delays, disorders, and general inefficiency during this critical time. The suspension of the sale, according to the imperial rescript, would end on August 25th. Before that date, however, town councils, *Zemstvos* (provincial assemblies),

rance advocates, business men, even drunkards themselves, flooded the nment with petitions that the pro- on be extended. They reported that, ; than forty-eight hours, the change orked a most beneficent effect upon in society and industry; that, in fact, l produced an entirely new Russia. ponse to these appeals, the Govern- extended the period to October 1st. before that date arrived, however, ls for further extension reached Petro- in enormous quantities. The mili- aders, who asserted that the Russian in its sobriety and effectiveness, was hing the like of which Russia had known before, seconded these peti-

The Government now extended ition until the end of the war, and, lition to vodka, adopted regulations irtually amount to the prohibition of beer, and all forms of alcoholic drinks. zar announced that the Government never again undertake to sell vodka. s perhaps not too much to say that Russian experiment furnishes the the first opportunity it has ever had udying the effects of prohibition. nost sincere temperance workers in nited States hardly claim that our option and state prohibitory laws roduced ideal temperance conditions. ct that, as the reports of the Internal ue Department at Washington show, dy increase in the per capita con- ion of alcoholic drinks has accom- l the great prohibition movement : last twenty years disposes of any pretension. Doubtless our anti- l laws have worked great improve- in many places, but they have pro- total prohibition nowhere. But l had great advantages. Essentially s the state monopoly was, it served ghly useful end. It made it possible ly to establish a prohibition era. One l why we fail here so often is that is an entrenched private liquor inter- ith enormous financial resources to for its life. There are thousands of liquor dealers, well organized and nt, who have their means of liveli- o protect. All these "interests" fight ssage of prohibition laws; whenever laws are passed, they organize to evade and defeat their execution. The great saloon keeper in Russia, however, was the Russian Government itself. If all the saloon keepers in an American state should voluntarily and unanimously decide to go out of business, prohibition would become an easier process. Essentially that is what has happened in Russia. The Government simply suspended its own business, and the Government, from a financial standpoint, was the main loser. There are, indeed, many private distillers, who sell their product to the Government and who have suffered financially by the change; so far, however, they have manifested no appreciable hostility. Again, what defeats prohibition so often in this country is that it is merely state-wide. Surrounding states can send in whisky on an enormous scale, and they always do; mail order houses spring up for the express purpose of accommodating the thirsty brethren in dry communities. But Russia, at a stroke of the pen, obtained that for which our own prohibition advocates are now so earnestly working, nation-wide prohibition.

In certain respects, the material at hand is inadequate to judge the results. We do not know, for example, what happens to the pathological cases of strong drink, the hopeless dipsomaniacs, who must be numerous in Russia, in whom alcoholism is not a habit but a disease. Concerning the general problem, we have two groups of witnesses: the Russian newspapers and returning English-speaking travelers.

The Russian newspapers write about the results in just about the same way as our prohibition advocates describe conditions in Kansas. The nation, they say, has been regenerated. Thousands of Russian children are seeing their fathers sober for the first time. Wife-beating has ceased to be a popular matrimonial pastime. There has been a great decrease in crime. The peasants are putting far more money in the savings banks than they did before the war. Pauperism has decreased greatly from what it was a year ago. The following, from a Tambov correspondent of the Petrograd *Reich*, is fairly typical of these judgments: "The sale of vodka stopped three months ago, and we can now get

me idea of the good results of this change. ne peasants say that the villages in this ovince have changed so that no one ould recognize them, and that in them ere are now practically no fights, burgries, or fires. The records of the procurtor's office show that the average number f criminal trials for the month of August n the three preceding years was 515. The umber had dropped to 324 for August, 1914—the lowest criminal record known. Accidental or incendiary fires, according to information furnished by the Fire Insurance Board, for August and September of the five years preceding 1914 amounted to 900. For the same months this year the number was 030, again the lowest recorded. . . . The monthly average of arrests has fallen from 300 to 70 in 1914. In another district the inspector of police says that he is considering offering the local jail for a military hospital, he has so few prisoners for it. The head of the Zemstvos Board, returning from a long trip through the country sections, says that everywhere the villages are prosperous; the peasants dress better, pay their taxes more promptly, and business in the fairs is much more active."

Among returning eyewitnesses an especially trustworthy authority is Mr. Stephen Graham, correspondent of the London *Times*. "It is a fact," he says "that the vodka shop is closed. Many people in England seemed to doubt the reality of this measure; but I can vouch for it, who have seen Russia sober. Not only has the sale of vodka been stopped but the sale of beer also. It is impossible to find a drunken man on a festival, or on an ordinary day, anywhere in the Russian Empire, except in the Caucasus and parts of Central Asia, where the Government has never held the monopoly of the sale of intoxicating liquors. It is quiet in the industrial villages, in the 'factories,' and in the mining settlements. The great question is: Will complete prohibition be feasible after the war is over? Will not the warriors returning from victory demand drinks to toast the Czar, the Allies, and their generals? Will there be vodka riots, or will the men who return be ready *to sacrifice their old* habits for the national ideal? I am inclined to think that i be the latter."

Prohibition will have to be test Russia for more than nine mont course, before we can form any final ment of its practical effects. The ne far received, however, indicates a de improvement in social and industrial ditions in that country.

II

The last few months have witn many suggestive scenes in the Lc magistrates' courts. Here is an ane taken from the London *Times*, anc happening is a frequent one. A worl the Woolwich Arsenal was brought t Mr. Justice Symmons, charged with di enness. The magistrate addressed hi follows:

"The men in the trenches are wa for ammunition; the men in the nav waiting for shells; and you go and drunk! It is nearly as bad as deserti the face of the enemy."

Those seeking an explanation of present prohibition wave in England find it in this proceeding. Drink in land at present is a very serious and tical matter. It is interfering with the duction of ammunition, and for that re postponing England's military success

For the last sixty years there has b more or less active prohibition and ten ance agitation in England. Drunker has always presented one of the gre social problems of the British Isles. consumption of ale, of ardent spirits, of gin, has long been regarded as a d ingrained national habit; and public h in England, unlike saloons in this cou are largely visited by women of othe respectable character. The prohib movement that swept over the U States in the 'forties and 'fifties, of w the present liquor law of Maine is th surviving reminder, made a deep impre in certain nonconformist circles in Eng Temperance societies and prohibition ers arose who had as their aim the i duction of the Maine law into the U Kingdom. Their most conspicuous pathizer was John Bright, under w protection certain local option bills

ıted in Parliament, unsuccessfully of
:. The "trade" has always enjoyed
:r respectability in England than in
›untry. The keeper of a public house
no means a discredited person; the
ısful brewer and the wine merchant
as well recognized a position as the
ietor of any other lucrative business.
in brewers, having previously quali-
by heavy campaign contributions,
been elevated to the House of Lords;
beerage," as this group of peers are
, are part of England's political
ocial system. This fact has proved
a stumbling block in the way of
:rance reform. In 1893 and 1895,
Villiam Harcourt introduced local
ı bills, but even his great political
ge could not save them from a
y defeat. Despite all discourage-
the movement has gained momentum;
ıch so that, in the last fifteen years,
ıuor interests have become especially
, much as they have in this country.
)4, they scored a tremendous victory.
was the Licensing Act, which pro-
, among other things, that the Gov-
nt should compensate every pub-
whose license should not be re-
l. In other words, Parliament has
this branch of merchants a direct,
l interest in their business. As long
is law holds, the country cannot
prohibition without compensat-
ıe trade.

s act, however, was not so great a
ph as it seemed, for it centred public
st on the question and roused the na-
against the liquor men. As a result,
mperance advocates won a great vic-
ı the general election of 1906, return-
parliamentary majority favorable to
cause. In 1908, the Asquith min-
introduced a bill which all temper-
and prohibition advocates accepted
rking the greatest forward step their
had ever known in England. The
of Commons passed this by a large
ity. Then the "beerage" in the
of Lords got to work and defeated it.
se of this and other similar votes, the
f the House of Lords over legislation
:riously curbed. This vote was one
provoking causes of England's great
parliamentary reform. Mr. Asquith promised the temperance interests that, as soon as other more pressing legislation, especially Home Rule, was disposed of, the licensing problem would again receive the attention of Parliament. This is the way matters stood when the war broke out.

That is, England was already prepared, if not for prohibition, for radical changes in the control of the liquor traffic. The people had demanded such changes by their votes; only the conservative influence was opposed. The war had made little progress when the anti-liquor people had plenty of new arguments. The war affected the drinking habits of England in two ways. In the first place it greatly increased consumption. In the early days of the war the Archbishop of Canterbury issued an appeal, begging the clergy and laity to pledge themselves against alcoholic beverages during its continuance. He met with no appreciable popular response. Probably emotional excitement tends to create a craving for alcohol; grief, privation, nervous strain commonly impel people to seek the age-long consolation. Curiously there seems to have been a considerable increase in the drinking of rum, explained probably by the fact that, following the custom established in the days of Marlborough, a rum-ration is still daily doled out to the soldiers in the trenches. Rum, that is, became a symbol of patriotic fervor. Social workers have noticed an increase of drinking, and of drunkenness, among women, especially those whose husbands are at the front. They have even asked the Government to pass laws prohibiting women from entering public houses. Certain women of social prominence, among them Lady French and Lady Jellicoe, have organized Tipperary clubs, where the wives of soldiers and sailors may meet for social diversion and temperate refreshment.

DRINK AND MILITARY SUCCESS

Among men, increased drinking has seriously interfered with the output of munitions. This is only another way of saying that it is interfering with English military success. The English victory at Neuve Chapelle showed one thing: that

the Allies, provided they have an overwhelming supply of arms and ammunition, can drive the Germans back into Germany. This operation is to take the form of blasting, for, with unlimited lyddite shells and unlimited guns, the thing can be done. The Allies must simply hurl tons and tons of fire at the trenches; if they have these supplies, the Germans will have the option of retiring or of being destroyed. That is what Sir John French meant when he said that victory was merely a question of munitions. England has the armament factories to produce the ammunition; she has or can easily get the raw materials in plenty; all she needs is the factory workers. She hasn't men enough, simply because of drink. Not all, not even a majority, of her workmen are alcoholized; a minority, however, spend so much time at the "pubs" that the total output is much smaller than the necessities require. The workers are getting larger wages than ever before and are working longer hours; the net result is that the bibulous element has more to spend for "pick ups." There have been many strikes: workers, repairing warships, have dropped their tools and delayed the return of sorely needed vessels to the fleet; stevedores, engaged in loading supplies for the armies in Flanders and France, have walked out at critical times. Occurrences like these have been intensely humiliating to British pride and highly comforting to Germany; and alcohol is largely the explanation. A few weeks ago the shipbuilders' association waited in a body on Mr. Lloyd George. They could not turn out work as fast as the occasion required, they bluntly said, because a certain percentage of their men were wasting their energies in drink, the greatest evil being a loss of time. They presented the time sheets of their shops as evidence. A specimen showed that of 900 working hours of drillers and platers there had been a loss of 270 days—an average of two days for each man a week. Among the miners at Barsley, the average absence amounts to a loss of 30 per cent. of the employees. A visit to the public house in the early morning or at the noon dinner hour usually meant a failure to show up for the day.

When Mr. Lloyd George asked the shipbuilders what they recommended, the answer was brief and pointed: the total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of all alcoholic drinks for the period of the war at least. No half way measures, they said, would do. The Government had tried the experiment of compelling all "pubs" to close at 10 o'clock in the evening and not open until 10 o'clock in the morning. The restriction of hours, these employees said, had accomplished nothing, for the men simply increased their potations during the permitted hours—drank on the intensive plan. It was in reply to this request that Mr. Lloyd George made the remark quoted at the beginning of this article: "I am sure that this is a case," he added, "in which only root and branch methods will avail."

Others think the same. The day after this interview King George announced that, for the first time in the history of the English court, no alcoholic drinks would be served at the royal tables. Lord Kitchener at once announced that he would refrain from the use of alcoholic stimulants. Several trades unions addressed Mr. Asquith, saying that they were ready for prohibition. The corporation of whisky-drinking Glasgow passed a resolution praying for a period of teetotalism. The heads of the four largest religious bodies in Ireland—Cardinal Logue and the Archbishop of Armagh for the Roman Catholic Church, the Rev. James Brigham, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, the Rev. W. R. Budd, vice-president of the Methodist Church—joined in a letter to the Government, asking for stringent legislation against the liquor traffic. It certainly looks, as the London *Times*, commenting on the drink situation, says, as though "this question of lost time in the workshops is the urgent military problem of the moment."

Up to the present writing England has done nothing except discuss the question. She has not yet followed Russia's lead, has not even done so much as France. There are those, however, who assert that she cannot win this war unless the public houses are changed into clubs in which soft drinks only are sold.

THE GREAT RIVER

II. CONTROLLING THE MISSISSIPPI

THE UNSOLVED PROBLEM OF DEFENSE — WHAT IS BEING DONE IN TIME OF PEACE TO PREPARE FOR INEVITABLE WAR — LEVEES, THEIR LIFE AND THEIR BUILDING

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

THE way the trenches run across northern France and Poland, so run the levees along the Mississippi River. Like the trenches human war has dug in Europe, the levees in the big valley are defenses against an inhuman enemy, only instead of being excavated to protect fighting men standing in them they are built up high so that men behind them will not always have to fight floods to live and prosper. The levee is a kind of corollary of the trench. Men have to dig a shallow trench as a rule to make a levee, just as trench-digging makes little levees.

People in the valley feel strongly about their levees.

"When I was a little boy," said an ex-secretary of war in Memphis, "my father took me on a visit to old Colonel D——, a rich planter down in Mississippi. In those days, you know, everybody traveled on the steamboats. When our visit was finished, the old Colonel, a very fine gentleman, courteously came down to the levee to see us on the up-river boat to Memphis.

"Well, suh, there was a very strong current in the river and when the boat came along the pilot miscalculated his distance and blessed if he didn't boom her right clean through the levee.

"The Colonel didn't wait one second, suh. He just snatched a gun from the nearest niggah and covered that pilot. Then he sent for all his niggahs, got the whole plantation down there, shovel and pick, and such a yellin' and hollerin', and by great hard work they got another levee

PEACE

THE ORDERLY PATH OF A RIVER WHICH HAS DETERMINED UPON ITS COURSE IN LIFE

WAR

ONE OF THE BARBARIC FEATS OF A WAYWARD STREAM THAT HAS NOT GOT THROUGH SOWING ITS WILD OATS

WHY LEVEES ARE NECESSARY

MEAN LOW-WATER STAGE OF CAIRO, ILL. COMPARE THIS PHOTOGRAPH WITH THE ONE BELOW

WHY LEVEES ARE NECESSARY

IFTY-FOUR FEET ON THE GAUGE" AT CAIRO, ILL. THIS PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN FROM APPROXIMATELY THE SAME POINT AS THE ONE ABOVE

built around the break where the steamboat's nose was rammed in.

"When everything was in order the Colonel very courteously handed his guests aboard the boat. Then he lowered his gun and said very courteously to the pilot:

"'Now,——, ——, ———you! —— ——,——back her out!'"

The Colonel may have been somewhat particular about his waterfront but no more so than other generations of colonels and privates in other places. During the high-water fights of 1912 and 1913, men with rifles on the levees held up passing steamboats to keep the wave wash from overtopping the few remaining inches of their sandbag breastworks. In war time armed patrols fire on boats approaching at night from across the river on the mere suspicion of their tampering with the levees. In peace times the life of the river towns used to be the life of the levees. Big cities like St. Louis or Memphis have now turned their faces almost entirely away inland, but small towns and the double borderland of farming country continue to look on the muddy river.

The town of Hickman, Ky., half in the river and half on the bluff, was wrapped in noon-time peace that day last June when the steamboat *Lee* first hove in view. On the main track at the station lay a passenger train fast asleep. But when the *Lee's* whistle blew the whole levee was suddenly full of hurrying figures, and up in the town streets we could see, between the trees, fluttering white and red and blue all heading toward the landing.

Up came the *Lee*, full glorious with black smoke and groaning exhaust, gently rammed the bank and dropped her two gangways into the crowd. "Rousta-

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF CAIRO, ILL.

NEW LEVEE BUILT SINCE THE FLOOD OF 1913 ON THE OHIO RIVER FRONT OF THE CITY WITH A SLOPE OF NINETY FEET. IN THE IMMEDIATE FOREGROUND IS A STRIP OF "DEAD" LEVEE

swarmed ashore and Hickman ed on board—at least, white Hick- did—while black Hickman stood l and regarded the musical unloading otor car as "fans" watch a ball game. the *Lee* scuttled out into the stream ickman, white and black, drawn up he levee, wistfully watched her go. At xt bend in the river we looked back them still there. And the passenger as still fast asleep at the station.

eace or in war the people behind the really feel strongly about them be- they are their army and navy and ution put together; because they ir national defense. Vigorous local nities tax themselves heavily to nd maintain them. State govern- have made special appropriations ngthen them. The National Gov- t, in devoting many millions of the people's dollars to perfect inland navigation, has by the means of levees also necessarily protected citizens and their property behind them.

All down through the Mississippi Delta people are concerned with religion and politics and love and business, but if one were to judge by the major topic of conversation along the levees, they are at least equally concerned with the river and its works. Where two or three are gathered together in debate from Cairo to the Passes it is of the "riveh" they are apt to be speaking—a very liquid, pleasant word as they pronounce it in the Delta states—the "riveh" and the "lev'-ees" (to say "le-vee'" is an offense punishable by fine or imprisonment or both).

But the people who live behind the levees do not all agree about their defenses, not by a reservoir full. In exact numbers

THE BROAD, LOW LEVEES AT NEW ORLEANS

OD YEARS PROPERTY OWNERS IN NEW ORLEANS ARE ACCUSTOMED TO SEE THE DRAINAGE OF TWENTY ITY STATES SLUICED DOWN UPON THEM. . . . NEW ORLEANS IS A HOTBED OF OUTLET THEORY"

THE LAST TRAIN THROUGH

THE RIVER BEGINNING TO TOP A RAILROAD EMBANKMENT AT CAPE GIRARDEAU, MO., NORMALLY THIRTY-FOUR FEET ABOVE WATER LEVEL

DEFENSES AGAINST MINING

IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO BUILD LEVEES HIGHER THAN FLOOD WATER HEIGHTS. THE WORKS MUST ALSO MADE IMPERMEABLE BY UNDERGROUND WATER. BY THE USE OF STEEL SHEET PILING THE RIVER'S EMPTS TO SEEP THROUGH LEVEE FOUNDATIONS ARE DEFEATED

re are 1538 miles of fortifications on h sides of the Mississippi from Cape ardeau to the Passes. And you would have to point off more than one imal place to the left to represent the mber of different opinions prevailing in t territory about them.

During the course of a six-weeks' journey by slow river stages from Kansas City on the Missouri down to St. Louis and thence on the Great River southward to the Gulf, I talked with several hundred men who had their business in those waters or upon its banks. They were mayors of cities

BUILDING BREASTWORKS AGAINST THE ENEMY

USING A "CEMENT GUN" TO MAKE THE FACE OF A LEVEE IMPERMEABLE BY SEEP-WATER AND TO HOLD IT AGAINST WAVE WASH BY COATING IT WITH CEMENT

SECTION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S EXPERIMENTAL LEVEE SOUTH OF NEW ORLEANS. AN ATTEMPT TO REDUCE THE COST OF BUILDING BY DECREASING CROSS-SECTION

BUILDING RIVER DEFENSES BY MULE-POWER

ONE OF THE OLDEST AND COMMONEST METHODS OF LEVEE CONSTRUCTION, NOW GRADUALLY BEING SUPERSEDED BY MECHANICAL DEVICES THAT WORK FASTER AND MORE ECONOMICALLY

BUILDING RIVER DEFENSES BY MACHINE

IN THE TOP PICTURE A DREDGE IS PICKING UP BIG CARTFULS OF DIRT MUCH FASTER THAN MULES COULD HAUL THEM. IN THE TWO LOWER PICTURES THE NEWEST TYPE OF "LEVEE MACHINE" TRAVELS TO AND FRO ACROSS THE "BARROW PIT" MORE RAPIDLY AND MORE CHEAPLY THAN MEN AND MULES COULD DO THE SAME WORK

MAN-MADE RIVER BANKS

BY THE USE OF "REVETMENT MATTRESSES" WOVEN OUT OF WILLOWS CUT DOWN FROM THE RIVER BANKS, HELD TOGETHER BY WIRE, AND SUNK BY STONE BALLAST UPON THE SUBMERGED SLOPE, NEW BANKS ARE MADE WHICH SUCCESSFULLY RESIST THE EROSION OF THE RIVER

NEW LAND IN THE GULF OF MEXICO—

tains of steamboats; United States
rs drawing projects in high office
gs looking down over St. Louis and
is or bossing revetment jobs under
ing banks in the Yazoo district. I
h pilots in their pilot-houses on tow
in the Missouri or on the *Kate*
, belle of the lower Mississippi, while
raced out the ever-changing, inter-
le epic of the river.

obliging surveyor foolishly allowed
pilot an 18-knot motor boat on a
lay's inspection trip of levee work
of New Orleans. Another surveyor obligingly spent a much longer day with me in the cypress swamps of the St. Francis Basin where, in a continual Turkish bath, we navigated boiling drainage canals or watched giant dredges eat their way through mud and stumps and water-moccasins, as they turned two-dollars-an-acre bog into fifty-dollars-an-acre farming land.

All these and many more—presidents of levee boards, presidents of chambers of commerce, presidents of development or navigation companies, Senators and Congressmen, Mississippi Commissioners, editors, planters, farmers, contractors, hotel

—WHICH THE RIVER GETS FROM THE UPSTREAM STATES

PUTTING NEW BORDERS ON THE RIVER STATES

THREE STAGES IN REVETMENT WORK. IN THE UPPER PICTURE THE WILLOWS ARE BEING TIGHTLY WOVEN TOGETHER BY WIRE STRANDS. IN THE MIDDLE PICTURE THE NEW BORDER IS FINISHED READY TO BE SUBMERGED (LOWER PICTURE) BY WEIGHTING IT DOWN WITH BROKEN STONE

CUTTING BACK A RIVER BANK BY HYDRAULIC POWER—

etors—great clearing houses of in-
tion they were—tug boat hands,
lores, and roustabouts—all their
were faithfully recorded and most
r opinions heard or read.
ry one of these citizens possessed
ns about the river. In principle
of them agreed but it was astonish-
w few of them agreed in detail. Some
m dreamed great dreams and beheld visions, but they all had figures to back up their opinions or dreams. Every year the Mississippi carries down and empties into the Gulf of Mexico 406 million tons of mud. That is conceded to be a fact. And in all these years it must have floated down and emptied into pamphlet form at least 406 thousand barrels of clear statistics. That is a pardonable fancy. There are few inanimate things so shifty

—IN ORDER THAT A PERMANENT BANK MAY BE BUILT IN ITS PLACE

SOURCE STREAM CONTROL

THE LAKE WINNIBIGASHISH DAM, NEAR THE SOURCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI. OPPONENTS OF THE "LEVEES ONLY" THEORY ADVOCATE THE SPENDING OF FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS IN BUILDING IMPOUNDING DAMS AND IN DIGGING OUTLETS

or so plentiful as a young Mississippi statistic. To associate with several thousand of them is bewildering; to reach any well-defined conclusion by their help alone would be superhuman.

Thirty years ago Mark Twain wrote a book about the Mississippi. Since that time the river has changed its course a great deal but its character not at all. It is very restful to find that things are pretty much the same now as they were in his day.

"Mississippi improvement is a mighty

SOURCE STREAM CONTROL

THE PINE RIVER DAM, AT THE HEADWATERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI. THE NEWLANDS BILL ADVOCATES THE BUILDING OF MANY SUCH DAMS AS A METHOD OF CREATING RESERVOIRS TO CONTROL FLOODS IN THE LOWER RIVER VALLEYS

lown yonder," he wrote. "Every
the river banks south of Cairo talks
t every day during such moments as
ble to spare from talking about the
id each of the several chief theories
host of zealous partisans; but, as I
aid, it is not
to determine
cause numbers
st recruits.
were agreed
ne point, how-
lf Congress
make a suffi-
ppropriation, a
benefit would

henever you
an down there
elieves in one
you may turn
next man and
your talk upon
othesis that he
ot believe in
eory, and after
ve had experi-
ou do not take
irse doubtfully
itatingly, but
e confidence of
murderer—
rted one, I

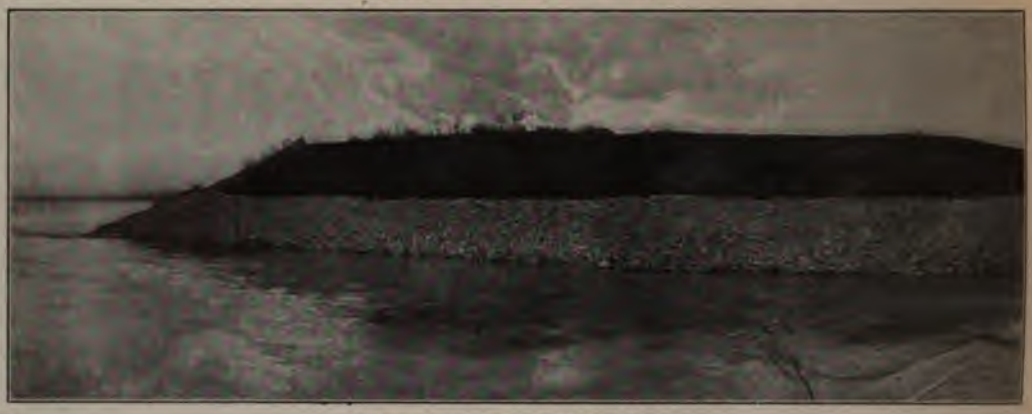
Mark Twain's
is finally pos-
this year 1915
ntangle out of
s of conflicting
and appar-
onflicting fact
main theories.
nay be called:
The Outlet Theory; (2) the
oir Theory; (3) the "Levees Only"

first two of these are naturally op-
o the third. Advocates of the third
cherish no particular resentment
either reservoirs or outlets in the
of the peculiar usefulness of such
. They do stoutly maintain that
reservoirs nor outlets, nor any com-
n of them, can possibly solve the problem of flood control in the Delta of the Mississippi River.

As one might suppose, each of these theories is to a great extent determined by the geographical habitat or interests of its advocates. For example, put yourself in the place of a property owner in Baton Rouge or New Orleans. In flood years he is accustomed to see the drainage of twenty or thirty upstream states sluiced down upon him through the levees of the Delta. No amount of custom has staled the resentment he feels in this situation. Naturally he wants additional outlets built to relieve his local condition. New Orleans is a hotbed of outlet theory.

WHERE THE ENEMY BROKE THROUGH

THE TWO BROKEN ENDS OF A LEVEE WHICH HAS BEEN CARRIED BY THE RIVER IN A WIDENING CREVASSE



A MODERN RIVER FORTRESS

A PROJECTING HEADLAND PRESERVED BY STONE REVETMENT AND SO SAFEGUARDING THE COUNTRY BEHIND IT

Inhabitants of the valleys of the main Ohio and its headwaters, unconcerned with either outlets or levees, are very keen for the storage reservoir idea on a grand scale, which they count on to prevent the recurrence of such tidal waves as nearly drowned them in March, 1913.

During the long session of the Sixty-third Congress two bills were under consideration which brought this whole discussion, sharpened by party affiliations and pork-barrel tradition, into vivid prominence on the floors of the House and Senate. One of these two measures, the Ransdell-Humphreys bill (introduced by Senator Ransdell of Louisiana in the Senate and in the House by Representative Humphreys of Mississippi) was dedicated to the "Levees Only" idea, in that it made no express provision for any practical application of other theories of flood control. It frankly asked Congress for 60 million dollars with which to perfect the levee system throughout the Delta from Cape Girardeau and Cairo to the Gulf.

On the other hand the Newlands bill, the pet project of Senator Newlands of Nevada, did not deal especially with the Mississippi River problem. It incorporated that in a plan for a nation-wide reorganization of

AN ANCIENT RIVER FORT

AN OLD MOUND BUILT BY THE INDIANS AS A FLOOD REFUGE AND NOW USED AS THE SAFE SITE FOR A MODERN HOUSE

ıys involving an appropriation of lion dollars. The Newlands bill ed reservoirs and outlets as well as or the Mississippi problem.

levees, rightly or wrongly, are to-day ling fact in the Mississippi Valley ıd navigation problems, they may r be considered first in an attempt ze this question of national defense. t any desire to assume a partisan , then, we may subordinate, for sent, consideration of other so far atively untried and more theoret- thods of dealing with river control them up more at length in the two ing papers in this series.

eling down the Mississippi by boat . Louis to the Gulf one's long jour- evee-haunted. But it isn't always tell whether one is looking at the at the levee that runs along by the

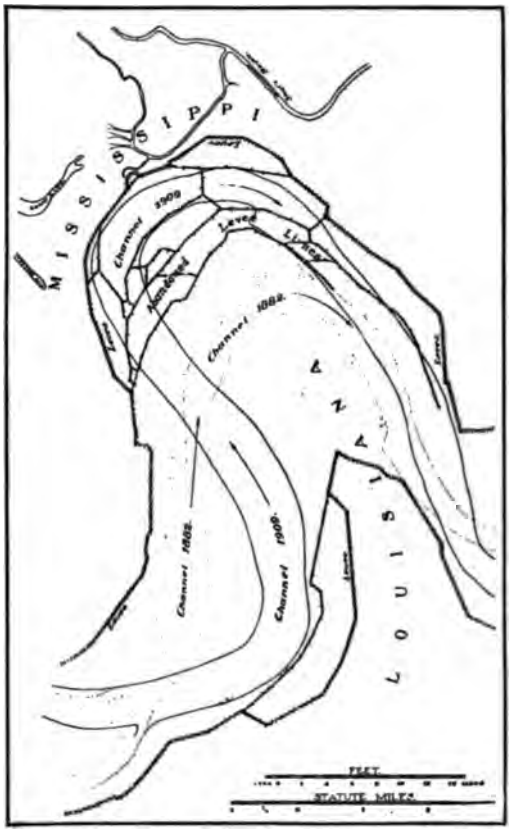
times bank and levee are identical. is, Cairo, and Memphis, high up on nks at low water, look like hill cities flood brings them level with the edge. The long, cobbled slope reach- n from city streets to the river is in stance the local levee. There the ats tie up to floating warehouse whose gangways, with their shore d on rollers, follow rising or receding up and down. And up and down ıgonals across the cobbles scramble carts, motor cars, and people.

r times the levee has nothing what- do with the bank. For miles you ıt be able to see it at all from the a boat in the stream, but on the l or in a motor car you may find it nd, wandering around cross country there is no sign of a river. Such ements are attributable to different

Every now and then the lawless ındons its old bed to cut itself out a nnel, as in the chart on this page. t takes a whim of this kind into its transfers property from one state ber, isolates cities, and leaves once levees marooned in the landscape Indian mounds or overgrown Civil trenchments.

sionally, in making itself a short cut ıg away a deep bend, the river will cut clean through a line of dyke, leaving its cross section on top of a bisected bank, just like those in the chart on this page, a monument to the necessity for bank revetment. Many such monuments mark old channels of the river, and every one of them represents wasted labor and money.

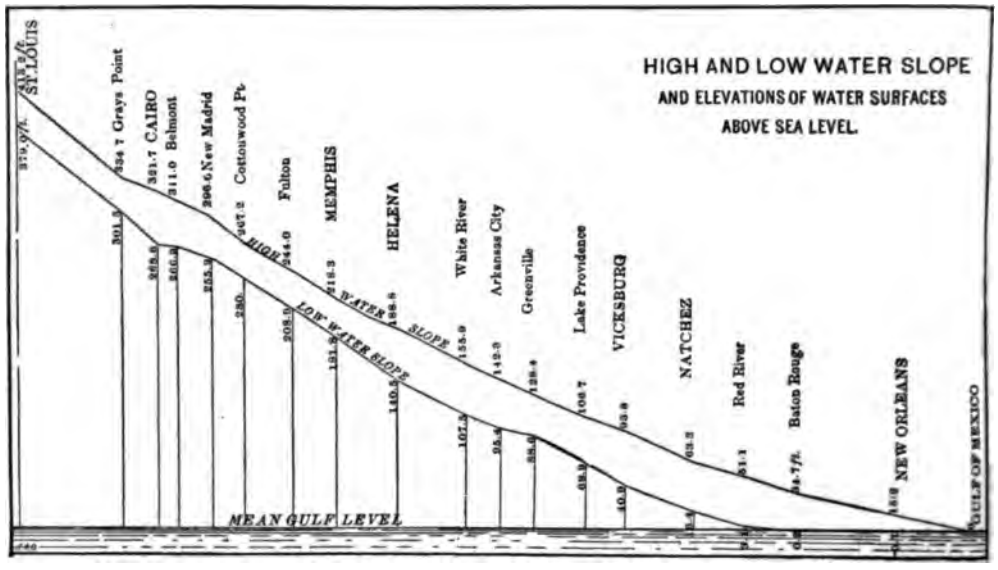
But some of the vagabond levee, which seems to have wandered far from its purpose, is in reality placed where it will do the



HOW CAVING BANKS DESTROY THE LEVEES

THE SWEEP OF WATER ON THE OUTER SIDE OF A SHARP BEND UNDERMINING BANKS AND CARRYING THE RIVER OVER INTO A NEW CHANNEL THAT REQUIRES A NEW ALIGNMENT OF LEVEES

most good, at a distance from the river, so as to avoid marshy foundations, to economize distance, or to avoid the expensive fortification of comparatively valueless land. Every now and then the levee is missing from the landscape for the excellent reason that there is no levee, such gaps being justified by allowances for tributary streams, or a bank naturally high enough to overtop any foreseeable high water.



THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF THE MISSISSIPPI

THE EFFORT OF ONE WATERWAY TO CARRY THE DRAINAGE OF HALF A CONTINENT, FROM THE ALLEGHANIES TO THE ROCKIES AND FROM CANADA TO THE GULF, RESULTS IN THESE VARIATIONS BETWEEN LOW AND HIGH WATER OF FROM THIRTY TO FIFTY FEET, WITH THEIR INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE OF DEVASTATING FLOODS

For these and other reasons the defenses come and go by the river from Cairo down to the region of Baton Rouge. Very rarely, except at higher than bank-full stages, is the face of the levee the bank of the river, a fact not generally understood, and only part of the time does the man-built bank run parallel to the river's winding course.

Sometimes it follows the serpentining stream like a grassy terrace in a park. At other times, with concrete or fresh dirt facing as at Helena, Ark., it might be, and sometimes is, a railroad embankment or the new-built fortifications thrown up around some great unseen city. Southward from Baton Rouge, river bank and levee are at average stages practically identical down to Forts St. Philip and Jackson, twenty miles from the head of the Passes, where they both melt indistinguishably away into the marshy borders of a deep and quiet river, whose overflow could not accomplish any harm.

Thence the Mississippi finds its way into the Gulf by three divergent channels, called the Passes, traversing on its way a flat and desolate prairie of salt marsh, built by itself throughout the centuries with the soil of the thirty-one states which it drains. At the ends of the Southwest and the South Passes, used regularly by deep-draught shipping into and out of the port of New Orleans, man-made banks appear again in the form of stone jetties built to insure deep channels where the current of the river, with a very slight slope, meets the tides and storms of the Gulf.

Taking the Delta fortifications as a whole, then, they begin on the west bank at a point about thirty-five miles above Cairo and extend continuously to New Madrid, Mo., where there is a gap, created by high land and lack of money. Thence the line extends unbroken to the mouth of the St. Francis River, near Helena, Ark. On the other side of that gap it runs to the mouth of the White and the Arkansas rivers, below, and then continues on to the mouth of the Red River. Below the latter point the lines continue unbroken to Fort Jackson. The total length of defenses on the west bank from Cape Girardeau in Missouri to Fort Jackson in Louisiana is 1,007 miles.

On the east bank the citizens of Kentucky and Tennessee can economize on artificial defenses because the high hills of those two states defend them against the river most of the way down to Memphis. Below Memphis the finest fortifications on

FLOOD-PROOF LEVEES

OSS SECTION OF INCOMPLETE AND OF STANDARD LEVEE. THE LIGHTLY SHADED PORTION OF THE CROSS EPRESENTS THE STANDARD DIMENSIONS OF EARTHWORKS BUILT ALONG 100 MILES AT THE UPPER END ZOO BASIN IN MISSISSIPPI. SUCH LEVEES EFFECTIVELY WITHSTOOD THE SEVERE TESTS OF RECORD-FLOODS IN 1912 AND 1913

begin and run for a hundred miles, ıg the upper Yazoo Basin. Be- ıt point lower levees run on to the f the Yazoo River, after which the Mississippi and Louisiana again te a natural barrier on the east far as Baton Rouge. Thence the levee runs like a track with its mate across the river all the way to

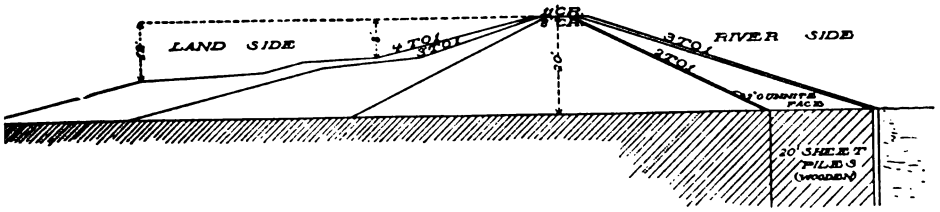
The total extent of defenses on bank of the Mississippi is 531 Taken all together in this way, the gth of the front defended by levees that defended by trenches on the ıes in Poland, France, and Belgium d by nearly 150 miles.

VISIONS FOR RIVER DEFENSE

s distance they immediately de- ts of the six states of Missouri, y, Tennessee, Arkansas, Missis- d Louisiana, a total area of 26,569 niles. Those who put their faith point to the decreasing number of ı them as proof of their contention mplete system of standard dykes is er to the Delta flood problem. In : river carried the levees at thirty- fferent places. In 1912, twelve ccurred and in 1913, although the ıat year was the greatest on record, the number of crevasses was cut down to seven. How great an improvement this represents in river defense may be realized by a comparison with the casualties sustained in the Delta during the early '80's. In the three consecutive flood years of '82, '83, and '84, there were 712 crevasses between Cairo and the Gulf. But even with this enormous increase in the safety of the alluvial lands of the Delta the question of river defense is still very arguable.

When the Memphis boat "boomed right clear through" old Colonel D——'s dykes it demolished the very modest kind of river defense which was built by plantation owners themselves, aided by county and parish governments, up to about 1850. Although the same in volume as great floods since that time, the river never reached in those days the great heights it has attained in recent years, heights which the opponents of the "levees only" theory of flood control consider an answer to the levee theory. Colonel D——'s levees were only about four to six feet high and of insufficient section, inadequate defenses against pacific pilots, let alone hostile rivers.

The very first levee system on the Mississippi River of which we have any record was begun in 1717, when De la Tour, the



THREE FORMS OF LEVEE DEFENSES

UTSIDE LINES ARE THOSE OF MAJOR DABNEY'S "SUPER STANDARD" DYKES WHICH HAVE DEFEATED RD FLOODS IN THE UPPER YAZOO DISTRICT. THE MIDDLE LINES ARE THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES NT STANDARD LEVEE, AND THE INSIDE THOSE OF MAJOR SHERRILL'S EXPERIMENTAL STRUCTURE NEW ORLEANS WHICH SEEKS TO COMPENSATE WITH AN IMPERMEABLE FACE AND DEEP PILING FOR ASS AND CROSS SECTION

engineer who laid out the city of New Orleans, directed that "a dyke or levee be raised in front the more effectually to preserve the city from overflow." These directions were not carried out until 1828, in which year the levees were continuous from New Orleans to Red River Landing, 190 miles upstream, except where on the left bank the bluffs above Baton Rouge rendered them unnecessary.

In 1858 and 1859 the greatest floods known, up to that time, on the lower river demolished most of the levees then built, and on top of that disaster the Civil War came along and crippled the ability of the people to restore them. What was left of the broken levees went out with the floods of '65 and '67, which followed the Civil War. The Lord seemed to have turned his face away in anger from the Mississippi Valley.

It is impossible to exaggerate the extent of these consecutive disasters. The valley was literally laid waste, more utterly than it could have been by any military invasion across it. To illustrate the extent of the property loss alone the following figures taken from a census bulletin may be interesting: In 1850, farm property in the states of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana was valued at $201,963,344: in 1860 it had risen to the enormous sum of $607,385,474, an increase of more than 200 per cent. in ten years. But in 1870, after the flood of war and the war of floods, the same property was listed at $213,885,602, a decrease of four hundred millions of dollars in ten years.

Now in the meantime the star of empire was leading the youth of the South into the North and West, where they joined the active immigration from Europe in the army of virile and industrious farmers and homeseekers who populated the upper waters of the Mississippi and its main confluents. And in this movement lies a curious retributive justice. The industry which was partly drawn from the South was the South's undoing, for the agricultural development along the upper waters of the Mississippi drainage area diverted thousands of swamps, marshes, and an infinite variety of natural reservoirs into the main river by its tributaries, thus causing each succeeding flood to attain greater heights in the Delta and making the task of control annually more difficult.

It is an extremely curious coincidence that this tide of emigration, which has been a contributing cause to the devastation of the Mississippi Valley, should now be immigrating back to its ancestral localities, bringing with it a new agricultural development for the South to take the place of the old plantation system and joining in the development of a civic responsibility which is determined to grapple with the greatest unsolved natural problem in this country and solve it. Last June the State of Louisiana was visited by a delegation of fifty editors of the leading agricultural journals of the North and West, who were finding in the new development of the Delta states a richer and more varied field for their interests than they acknowledged at home.

There is a slogan which one encounters all through the enormous body of literature devoted to the Mississippi and its problems. It is shouted upon the floor of the House and Senate. It appears in the printed propaganda of "pork barrel" legislation. It is worked to death in the editorial columns of the river dailies. And it is very true. Thus it runs:

"The process by which the country above is relieved is that by which the country below is ruined."

The great flood of 1858 measured 1,475,000 cubic feet a second. In 1850, farm values in the eleven states between the Missouri and Ohio rivers amounted to $827,577,776. In 1880, farm values in the same eleven states, indicating the measure of their improvement, were given in the census at $5,317,880,906 and the flood of 1882, two years later, measured 1,800,000 feet a second. All that extra prosperity up the river flowed extra disaster down the river.

As the people down in Louisiana say, they can protect their own state by simple means from all ordinary natural floods, but the great problem with which they have continually to struggle is how to protect themselves from the deluge, imminent every spring, created by the artificial improvements in the drainage of states to the north of them which accelerate

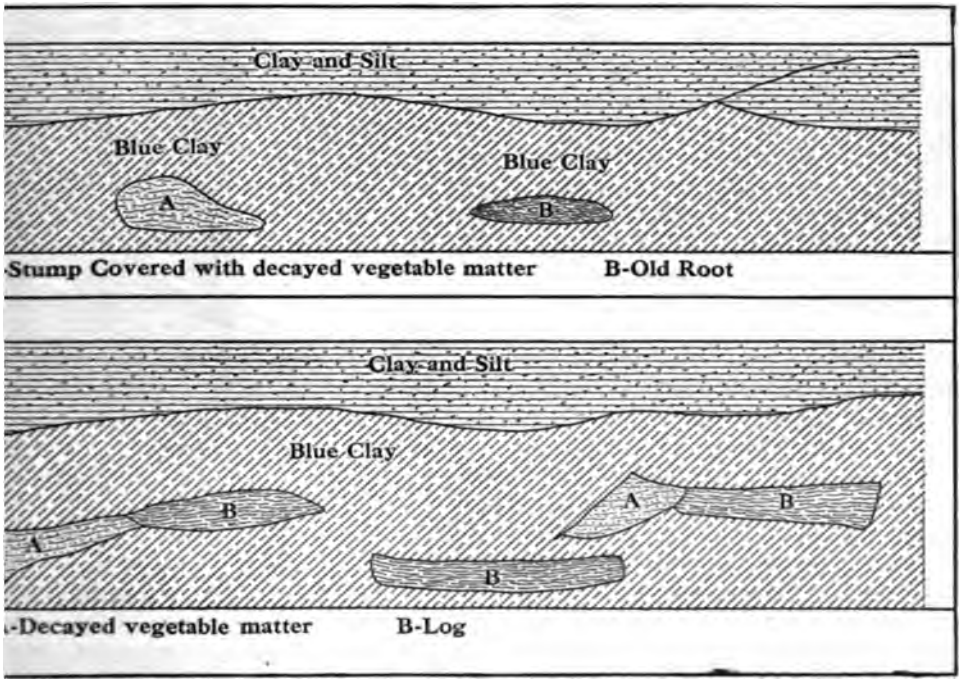
ıw and divert the collected waters heir natural course to the low lands. ıt are they going to do about it? nly they cannot condemn the pros- of states to the north of them; y certainly they have been unable by elves to protect themselves from the of that development.

the 6th of July, 1914, a self-pro- barge started on an epoch-making the Mississippi from New Orleans to ul. On her deck she carried a number ks of dirt, dug up out of the soil of ana and rich enough to grow anything n cowpeas to crowbars. It was rich ı to eat, but not a bit of it belonged to ana. Every clod of it had been sent he river from Illinois, or Missouri, or f the other thirty states which con- to the real estate of Louisiana, and very sack went a polite note from the and leading citizens of New Orleans ı of the mayors of the chief up-river presenting him with his own soil and g him to keep the rest of it, which t needed in the donor's state.

Louisiana, like Mississippi and Arkansas, is unable by its own efforts to restrain the silt-bearing floods which are unloaded upon it by the states to the north of them. Then what are they going to do about it?

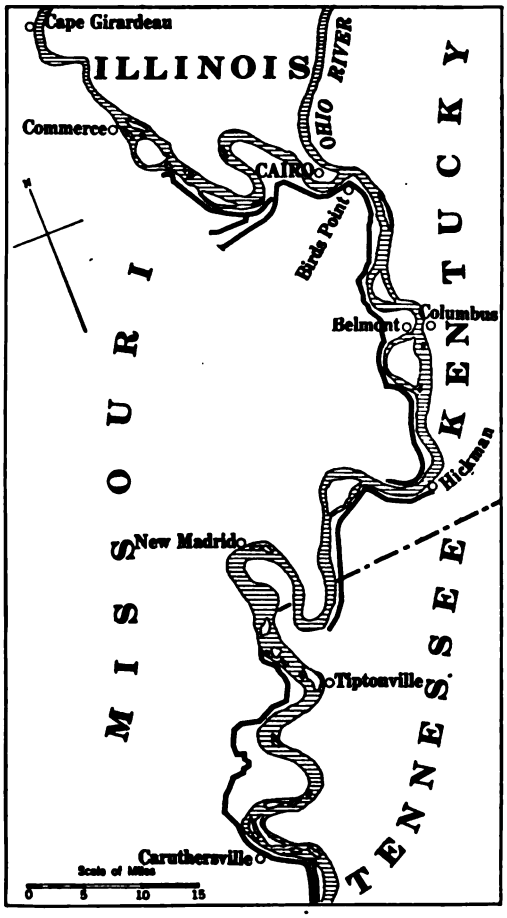
This is what they are trying to do about it. As a result of the collapse of local efforts to solve a national problem the state and Federal governments have been gradually waking up during the last thirty years to the necessity for united and national action.

Riparian communities in the Delta are protected from the river in one of three ways. Either they protect themselves independently, or they are the beneficiaries of Federal appropriations, or they contribute a certain degree of self-help to state or Federal protection. The upper Yazoo district in Mississippi is a good example of self-help. Districts bordering on the deep-draught channel of the river south of New Orleans are examples of Federal protection. A good example of local and governmental coöperation is found in the St. Francis levee district of Arkansas, where



HOW EVEN THE BEST-BUILT LEVEES ARE SOMETIMES UNDERMINED

SEEPAGE OF WATER THROUGH SUBTERRANEAN CHANNELS WHICH ARE FORMED BY THE ROTTING OF OLD LOGS AND PILES OF LEAVES DEEP UNDERGROUND



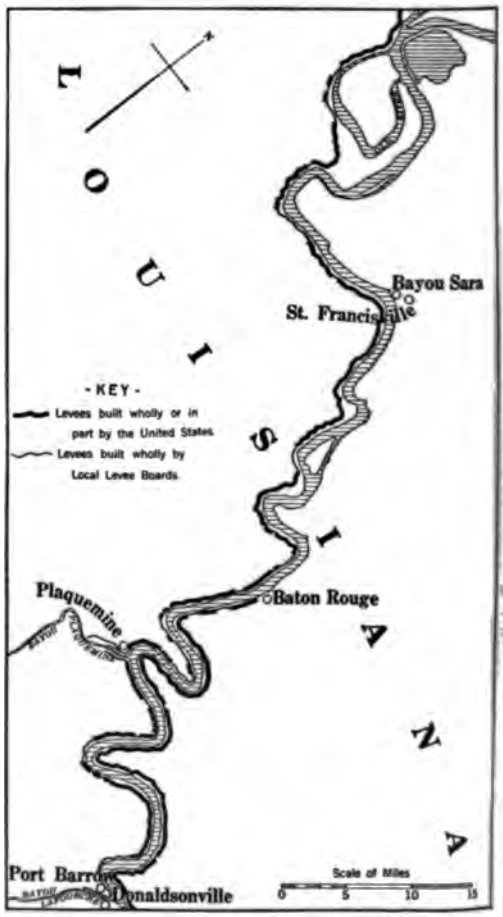
THE ENTRENCHED LINES OF THE MISSISSIPPI

1. WHERE THE LINES BEGIN. THE NORTHERN END OF THE DELTA DEFENSES. THIS DISTRICT CONTAINS EXAMPLES OF INDEPENDENT LEVEE BUILT FAR FROM THE RIVER BANK, AND SHOWS THE RELATION OF THE CITY OF CAIRO TO THE CONFLUENCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND OHIO RIVERS

the local levee board had spent, up to May, 1912, $4,553,425 with the Government's $1,462,022, a total of more than six million dollars on a frontage of 169 miles.

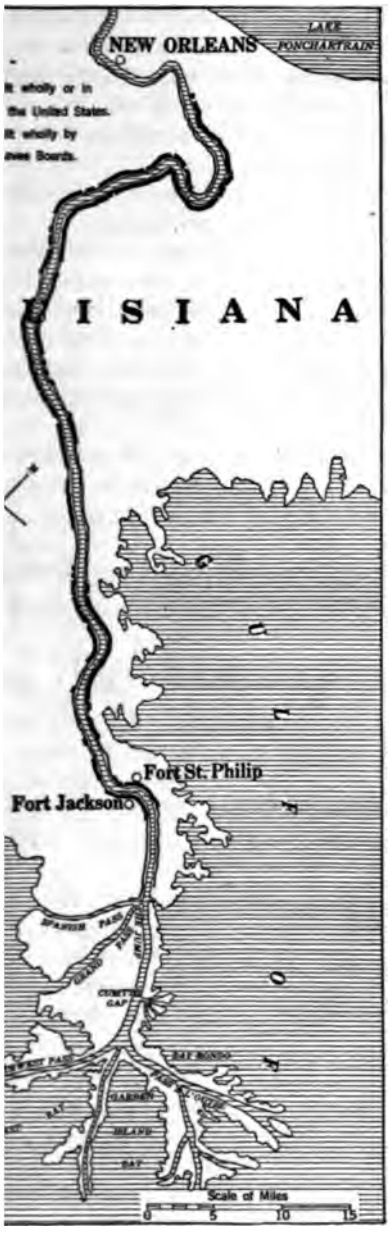
Between Cape Girardeau and the Gulf the alluvial portion of the Mississippi Valley subject to overflow is divided into twenty-two levee districts, each under the direction of an elective levee board, which employs a resident engineer in charge of its river fortifications and fighting. These districts are of unequal size, overlapping counties and townships but never overlapping states. For example, the lower Mississippi district, with offices at Greenville, Miss., embraces all of Bolivar, Washington, Sharkey, and Issaquena counties, and part of Warren County, a total area of 2,377 square miles, whereas the Big Lake district of Charleston, Mo., covers an area of only about 3,000 acres in Mississippi County, Mo., with a levee only three miles in length.

Each one of these jurisdictions is organized under the law of its respective state. Some of them, like the Tensas Basin or the Fifth Louisiana, date back to the early '80's, in the period when the legislatures of the two southernmost states passed acts authorizing the creation of taxing districts and the election of levee boards, with the power to collect and dis-



THE ENTRENCHED LINES OF THE MISSISSIPPI

2. WHERE THE LEVEES BECOME DOUBLE TRACKED. THE ABSENCE OF RIVER DEFENSES ON THE RIGHT BANK ABOVE BATON ROUGE IS DUE TO THE HIGH LAND ON THAT SIDE OF THE RIVER



RENCHED LINES OF THE MISS-ISSIPPI

E THE LINES END, AT FORTS ST. PHILIP I. "TWENTY MILES FROM THE HEAD OF THEY MELT INDISTINGUISHABLY AWAY ARSHY BORDERS OF A DEEP AND QUIET

l special taxes for levee building, nd repair. These levee boards empowered to issue bonds and to er things necessary to raise suffi-ls to meet their heavy burdens.

All kinds of tax schemes have been tried in the various districts: ad valorem taxes greater than the combined state and county taxes for all other purposes; taxes on acreage, on keeping stores or driving carts for hire, and all kinds of produce taxes varying in different districts according to their output—a dollar a bale on cotton or some rake-off on every ton of hay, every barrel of sugar, bag of rice, every gallon of molasses, every keg of oysters. About the only system which ever escaped the ingenuity of tax-assessors was a system adopted in Egypt called the *corvee*, which compels all the inhabitants of the inundated country to labor gratuitously on the levees. An automatic American *corvee* goes into effect in every high flood year but the assessors seem to realize that it won't work in peace times. It is also impossible, even though the valley is periodically engaged in war against the river, to use prisoners of war on the defenses.

Rates of taxation also vary a great deal up and down the river, according to the cross section of the levee needed and according to the prosperity of the region taxed. For example, the cotton belt levee district of Helena, Ark., raises its money by a 4½ per cent. tax on a betterment valuation, making an average of forty-one cents an acre. The rich Yazoo district at Clarksdale pays an ad valorem in the river counties of seventeen and a half mills and, in the back counties, twelve and a half mills. Up at Caruthersville, Mo., they pay thirty cents an acre flat tax. Nearly all the Louisiana districts pay an ad valorem of ten mills.

The organization at Greensville, Miss., goes back before state laws to 1865. The levee districts in Arkansas and Missouri date from the enabling acts of 1893 in their respective states, by which time practically all the river front subject to overflow was locally organized and the work of reconstructing the levees, swept away in 1859, fairly under way.

In the last few years a great deal of criticism has been directed against the levee boards. Any body of political origin, with power to spend an income of several hundred thousands of dollars a year in contracts, is bound to be regarded with sus-

picion in times when the presumption of graft is automatically saddled on to public works of large scale. In some districts there is good reason to believe that the levee board is a self-perpetuating close-corporation of "pork barrel" proclivities. Moreover, some of the non-leveed communities are disposed to look askance at the close affiliation of several of the levee boards with the railroads running through their districts, such affiliation being nominally for mutual protection, the board having the power to collect contributions from the railroad. It is inevitable that the artificial division of the Delta by political lines into a great mosaic of levee districts, even though every board be of immaculate morals, should appear an unhealthy economic condition.

Into this controversy it is not the purpose of these articles to enter, for such a discussion would carry us far away from the river and from the central endeavor of telling the river's story. We are not trying to expose anything, even though there be something to expose. In the Mississippi Valley, as well as elsewhere in this country, the muck-rake has survived its usefulness. What we need now is plowing, and seeding, and creative sunshine. We are not concerned much now as to where the money has gone. We are concerned, the people all over the country and those in the Delta states particularly, as to where the money shall come from, and where and how it may be spent to the best advantage.

FEDERAL AID

In 1879, the National Government first came into the Mississippi problem by the enactment of a bill creating the Mississippi River Commission. Its powers were clearly defined in the organic act as follows:

"The commission shall take into consideration and mature such plans and estimates as will correct, permanently locate, and deepen the channel and protect the banks of the Mississippi River; improve and give safety and ease to the navigation thereof; prevent destructive floods; promote and facilitate commerce, trade, and the postal service." The activities of this body, its origin, and present condition are so much more intimatel nected with the navigation phase question than with flood control consideration of it may be approp postponed to a subsequent inst of this series.

The first appropriation under the mission's recommendations was m 1881, on the last day of President H term. This bill appropriated $1,0 and its language contained the fol paragraph which significantly limi relation of the National Governme day to the whole question of the Miss River:

"That no portion of the sum here propriated shall be used in the repair struction of levees for the purpose venting injury to lands by overflow any other purpose whatever excep means of deepening or improvin channel of the river."

WHAT CONSTITUTES A LEVEE

"I have fought, sir, many a high fight in the past twenty years," sa jor D——, chief engineer of the Yazoo district, "but I have neve a levee with the water on it, when it big enough."

At various points on the river the F Government has built what is called " ard levee" (shown in the chart on pag Major D——'s defenses are super-sta The '97 flood got him, but since th water has come over his river wor though he is honest enough to adm he was probably saved in 1912 b Arkansas levees going out acros river and upstream from him. D the opposition to taxation and t credulity which always grows up several years of moderate high the old Major has stuck to his standard, and in return he has ha immense satisfaction of defeating th greatest floods that have ever come the Mississippi.

Major D—— commands the rive of the three northernmost riparian co of Mississippi. All of this is now standard grade and more than half three feet above the estimated volu the 1912 flood, had it reached his te

. (The 1912 high water, exceeding by 28 per cent. and 1913 by 14 per is always taken as the standard of ıe.) In two years he will have the of his ninety-seven miles of battle completed to his super-standard t and section.

: upper Yazoo district is very rich. It Major D—— now $750,000 per n in taxes. Since the 1912 and 1913 ences, when it became apparent that as the safest region on the whole river, has been a tremendous jump in land ; which more than justifies the high f taxation.

addition to the river security, the lence of boll weevil south of this ›ry in the last two years has also l to boost real estate values in a ı-growing district. These facts were rought out in land condemnation pro- ıgs to secure right of way for levee ng. The assessment in 1912 had $75 an acre. In the following year ›praisers set it at $125 an acre. D—— is levee board went into court and t this raise, whereupon the court and gave the land-owners $150 an acre! isn't a man on the Mississippi from to Fort St. Philip who can say, "I ou so" with as much justification as · T. G. Dabney.

: charts that appear on page 231 have drawn to make a comparison be- the upper Yazoo defenses and wo types of government work, the :ed standard already built, and the mental work conducted south of New ıs by Major Sherrill, U. S. A. The Yazoo fortifications depend for their ıcy upon sheer weight and height. ıre, therefore, very expensive to build. er theory was being worked out last ›y Major Sherrill, who has tried to that a much smaller cross section ıt banquette can stand hydraulic pres- just as successfully as the standard ıment levee, provided its face be ed impermeable by cement or concrete and provided its foundations be held securely against undermining by deep-sunk sheet-piling.

BUILDING THE DEFENSES

Just as the trenches keep going deeper into the soil of Poland and France, so these levee fortifications keep raising higher and higher along the river, the object of the defenders being ultimately to bring them to such a standard in height and section that they will be able to pass between them any foreseeable flood height that may come down the valley.

Each locality, according to its means, its patriotism, and governmental help, keeps raising and broadening its defenses. At the present time these dykes contain approximately 243,000,000 cubic yards of earth and the engineers who back up with their scientific data the contention of the Ransdell-Humphreys bill for levee extension say that it will take about 230,000,000 more cubic yards to bring the whole battle-front to an impregnable state.

In the early days these defenses were built by wheelbarrows. Later mule-teams and scrapers were used and now the heaviest work of constructing levees is done as railroad embankments are made, by contractors' equipment of locomotives and cars operating over a temporary track or by various devices of levee machines. The most noticeable type of the last is the big dredge which transfers dirt in big cartfuls from the river side to the top of the dyke. Across the river from Memphis last summer the army engineers were building a levee with a brand new machine from which much was expected in the way of economy and speed. A traveling scoop was hauled on a wire cable across between two towers, gathering material on its way from a distance impossible to a dredge, and depositing it neatly on the top of the bank.

Between four and five hundred miles of the lines between Cairo and the Gulf are still, according to the report of the Mississippi Commission, below the required grade.

bird article of Mr. Marvin's series will appear in the WORLD'S WORK *for July.*

DO WE REALLY OWE EUROPE ANYTHING?

IS AMERICA AT LAST INDEPENDENT OF IMPORTED GOODS AND IMPORTED CAPITAL?—AN INQUIRY INTO THE INHERITED OBSESSION THAT THE UNITED STATES IS A FINANCIAL DEPENDENCY OF EUROPE, IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS IN INTERNATIONAL FINANCE—SOME REASONS FOR BELIEVING THAT THE DAY OF "CHEAP EUROPEAN LABOR" IS PAST

BY

THEODORE H. PRICE

EVER since colonial times the word "imported" has been one to conjure with in American commerce. A poor imported cigar can be sold at much above its value.

He who would be esteemed well dressed has considered it necessary to wear imported clothes, and many American manufacturers of high class goods have fallen into the habit of adopting foreign names and labels for their products as a concession to the prejudice that has hitherto associated superlative merit with things that are made in Europe.

A kindred illusion has prevailed in finance.

For generations the obsession has prevailed that America was a financial dependency of Europe. Sixty or seventy years ago the United States undoubtedly was dependent upon Europe for the development of its resources. Our exports and a very large portion of our imports were financed through London, and with foreign capital. The English Bank rate established the value of credit throughout the world, and the idea generally prevailed that there were inexhaustible reservoirs of wealth in Europe that could be tapped by those who had access to the charmed and exclusive precincts of finance in London, Paris, Amsterdam, or Frankfort.

Do these conditions still obtain, or is our notion that we are a debtor nation merely an inherited and mistaken obsession?

To this inherited obsession is largely due the widespread belief that Europe holds, or recently held, American securities worth from 4 to 7 billion dollars that would have to be bought back before the United States could become financially self-contained, and a creditor, rather than a debtor, nation.

Ever since the outbreak of the war, this idea has been zealously encouraged, and the bogie of foreign selling has been used to blanket every manifestation of self-confidence and optimism that has appeared.

Not until recently has there been even a subconscious rejection of the theory that the United States is a financial dependency of Europe, and an appreciation of the fact that we are not only able to walk alone, but strong enough to become the support of the older countries, with whom most of us are proud to claim an immediate or remote ancestral relationship.

The feeling that American indebtedness to Europe has perhaps been exaggerated is due to the apparent impossibility of otherwise explaining the present situation in the foreign exchange market rather than to any statistical disproof of previously accepted theories. The currents of international finance are, in fact, so elusive and subterranean that we must, in the very nature of things, rely upon the empirical method for an ascertainment of their significance and effect.

It is not known just why it came to be generally believed last autumn that Europe held American securities worth 5 bil-

lars. Perhaps it was because, years ago, Sir George Paish, edi- London *Statist*, published an esti- which he assumed that the amount ean capital "permanently" in- the United States was approxi- billions of dollars, supposed to be ed as follows:

tain	$3,500,000,000
. . . . .	500,000,000
. . . . .	1,000,000,000
. . . . .	750,000,000
Switzerland, etc.	250,000,000
	$6,000,000,000

ting that these figures were accur- ears ago, which is questionable, ot follow that they correctly state ipal of the present indebtedness untry to Europe. In the interval handise balance of trade in favor nited States has averaged about ,000 a year, and though it is gen- sumed that about one half of the hus established in our favor has lied to the payment of interest on ipal of the permanent debt, and ther half has been spent by Amer- porarily or permanently abroad, ance has been made for the very ble investment of American capi- uropean enterprises or property, he reduction of our net debt pe which must have been ef- the last six years through the in- American investment in coun- have hitherto been financed ex- by European capital.

CAN INVESTMENTS IN EUROPE

own, for example, that within the nder consideration the British- Tobacco Company, an American on, has acquired a large, if not a g, interest in the tobacco manu- industry of Great Britain. It is rally known that within the same r meat packers have invested a e amount of money in Brazil and ntine, an investment that must extent have offset the prior in- ss of these countries to Europe. ndard Oil Company, the Inter- national Harvester Company, the Singer Sewing Machine Company, the Westing- house Company, and a number of other less important American corporations have also made large investments in Europe. Even Selfridge's, one of the most import- ant department stores in Great Britain, is run by a man from Chicago and financed for the most part with American capital.

There is also a very large amount of American money invested in steamships and steamship lines that are operated under the English flag and were previously owned by Englishmen. The White Star Line, the Leyland Line, and the other subsidiaries of the International Mercantile Marine Corporation are some of the American- owned lines of British steamships. To these might be added the large fleets under the English flag that are, in fact, owned by the Standard Oil Company and other great American corporations.

OUR INVESTMENTS IN OTHER LANDS

Other offsets against the American debt to Europe are the investments that the United States has made within a compar- atively recent period in Cuba, China, and the Philippines, to say nothing of the West Coast of South America, where the Beth- lehem Steel Company, so it is reported, has recently acquired some very large mineral properties. The American capital that has so been invested in the Orient and South America must have displaced an equal amount of European capital previously employed there, and has thus become an effective offset to the debts of other American enterprises to Europe.

We should also take into consideration the Japanese bonds held in the United States, the loans that have recently been floated here by Switzerland, Sweden, France, and Russia, the American money that is used to finance the coffee crop of Brazil, the tobacco crop of Sumatra, and the rubber of the Belgian Congo. It is not generally known that many American firms on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere have substantial investments in Australia.

Another countervailing element is the capital employed in Europe by American banking, life insurance, and mercantile con- cerns. This must run into hundreds of mil-

lions of dollars. For years several New York trust companies have maintained branches in London. One of them that is especially conspicuous in international finance is said to keep at least $50,000,000 constantly engaged in connection with its foreign business. Many of our great life insurance companies have large investments in European real estate and European securities. Two of them have great office buildings in Australia. Many banking houses of American origin and proprietorship also keep a very large share of their capital constantly employed in Europe. The National City Bank of New York has just established one branch in Valparaiso, Chile, and another at Buenos Aires. The capital transferred from New York for the service of these branches undoubtedly displaces an equal amount of foreign capital previously employed there. The manufacturing drug and chemical trade of the United States has a large investment in both England and Germany. The Eastman Kodak Company, of Rochester, N. Y., has a large European business conducted with American capital exclusively.

The list might be indefinitely lengthened.

The foreign activities of American financial, mercantile, and industrial enterprise are not, indeed, generally appreciated in the United States. They might well be made the subject of a special investigation by the Department of Commerce at Washington. It is not at all improbable that it would be found that the number of American concerns that have agencies, branches, or factories abroad far exceeds the number of foreign concerns that are so represented in the United States. If it were possible to prepare a balance sheet that would show accurately every item of American indebtedness abroad on one side, and every debt due to Americans on the other, it is altogether possible that the balance against the United States would prove to be negligible, and it is only upon this theory that the recent decline in the price of foreign exchange and the high rates offered by foreign governments for loans of American capital can be satisfactorily explained.

The idea that an accounting as between the United States and the rest of the world would show any considerable debit balance against this country does not seem to be supported by recent developments. The present European income tax, including the super tax, is as much as 25 per cent. of the larger incomes, and the yield of American securities, which pay 5 per cent., is thereby reduced to 3¾ per cent. The $10,000,000 German loan recently offered here was brought out on a basis that yielded the buyer 5.52 per cent. and probably cost that government at least 6½ per cent. It is guaranteed "exempt from all German taxes" and it was stipulated that "the proceeds were to be used only for the establishment of commercial credits in the United States." The $50,000,000 French loan was offered to the public at 5½ per cent. and must have cost that government more. It is guaranteed "exempt from all present and future French taxes including income tax" and it is stipulated that "the proceeds are to be expended only for purchases made by the French Republic in this country." The German loan matures in nine months and the French loan in a year. They are both repayable in gold dollars in the United States. The rate of interest thus offered for the use of money that is to be spent here and not in Europe would seem to negative the idea that there is still a very large amount of European capital invested in American securities.

It is a maxim of finance that an equality of security tends to work an equality of interest rates, and it seems unreasonable to suppose that the governments of Europe would be paying from 6 per cent. to 7 per cent., free of tax, for credit in this country, if their citizens or financial institutions held billions of American securities that can be instantly sold on the New York Stock Exchange on a 5 per cent. basis and remitted for in exchange bought at a price which would show a further profit of from 2 per cent. to 15 per cent. as compared with its value under normal conditions.

In Wall Street it is frequently said that "the tape talks truthfully," which is a colloquialism for the rule of economics that assumes that in a free market the price established expresses the true relativity between demand and supply, however these prime elements may be obscured

istry or misstatement. Viewed in it the market price may be said to iathematically expressed conclusion ollective mind, reached through de- reasoning that may be subconscious. rded, it is about the safest possible on of the facts. Applying these s to the rate of interest now being led and paid for the loan of Ameri- dit to the nations at war, it seems ear that the enormous debt of the ents, which will approximate 40 of dollars by the thirty-first of July, hausted the reservoirs of credit and left the world almost entirely ent upon the financial resources of a for the further development of eful, as well as its military, en- s.

s reasoning is sound the conclusions h it points are profoundly import- the business men of the United They suggest:

MORE CHEAP EUROPEAN LABOR

iat, barring an early and almost ate ending of the war, it is probable e nations of Europe will have to re- egalized inflation in order to release d necessary for the purchase, in a, of the things required for the at war. The effect of this inflation to advance wages and commodities other side of the Atlantic to a level ll greatly increase the cost of pro- , and so protect American industry the "cheap European labor" of he protectionists have so long pro- o be in fear. History teaches that ages have been advanced by the s of inflation, it is difficult, if not ble, to reduce them, even though nium on gold may disappear. This e experience of the United States e Civil War, and there seems no rea- doubt that it will be repeated in

hat if America is now financially tained, we may with confidence dis- e fear that our security markets will mped with sales for European ac- whenever they reach the level of intrinsic value. If so, the semaphores which protect the roadway of American investment in American securities can now be safely set to indicate "clear track ahead," at least for the immediate future.

In thus interpreting the indicia of international finance and European credit, it must not be understood that a labored effort has been made to give optimistic significance to some more or less sinister elements in the situation that may, from time to time, shock confidence or retard its growth. For example, it is possible that when the war is ended the masses of Europe will assert themselves and refuse to submit to the taxation necessary for the support of the enormous debt with which posterity has been saddled in order to make the war possible. It may be realized that dread- naughts could not have been built and that German "preparedness" would have been impossible if the governments could not have pledged the earnings of men yet unborn for the slaughter of the present generation, and the people may determine to make future wars unthinkable by re- pudiating the debt created for the prosecu- tion of the struggle now in progress. Al- though such repudiation, if it is resorted to, will not mean a diminution of the world's collective wealth in an economic sense, it would inevitably shock, dislocate, and destroy much of the mechanism of finance and business, and America could hardly hope to be immune from the depression that would follow the seeming im- poverishment of the capitalistic classes in Europe.

A philosophy that fails to take account of the psychological element is likely to go astray, and in our exuberant optimism over the present commercial and financial advantages that the United States enjoys it is well not to forget the desperate and distressing condition in which the people of Europe will find themselves at the end of the present war, when the survivors shall return to their saddened and bereaved homes to undertake the rehabilitation of their impoverished commerce and in- dustry.

SELLING EXPORTS "ALL BY MAIL"

BY

WALTER F. WYMAN

The WORLD'S WORK *will publish every month an article dealing with the concrete problems of the increase in our export trade. The magazine is led to do this by the evident widespread interest shown all over the United States in the possibilities of export trade, and the specific interest in this subject shown by the readers of this magazine in the answers to a circular letter sent to a group of subscribers, most of whom are not directly connected with manufacturing or exporting, in all parts of the country.*—THE EDITORS.

CAN a sales manager spend as little as $500 to any useful purpose in an effort to sell his goods abroad? This inquiry is raised in a specific business by the following letter:

I am the sales manager for a manufacturer of vacuum cleaners, and have for some time been endeavoring to interest my firm in export trade.

I have been able to secure an appropriation of $500, and as this is only a fraction of what I have been told is necessary to make any start, I would appreciate your advising whether I had better let the matter drop until I can secure a larger appropriation or go ahead.

If you recommend trying to do something with the small sum which has been set as a limit, what would you suggest?

We make a complete line of vacuum sweepers, including those operated by hand, water, and electric power, and ranging in retail price from $5 to $500.

By all means even so small an appropriation as this should be used to secure larger future appropriations by showing how much can be done with a comparatively small sum. There is scarcely a line of merchandise which will not show some results on a five-hundred-dollar appropriation, if the goods are destined to be in demand in foreign markets.

The amount involved is too small to include membership in the export organizations which will certainly be needed later on, and consequently this sales manager should secure from the Department of Commerce and Labor and the Pan American Union, both at Washington, D.C., not only lists of prospective trade customers, but also copies of their publications bearing on trade conditions and exporting.

They will be glad to give the names of the few but important books on exporting which will be of value and which should certainly be purchased and read before any serious solicitation is made.

So that costly blunders may be avoided in connection with shipping and port of entry and port of departure procedures, it would be economy at the start to get in touch with some large firm of forwarders, who for a very small fee (usually one dollar a shipment) will take care of all details and give instructions in regard to the necessary invoicing, which of course should be done by the exporter himself. This expert assistance is cheaply bought until the volume of business reaches such a state that it is more economical for him to handle all details.

An appropriation of $500 is altogether too small to allow for the services of a salesman, and too small to do any substantial amount of work among consumers to force dealers to stock the goods this manufacturer wishes to export. It is also too small to permit effective display advertising in any foreign publication.

As this eliminates every standard form of merchandising with the exception of correspondence, probably the best device is an "all by mail" campaign.

Since this product is one which demands considerable investment on the part of the dealer, and, consequently, one which will hardly be bought on the strength of a single letter or circular, a series of five letters would be advisable, each confined to some particular inducement to handle the product, such as profit, exclusive advantages, and quality (shown by testimonials), using these three for the middle of this trade

ich, with the first letter introducing
irm and its products, the final
being the salesman and bringing all
ents in.
plementing this series and being
ndependently of it, the dealer's inter-
ould be excited and his coöperation
d by offering to aid in creating "con-
demand" if he will give the names of
undred possible buyers in his city.
names will form the basis of another
y mail" campaign. This type of
romotion work should be adopted
hen it is impossible to secure a repre-
ive in an important city, and is more
only used to induce a dealer to order
coöperate by following up in person
l attack on the possible customers
names he sends.
s useless to try to make a definite
oncerning the question whether or
small appropriation should be scat-
or be concentrated in a single effort.
ales manager who calls all cowards
re unwilling "to put it to the touch
in or lose it all" can hardly be ex-
l to agree with the sales manager who
s in getting every drop of juice out
small sum and playing safe every
e of the time. It naturally follows,
that each should use the peculiar
ilities with which he is gifted in seek-
spend wisely his export appropria-
ust as he would do with a domestic
priation of similar size.
h only $500, however, the concen-
effort seems much the better, and
spite the experience of an exporter
first effort toward foreign sales was
innest spreading of his printed matter
ne greater part of the civilized world
ose reward was three accounts which
would total well into four figures.
: hundred dollars will cover the en-
st of a five-letter series with attrac-
closures, the cost of following up the
es which develop, and modest two-
wo-color price lists in Spanish and
h. Based on a careful selection of
ssible buyers, and not including cost
lit reports on firms that order (for
come after the effort and hence are
rt of an "introductory test") $500
es the means to determine, not
whether the line is exportable, but whether it can be sold profitably by mail endeavor alone.

A dismal failure from the dollar-and-cents standpoint of such an "all by mail" effort may show clearly that, with the additional expense of a salesman to close business that has been interested by correspondence, the goods can be made to pay most pleasing dividends. A maker of power boats spent $2,000 on mail work without securing a single direct order, but he developed "leads" which, when followed up by a personal representative, led to a series of agencies whose average yearly purchases are far larger than those of his domestic agents.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that a line of goods which runs into money rapidly, such as vacuum cleaners ranging from $5 to $500 for each item, is seldom sold without an exchange of correspondence beyond the initial series of soliciting letters and the first reply. It is mighty poor business arithmetic to treat an inquiry as though it represented only one dollar (based on 500 firms solicited at a total cost of $500), for the inquiry must be taken to be of the importance of the probable profit arising from a permanent business relation with the inquirer.

As a result of a "thousand prospect" circularization in 1902, one Chicago firm secured thirty trial orders amounting to less than one thousand dollars; one of these from Cape Town is now on an agency basis and carrying a stock of $30,000 and yielding a yearly profit of $10,000.

The history of that case is worth brief analysis. The goods were toilet articles and light fixtures, and it required two years to get the first order, for the South African firm was prepared to buy heavily or not at all. The first order was comparatively small, and the sales helps which went with it more than represented the profit margin. The second order was more than $2,750, and the third order was a stock order based on a ten-year contract which, in exchange for exclusive territorial rights, guaranteed purchases increasing with each year of the contract. It may be remarked incidentally that the American maker, before he realized that his Cape Town pur-

chaser was a million dollar concern, offered 2½ per cent. for sight draft attached to documents and has never ceased to regret this totally unnecessary and over-costly insurance of payment.

The period of usefulness of such a series of sales letters is almost incredible. In December, 1914, a New York exporting manufacturer received from Rio de Janeiro a cabled order for machinery worth $5,600, and the only sales expense was a four-letter series in 1906. The explanation was amazingly simple. The house in Rio had for years been agents for a German house that supplied this kind of goods, and though the sales letter series had convinced them of the merits of the American machine they were bound by a long-time contract to the German article, and only when freed by a shipment clause (which the war forced the German maker to break), were they in a position to listen actively to the appeal of the American-made product.

It is not unfair to the average American exporter to call him careless in his early export sales correspondence. Too often the most carefully worded explanation of the merits of his product is unaccompanied by information which will enable the prospective buyer to make a purchase or even to determine intelligently the cost to him of the article he is asked to purchase.

A correct quotation to a prospective customer should include at least:

1. List price.
2. Discount from list.
3. Cash discount if any.
4. If no cash discount, this fact clearly stated.
5. F. O. B. point.
6. Draft terms clearly stated.
7. Extra charges of any nature.

A man in Australia once sent a perfect "Chamber of Quotation Horrors" to a friend in America. These included ardent solicitations coupled with catalogues which had a line reading "Ask for dealer's discount," but no mention of discount elsewhere; a letter from a manufacturer in Akron, O., with no f. o b. point given; one which in the letter itself gave terms as "2 per cent. discount for cash in ten days," which would necessitate delivery and payment via wireless; one which read, "Our discounts vary from 20 per cent. to 45 per cent., depending on quantities purchased," but gave no indications of what these quantities might be. To skip over a host of criminal examples, one gem included a catalogue without prices and "a discount of 25 per cent." from these non-existent but fairly important items.

Too often otherwise correct quotations are rendered almost useless by careless wordings—for example, "shipments made with ninety-day draft" is needlessly vague since it fails to say whether the "ninety days" starts with "date of invoice" or "acceptance"—a difference which may be more than a month, as it represents the time in transit of the draft itself.

It may be argued that a difference of thirty days in credit extension would hardly affect the sale provided the goods and prices were of real appeal. But the slightest uncertainty is often sufficient to postpone consideration of even the most meritorious article.

In the three months which would probably elapse before an answer could be received to an inquiry that was caused by such a loose wording, it is not in the least improbable that the worth-while merchant in Bombay may be visited by a competitor and persuaded to buy.

A few suggestions in regard to enclosures with the proposed five-letter series may strengthen the selling attack. It is not economy to use cast-off domestic printed matter in foreign solicitation in English-speaking countries (we will assume that the veriest novice would never send letters or circulars in other than the language of the recipient) for, unless the letter and the enclosure have a common aim and each strengthens the other, the enclosure is in truth an envelope stuffer.

There is nothing occult about writing the series. It is only common sense to insist that if the letter preaches quality the circular bear out the argument; and the testimonials of actual users will be a good selling argument for centuries more. Without attempting to go into the selling reasons for making the enclosure complement and not duplicate the message of the letter, it is suggested that this principle be given careful thought.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

GYROSCOPIC STABILIZER FOR AEROPLANES

DR. ELMER A. SPERRY, of Brooklyn, is the inventor of a successful stabilizing device for aeroplanes. The apparatus is virtually the gyroscopic steering device which has been applied successfully to the ships of the navies of the United States and other nations. It consists of four gyroscopes, and weighs about 40 pounds. It is only 14 inches high and 12 inches wide, and on a flying boat is mounted on the bow, just in front of the pilot and his controlling gear. If the planes of the flying machine sway suddenly, even for a moment, the gyroscopes bring them instantly back to a horizontal plane. The pilot is relieved of all work of stabilizing the machine, and has only to direct its flight, a task that becomes simpler and easier than driving a motor car. The pilot, of course, must from time to time place his hands on the steering wheel to keep the machine on a straight course.

One of the accompanying photographs was taken when a machine was in full flight, the pilot's arms entirely free of the steering wheel, and a passenger standing on one of the wings.

THE STABILIZERS

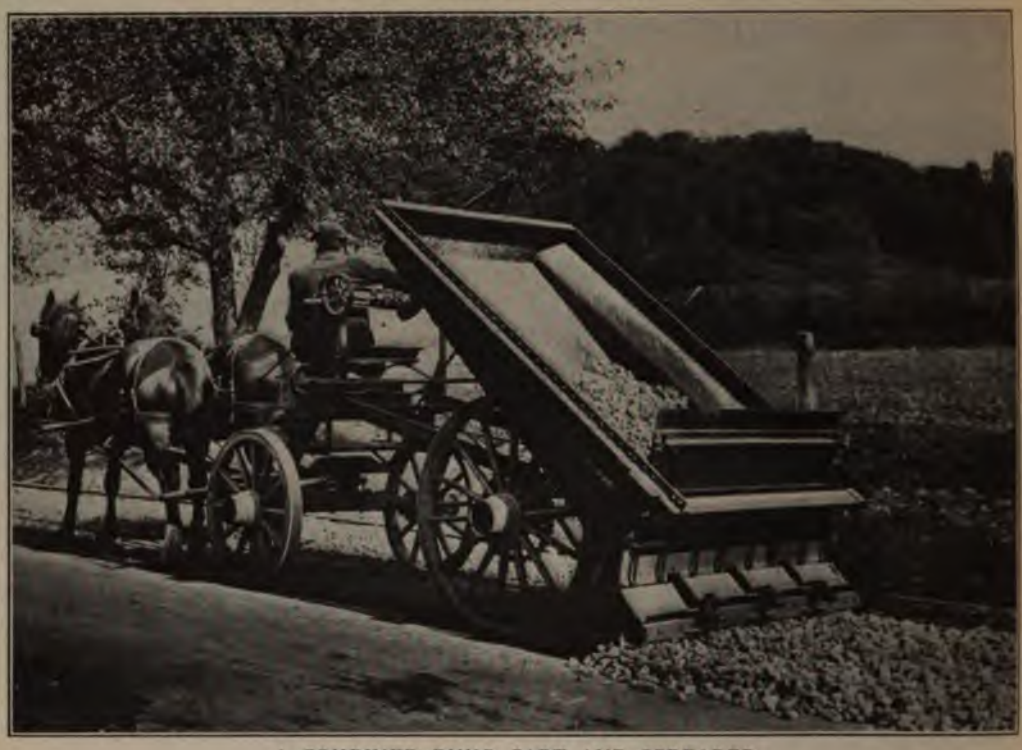
THE APPARATUS CONSISTS OF FOUR GYROSCOPES, MOUNTED IN THE BOW OF THE FLYING BOAT, AND WEIGHS ONLY FORTY POUNDS

"SAFETY FIRST" FOR AEROPLANES

BY MEANS OF GYROSCOPIC STABILIZERS AEROPLANES ARE NOW MADE COMPARATIVELY SAFE IN FLIGHT

COMBINATION DUMPING AND SPREADING WAGON

A COMBINATION dumping and spreading wagon has been designed to meet the increasing demand for a wagon to handle the material used in the construction and maintenance of macadam roads. The spreader attachment consists of an outwardly flaring extension, bolted to the rear of the body. To this extension is hinged a series of chutes of telescopic design to permit adjustments for spreading different depths of material. The free end of each chute rests upon a rail or track, which projects to the rear between the chutes, so that the mouths of the chutes are maintained at a fixed distance from the ground. A scraper is attached to the rear wall of the discharge opening for leveling off the material.



A COMBINED DUMP CART AND SPREADER

THIS WAGON, DESIGNED FOR ROADBUILDING, AUTOMATICALLY DUMPS, SPREADS, AND LEVELS ITS LOAD

A SAFETY PARCEL RACK FOR RAILROAD TRAINS

THE construction engineer of a large Western railroad has recently devised an arrangement of "safety" gates for parcel racks on trains.

The arrangement consists of two gates, operating on parallel bars, overlapping each other. These gates operate independently of each other, can be moved in either direction, and, when open, permit the admission of suit cases, grips, parcels, etc. The gates are simple in construction, yet have sufficient grip to withstand being jarred open by the vibration of the car and are noiseless.

A BOON TO THE COMMUTER

A RACK WITH SAFETY GATES WHICH PREVENT PARCELS FROM FALLING OUT

A LOCK-OUT DEVICE FOR "PARTY" TELEPHONES

IN MANY telephone systems a number of subscribers use the same line, which is known as a party line. Any one of these subscribers can take down the receiver and listen to the conversation of any other subscriber who happens to be using the telephone. But by the adoption of the device shown on page 247 subscribers on any party line can carry on a strictly private conversation without the possibility of being overheard or interrupted. Even the central operator may be prevented from listening, although she is able to restore the line to

any time.
nethod of
is simple:
y on the
he instru-
turned, by
a small,
er knob, to
d number
ell is rung.
criber can
e the line,
, although
ay not go
he central
re is a de-
automat-
tores the
mal at the
y period of

TO PREVENT EAVESDROPPING

AN INTERLOCKING DEVICE FOR TELEPHONES WHICH INSURES PRIVACY FOR EACH SUBSCRIBER ON PARTY LINES

company may desire. But, al-
e line is thus restored, the parties
re not cut off and may con-
ir conversation, although they
nger locked in and their con-
may be overheard.

AN ADJUSTABLE MOTOR WHEEL FOR BICYCLES

A RECENT invention of special interest to cyclists consists of a gasolene engine, mounted on a small wheel, designed to be attached to the frame of a bicycle. This motor wheel, which has a pneumatic tire, is placed beside the rear wheel of the bicycle, but the mounting is independent and entirely flexible, and so does not tend to support the bicycle or affect the balance. The magneto, carburetor, driving gear, and gasolene tank, as well as the motor, are carried on this extra wheel, the arrangement being very compact.

A MOTOR WHEEL TO PROPEL BICYCLES

THAT CAN BE QUICKLY ATTACHED TO ANY STYLE OF MACHINE

MECHANICAL HANDLING OF CONCRETE IN DAM CONSTRUCTION

IN THE construction of a great concrete dam, 300 feet high, for a hydro-electric power plant near Emigrant Gap, Cal., a system of chutes and belt conveyers for handling the concrete has been devised.

The mixed concrete is discharged directly upon a horizontal belt conveyer traveling at a speed of 400 feet a minute. This conveyer discharges into a gravity chute leading down the hillside to the first elevating belt conveyer, which carries it upward at an angle of 18 degrees to a tower erected on the dam. From this tower it is sent down another chute to a belt conveyer, operating at an angle of about 15 degrees, and again carried upward to the final gravity chute.

BELT CONVEYERS

WHICH CARRY THE SAND AND GRAVEL FOR MAKING CONCRETE TO THE MIXING HOUSE

Using a belt conveyer for the rapid transportation of wet concrete is a new method, as is also the elevation of concrete on conveyers, heretofore considered impracticable owing to the tendency of the water to run out of the material. However, this tendency has been shown to be negligible when the belt is run at a speed of 400 feet a minute. During one month, 40,485 cubic yards of concrete were placed by this method.

HANDLING CONCRETE BY CONVEYERS

BELT CONVEYERS ELEVATE THE WET CONCRETE TO THE TOPS OF THE TOWERS, WHERE IT IS POURED DOWN THE GRAVITY CHUTES INTO THE WOODEN FORMS

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1915

Mr. Robert Lansing - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Frontispiece*

THE MARCH OF EVENTS—AN EDITORIAL INTERPRETATION - - 251

Mr. Duval West
Capt. Albert Weston Grant
The Dynastic Ties of the Balkan Rulers
Mr. William G. McAdoo
Mr. Paul M. Warburg
Three Conservative Members of the New Coalition Ministry of England
The Honorary Commercial Commissioners of China
Mr. Walter D'Arcy Ryan

A Great and Difficult Task
What Italy Gives the Allies
Mexico
The Return of Prosperity
The Government and Prosperity
Mr. Roosevelt and the Root of Righteousness
Republican Men and Measures
Against a Subsidy of Any Kind
What Good is a County?

MR. BRYAN'S RETIREMENT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE - - - 268
DOES HIGH INTEREST MEAN LOW SECURITY? - - - - - - - 273
ARE WE ON THE EVE OF A WAR BOOM? - THEODORE H. PRICE 274
"OUR JOFFRE" - - - - - - - - - - - - - - EUGENE ETIENNE 280
THE INVENTOR OF THE MODERN SUBMARINE (Illustrated)
BURTON J. HENDRICK 284
ITALY AND THE WORLD WAR (Illustrated) - - - - - - - - - 295
THE BEAR AT BAY - 305
WAR BY INCHES IN THE WEST - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 312
WHAT ITALY'S ARMIES CAN DO - - - - - - - - - - - - - 314
THE STUBBORN DARDANELLES - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 318
ENGLAND'S NEW CABINET OF "ALL THE TALENTS" - - - - 321
MR. BALFOUR AND IMPERIAL DEFENSE - - - - - - - - - 328
MR. HERBERT C. HOOVER, UNOFFICIAL DIPLOMAT - - - - 335
THE PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION
(Illustrated) FRENCH STROTHER 337
WHAT THE PANAMA CANAL IS DOING - - - - C. M. KEYS 362
NO MYSTERY ABOUT FOREIGN TRADE - - WALTER F. WYMAN 366
MAN AND HIS MACHINES (Illustrated) - - - - - - - - - - 369
BUSINESS TALKS - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Advertising Section*

TERMS: $3.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents. For Foreign Postage add $1.00; Canada 60 cents.
Published monthly. Copyright, 1915, by Doubleday, Page & Company.
All rights reserved. Entered at the Post Office at Garden City, N. Y., as second-class mail matter.
Unsolicited manuscripts are welcomed by the editors and are carefully read. They cannot, however, be returned unless they are accompanied by the proper amount of postage.

F. N. DOUBLEDAY, Pres. H. S. HOUSTON, Vice-Pres. S. A. EVERITT, Treas. RUSSELL DOUBLEDAY, Sec'y.

DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY

COUNTRY LIFE IN AMERICA THE GARDEN MAGAZINE — FARMING

CHICAGO: Peoples Gas Bldg. GARDEN CITY, N. Y. NEW YORK: 11-13 W. 32d Street

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

MR. ROBERT LANSING

ɔM PRESIDENT WILSON APPOINTED SECRETARY OF STATE AD INTERIM IMMEDIATELY FOL-
; MR. BRYAN'S RESIGNATION ON JUNE 8TH, AND WHO SIGNED THE AMERICAN NOTE TO
NY WHICH REITERATED OUR DEMAND THAT NEUTRAL LIVES SHALL BE SAFEGUARDED IN
INE WARFARE

THE
WORLD'S WORK

JULY, 1915

XXX NUMBER 3

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

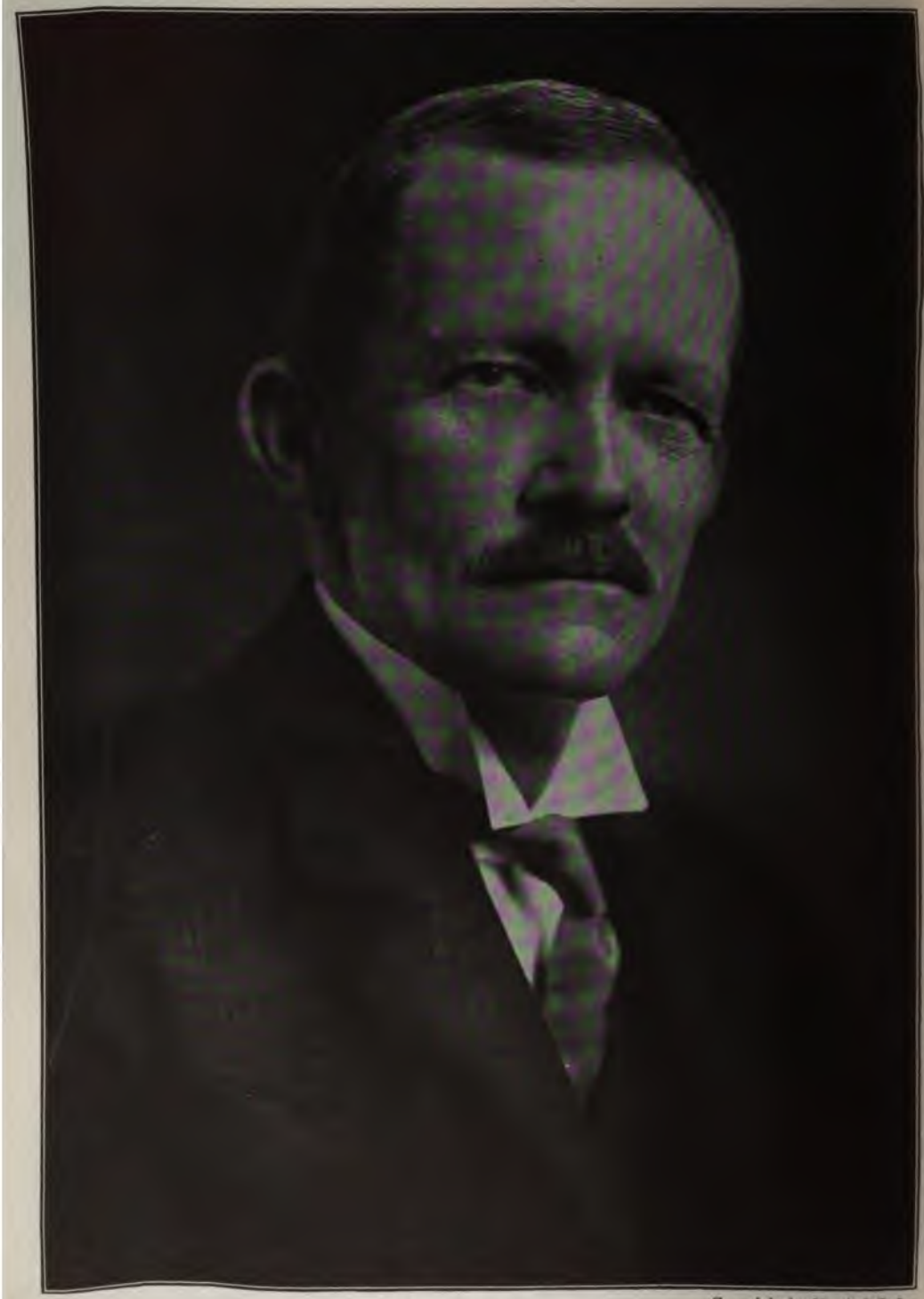
HE President's note of May 13th asked the German Government plainly whether or not it intended to respect our rights at sea and asked that we receive a prompt answer. No communication from the German Government came until May 28th and then it was not an answer to our note. It was a document of such a character that in itself made plain that it was not an answer. On June 9th, therefore, after the previous note and four days later (on February 10th) the American Government first warned Germany that she would be held to a strict accountability for the loss of American lives and American ships, the President repeated the demand that Germany cease to kill our citizens and destroy our ships.

Apparently the German Government does not take our notes as seriously as we take them. President Wilson's predecessor was a pacificist. Mr. Bryan is a pacificist. The people of the United States are likewise and they are unprepared for war. There was reason, therefore, from the German point of view, to expect that the United States would be content to accept phrases of friendship along with the surrender of its rights. In the meantime, however, the German Ambassador has begun to use our means of communication to inform his Government of the state of feeling in this country. Following this came the happy circumstance of Mr. Bryan's retirement to lend force to any belief in the sincerity of our purpose.

The history of the year should have been enough to convince the authorities on the Wilhelmstrasse that even a country unprepared to fight may mean what it says and moreover that it may in the long run make its words good. Yet despite all this the German Government has dealt very casually with a situation full of danger, especially so since their submarine commanders are so prone to make mistakes.

We in our turn cannot look upon the hostile acts of the German submarines except as a matter deserving the most serious attention, especially since the German Government is capable of taking advantage of our patience and good manners. The best hope that we have of permanent peace is the President's ability to convince the German Government that neither he nor the American people will give up their rights for the sake of peace. The usual way of doing that in the world's history has been to display an army and navy. To make the case plain without these arguments is a task as difficult as it is great. It is, however, somewhat easier with Mr. Bryan outside the Cabinet.

Copyright, 1915, by Doubleday, Page & Co. All rights reserved.



Copyright by Harris & Ewing

MR. DUVAL WEST

PRESIDENT WILSON'S PERSONAL ENVOY TO MEXICO, WHOSE REPORT ON CONDITIONS THERE WAS FOLLOWED BY THE ADMINISTRATION'S PRESENT DETERMINATION TO END THE *REIGN OF ANARCHY IN* THAT REPUBLIC

[See "The March of Events"]

CAPT. ALBERT WESTON GRANT

WHOSE RECENT APPOINTMENT AS HEAD OF THE UNITED STATES SUBMARINE SERVICE IS THE FIRST STEP IN OUR NEW POLICY OF MAKING THIS BRANCH OF OUR NAVY THE MOST EFFICIENT OF ITS KIND IN THE WORLD

THE DYNASTIC TIES OF THE BALKAN RULERS

1. THE KAISER WITH KING CONSTANTINE OF GREECE, WHOSE CONSORT IS THE KAISE SISTER. LOWER PICTURE: THE KAISER WITH CZAR FERDINAND OF BULGARIA, WHO WAS BO A PRINCE OF THE GERMAN ROYAL FAMILY OF SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA

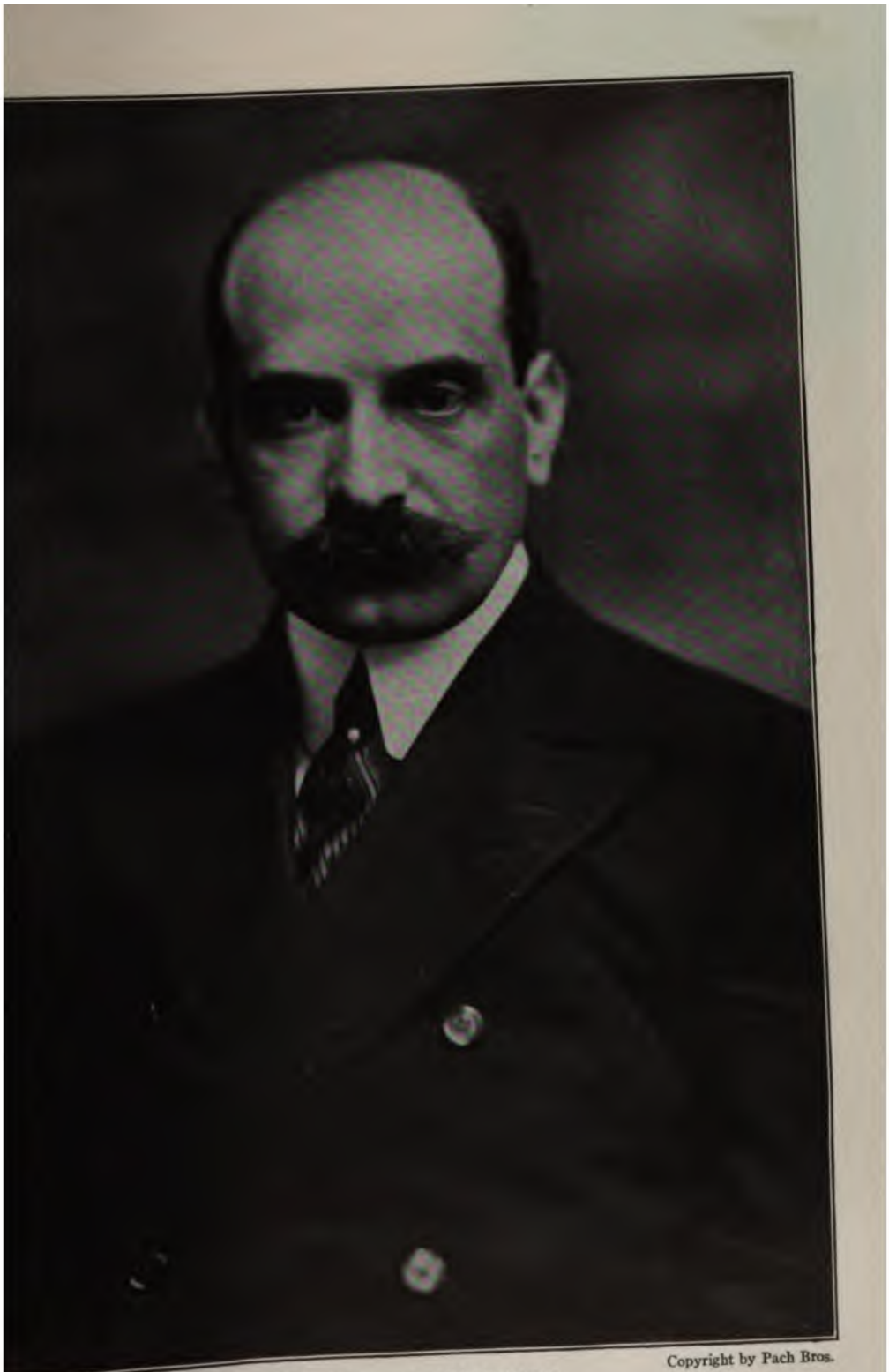
THE DYNASTIC TIES OF THE BALKAN RULERS

II. UPPER PICTURE: KING PETER OF SERVIA, WHO MARRIED THE DAUGHTER OF KING NICHOLAS OF MONTENEGRO. LOWER PICTURE: KING FERDINAND OF ROUMANIA (SECOND FROM THE RIGHT) WHO IS A HOHENZOLLERN, WITH THE CROWN PRINCES OF SERVIA AND BULGARIA, KING CONSTANTINE OF GREECE, AND THE CROWN PRINCE OF MONTENEGRO

Copyright by Pach Bros.

MR. WILLIAM G. McADOO

CRETARY OF THE TREASURY, WHO PRESIDED OVER THE RECENT CONFERENCE
NTATIVES OF NINETEEN AMERICAN REPUBLICS FOR THE PURPOSE OF "STRENGTH-
TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL
AMERICA"



Copyright by Pach Bros.

MR. PAUL M. WARBURG

WHO RECENTLY SAID TO THE DELEGATES AT THE PAN-AMERICAN FINANCIAL CONFERENCE: "WE ARE NOW ABLE TO FINANCE OUR OWN IMPORTS AND EXPORTS BY THE USE OF AMERICAN ACCEPTANCES. MORE THAN THAT, WE ARE IN A POSITION TO FINANCE THE TRADE OF OTHER NATIONS AND TO PLAY, IN THIS RESPECT, THE PART OF AN INTERNATIONAL BANKER"

THREE CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS OF THE NEW COALITION MINISTRY OF ENGLAND

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE (WEARING A WHITE HIGH HAT), WHO, AS FOREIGN SECRETARY UNDER EDWARD VII, WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN PROMOTING THE ENTENTE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND; THE RT. HON. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR (WITH ARMS FOLDED), NEW FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY, WHOSE POLICY OF CONCENTRATING THE MAIN FLEET IN HOME WATERS, DURING HIS PREMIERSHIP (1902–1905), HAS JUSTIFIED ITSELF BY THE PRESENT BRITISH NAVAL SUPREMACY; AND MR. WALTER LONG (CARRYING A CANE), NEW PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD

THE HONORARY COMMERCIAL COMMISSIONERS OF CHINA

WHOSE TWO MONTHS' TOUR OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES WAS DESIGNED TO LEAD TO BETTER TRADE UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN THIS COUNTRY AND CHINA

MR. WALTER D'ARCY RYAN

CHIEF OF ILLUMINATION AT THE PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION, WHOSE REVOLUTIONARY METHOD OF LIGHTING THE BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS BY INDIRECT MEANS IS PERHAPS THE MOST STRIKING ACHIEVEMENT OF THE FAIR

ITALY GIVES THE ALLIES

HEN Italy joined the Allies another figure was added to the column which will ultimately e the doctrine of force alone which iser adopted.

xplaining what he considered the of Italy, Chancellor von Bethmann-g said in a speech before the ag:

many's word guaranteed the [Aus-oncessions and there was no occa-distrust the offer."

fact that Germany guaranteed the n offers seemed to the German llor sufficient. To most of the the world that guarantee would held so. If the Teutonic allies lost, ould not be in a position to guar-r deliver anything to Italy. If they ey might not be in a disposition to However the war should come out, rman guarantee of the Austrian s was a slender reed for Italians to , particularly with Belgium staring i the face.

tion cannot go through the world g other people's rights and breaking word, trusting only in the mailed its land forces and fleet, without early all its friends. And no possi-y and navy can recompense a na-r the loss of the friendship of the the world.

from whatever combination of rea-ly entered the war, its action has a gnificance both from military and l points of view.

leciding military point in the war is ssure that the Allies can put upon man lines in France. Every man o the Allies' line or every man taken e German line helps the Allies, and sa. When Turkey entered the war men were called from the Allies' take care of Turkey. This was to Germany. When Italy joined r 500,000 men left the Austrian-i lines. This was gain to the Allies. se, part of these men were on the n frontier all the time, but they will ve to be continually reinforced and h ammunition.

On the sea, too, the Italian fleet, which is more than a match for the Austrian fleet, will make the marine preponderance of the Allies greater than ever.

Politically, the Italian declaration of war set a precedent for Roumania, which covets a slice of Austrian territory that is inhabited by Roumanians as Italy covets Austrian territory that is peopled by Italians.

The Italian declaration of war took half a million men from the German-Austrian lines against France and Russia, and establishes a precedent for Roumania to do likewise, not to mention releasing a portion of the Allied fleet which had been blockading the Adriatic.

MEXICO

YEAR before last the Mexican farmer did his sowing but he did not reap the reward of his harvest. It went to bandits, soldiers, revolutionists, thieves. Again last year he sowed, but not so much, for he lacked seed and incentive. Again he lost his crop by confiscation or robbery. Then he gave up. That is what is the matter with Mexico now. In the capital of that country the people are starving. All over the country different factions, five or six of them, are warring for control of the Government. The large bulk of the people, unorganized and without leaders, merely submit. The United States has given Villa, Carranza, and the rest a fair time in which to settle their disputes and organize a government. It is their task and they should do it. It is a hard task and they should have time. They have had the time and the opportunity. Their efforts have not brought forth a government, they have brought starvation.

On the second of June, President Wilson made a public statement relating these circumstances and warning the Mexican factions in these words:

> Mexico is starving and without a government. In the circumstances the people and Government of the United States cannot stand indifferently by and do nothing to serve their neighbor. They want nothing for themselves in Mexico. Least of all do they desire to settle her affairs for her or claim any right to do so. But neither do

they wish to see utter ruin come on her, and they deem it their duty as friends and neighbors to lend any aid they properly can to any instrumentality which promises to be effective in bringing about a settlement which will embody the real objects of the revolution—constitutional government and the rights of the people. Patriotic Mexicans are sick at heart and cry out for peace and for every self-sacrifice that may be necessary to procure it.

Her people cry out for food and will presently hate, as much as they fear, every man in their country or out of it who stands between them and their daily bread.

It is time, therefore, that the Government of the United States should frankly state the policy which in these extraordinary circumstances it becomes its duty to adopt.

It must presently do what it has not hitherto done or felt at liberty to do, lend its active moral support to some man or group of men, if such may be found, who can rally the suffering people of Mexico to their support in an effort to ignore, if they cannot unite, the warring factions of the country, return to the constitution of the republic so long in abeyance, and set up a government at Mexico City, which the great Powers of the world can recognize and deal with, a government with whom the programme of the revolution will be a business and not merely a platform.

I, therefore, publicly and very solemnly call on the leaders of factions in Mexico to act together and to act promptly for the relief and redemption of their prostrate country. I feel it to be my duty to tell them that if they cannot accommodate their differences and unite with this great purpose within a very short time, this Government will be constrained to decide what means should be employed by the United States in order to help Mexico save herself and serve her people.

Without intervention we can help the situation by stopping all arms and ammunition—and, if the public is still generous, by sending food, and by holding each so-called chief to strict accountability.

This accountability might necessitate force of arms, but it is very possible that it might be accomplished without that if the armed force were obviously ready for use. Without arms and ammunition from the United States the warring factions are greatly handicapped. Their rivalry is so bitter that it is hard for them to unite and each one feels that to incur our enmity would be playing into the hands of a rival. Moreover, the years of fighting without public benefit have left the Revolution in all its parts with less public sympathy and backing than it once had. The task of intervention, if it became necessary, would be easier now than a year ago.

We have until now, by our "watchful waiting," maintained in Mexico much the same attitude that we maintained toward the disorders in Cuba. In both places anarchy reigned, Americans lost their lives, and American property was destroyed. In both places our patience with the efforts of the people to achieve liberty was an evidence of our good faith. In the case of Mexico it has gone a long way to convince the countries in South and Central America that we do not wish to acquire territory. It has hushed those in this country who did want to acquire territory. It has, perhaps, convinced the Mexican people of our disinterestedness, if it has not increased their respect for us.

What of their respect we have lost does not come from the policy of giving Mexico an opportunity to work out its own salvation. That is a fundamentally sound doctrine. In its carrying out, however, we have been unfortunate. To begin with, we were unfortunate in our representative in Mexico City, for it is hardly possible to carry out a policy through the instrumentality of a man working against it. With some brilliant exceptions, such as General Scott's relations with Villa, our officials in Mexico have not made the Mexicans understand that our policy of non-intervention was based on patience, not on flabbiness. The lack of efficiency in carrying out the policy of non-intervention may make it somewhat harder to convince the leaders, without force, that anarchy must cease. The policy itself has kept us true to a heritage that is above taking advantage of our weaker neighbors to profit ourselves, and in doing so has increased the good relations between us and the other American countries.

THE RETURN OF PROSPERITY

THE improvement in business which seems to be coming should be the slow beginning of a long, strong period of activity based upon a sounder economic condition and a better conception

ssentials of business success than had in this country in a long time. of that, unfortunately, it looks e are in danger of a war boom n an over-supply of gold in this . But even this we shall be ble to stand than formerly, for we en through much soul-searching ast fifteen years.

truggle to eliminate the illegitimate ions between business and politics arly in Mr. Roosevelt's presidency. d with the passage of the Under- ariff. There is no reason to revive turbing struggle.

lation and sporadic outbursts of ance will probably never cease as human nature is as it is, but the ead impression that railroads and al corporations can be run by alone is pretty well knocked out. er, we have come to a time in our c history when we realize that we pend more and more on the mas- the science of production and dis- n and less upon the bounties with lature endowed this country. This ent, too, has been hard. We have course, made it entirely, but it is nt that the word "efficiency," confined to the dictionaries fifteen o, has almost been worn out since, arly in business literature.

v months ago, *System* published osium of business men's opinions he title "What's Coming in Busi- The dominant note was struck in tences as these:

eals of the business man have vastly l. As a class I believe now they are y honest, patriotic, broad-minded. does their daily converse with their en make them good citizens and good f what is honest, but they have dis- that their ultimate success depends on high character, upon broad-minded with their fellow men, and perfect h.

ve safely weathered the drastic reforms cessary by the unwise and disastrous ance" of the last years of the old and years of the new century. We are ir learning more about the true science of business.

nporary war prosperity is helpful to offset the setback which the war gave us, but the big prosperity of slower growth and more stable character is founded on the fact that with minor exceptions the public, the Government, and business have come to a point where they can have frank and open relations all around.

Judge Gary emphasized this in his speech before the Steel Institute in which he said:

I will add a few words in regard to present business conditions. As you know, during the last three years I have not been especially encouraged as to the immediate future, but as to the long future I have been a great optimist, for reasons which I have given from time to time. Assuredly we may build our hopes and expectations on the opportunities which this country offers. It seems to me at the moment the outlook for improvement in our lines of activity is better than it has been for more than a year. This is undoubtedly in part the result of increased exportations at fair prices, due to the European war, but in my opinion also because of a change in sentiment toward business, which now seems apparent. The captain of industry is again to be popular in the United States, and this has been brought about by the efforts of business men to satisfy the public in regard to their reasonable demands. The individual, or aggregation of individuals, or the nation, whose standard of conduct conforms to the Golden Rule will on the average secure the largest pecuniary success.

The clouds of distress, suspicion, and hostility are breaking. In the rift we may see the sunlight of better things and better conditions.

A few days after this speech was delivered the United States Circuit Court for New Jersey decided that the United States Steel Corporation had not violated the Sherman Act and should not be dissolved. The Court declared that the absorption of the Tennessee Coal & Iron Company was legal—thereby vindicating President Roosevelt's decision in the matter. It defined the test of monopoly in such cases as the trade power of the firms not acquired rather than the size of the firms combined.

The Court held that the price-fixing arrangements that resulted from the famous Gary dinners were illegal, but as they had been discontinued the Court decided that they did not furnish grounds for the dissolution of the Steel Corporation.

The decision had an encouraging effect upon business. To the business men who

felt that they had been persecuted the decision made clear again the fact that the courts will hold those guilty whose methods are contrary to law but that there is no prejudice in the courts against mere size. There is no prohibition of success. There is nothing new in this. But if there were those who doubted it, its reaffirmation is valuable.

But the inference to be drawn from this decision is that only those who stay within the law will escape conviction. This decision does not mean a letting down of the bars. It does not mean a return to promiscuous combinations and nefarious trade practices. Business has made a tremendous moral advance in the last fifteen years. This decision confirms the fact that the Steel Corporation was in the vanguard of the advance. It is not an invitation to return to the old ways. We have come to a new era of better business and there is no need to go back over the ground we have fought over during the last fifteen years.

And it is fortunate that this is true, for it is going to take the best endeavors of all hands, the Government, business men, and the general public, to keep us on an even keel when the finance and industry of the world is so upset.

THE GOVERNMENT AND PROSPERITY

A STRAY traveler a few years ago got off the train at a little Southern town and found that there was a good deal of sentiment there in favor of erecting a statue to Daniel J. Sully, the man who pushed cotton up to seventeen cents a pound, although every one in the town was convinced that the wicked speculators on the New York Cotton Exchange who drove the price of cotton down should be put in jail. There is much this same point of view in the larger business world. When business was not at its best, the President's saying that the depression was partly from psychological causes made many business men very angry. Now that business is improving there is no harm in Mr. Schiff's saying:

"The American people are confident that better times are here, and that's what counts most. Business is much a matter of sentiment, anyway."

Any one may assign a cause for prosperity with impunity, but it is not safe to explain depressions, especially for the political party in power.

As Mr. Wilson was held responsible for the business hesitancy a while back, he will get credit for the activity which seems assured for the immediate future. Neither is altogether fair, just, or wise. The actions of the Government do not usually affect the economic basis of the United States with the rapidity with which they are credited, nor are they as all-powerful as they are supposed to be. Mr. Wilson who was held responsible for the depression of a few months ago, is the same Mr. Wilson whose Administration is being strengthened by reviving business now and in between times he has done nothing to affect business one way or the other.

The acts of the Government do affect business and affect it vitally, but not usually suddenly. The sudden effect of any measure is almost always psychological and exaggerated, like the doubling of the value of the stock of a locomotive company by the receipt of one large order for shrapnel.

Neither the full dinner pail nor the bread line is necessarily a criterion of the wisdom of the particular party in power. Our judgments to be accurate must be much more analytical than this.

MR. ROOSEVELT AND THE ROOT OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

THE plainest as well as the pleasantest fact brought out by Mr. Barnes's libel suit against Colonel Roosevelt is that our standards of political morality have moved upward.

Colonel Roosevelt testified that when he became governor it was impossible to get any good done without the coöperation of the bosses and the machine. Since then Charles Evans Hughes in New York, Woodrow Wilson in New Jersey, and other governors elsewhere have proved that a governor of ability and courage can accomplish much not only without the coöperation of the bosses but in direct opposition to them.

rial rehearsed again the sad story ampaign contributions of corpora- hich had much at stake in their s with the Government—a very ant practice, from which, happily, : somewhat departed. In this and olitical practices we have made rogress since Colonel Roosevelt l from San Juan Hill on his way to idency. For much of this progress eholden to him.

nemies would have us believe that osevelt's activity in this moral tion was inspired and also limited effect on his career. They say, r, that if Mr. Roosevelt did help merican politics he got some of the himself in so doing.

robably true that under conditions are to-day Colonel Roosevelt would e the letters he wrote to Boss Platt

When Mr. Roosevelt came back ba and his name began to be sug- or the governorship he understood y how politics were run at that He understood that Senator Platt : Republican machine were more l than the governor. Within cer- nitations it made and unmade rs. When Mr. Lemuel Quigg, in f the machine, offered Mr. Roose- : nomination for the governorship e implied understanding that he coöperate with the machine, Mr. lt stipulated that the coöperation ot make him stretch his conscience. osevelt was a machine governor. ulted Senator Platt on almost every , but for all that he was no puppet r.

at time few people in politics had d of the idea of a governor be- the real leader of his party entirely dent of the machine. The most e public expected was that the r should not stretch his conscience rate with the machine. Theodore lt fulfilled this expectation. He ependent enough to make the late Platt wish to banish him to the sidency.

resident, also, Mr. Roosevelt got ith the machine but not on the sis as when he was governor. Then he had coöperated with it. As President he dominated it. The public liked this domination—liked it immensely. This was setting a better standard. Despite the fact that campaign contributions of a kind which public opinion has since branded unlawful helped Colonel Roosevelt to the Presidency in 1904, that campaign was conducted on a much higher level than the preceding campaign under Mark Hanna's guidance.

And from 1904 on, Mr. Roosevelt and the Big Stick supplied much of the motive power for the continued improvement in our political morality. His actions have not always been consistent nor logical, but they have been unremitting, in the main effective, and directed toward the public good. It is no sign of a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde tendency on his part that he consulted Boss Platt in 1899 and denounced Boss Barnes in 1914. It merely shows that Mr. Roosevelt was capable of learning a great deal in fifteen years of political life. He profited from the lessons of the moral awakening which he helped to start.

In that awakening Mr. Roosevelt furnished a moral motive and an unsurpassable motive power—but not always the clearest sense of direction. His political morality has always been more instinctive than clear and analytical. For example, he did not perceive the fundamental evil of the existence of bosses, irrespective of their character, in the way that Mr. Hughes and Mr. Wilson did. If a boss was a good man Mr. Roosevelt did not object to him. It was only bad bosses that he attacked. The country has progressed faster than Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. Roosevelt's career has always been well known in all its essential particulars. The proof of certain dramatic details presented at the trial at Syracuse does not change it. The fair minded public (both of those who agree and those who disagree with Mr. Roosevelt) will bear witness that he deserves well of the Republic for the stimulus he has given its conscience in political matters. His solution of many problems is open to question, but he has played a full man's part in American life with courage and ability in cultivating around the "roots of righteousness."

REPUBLICAN MEN AND MEASURES

WITH the President gaining in popular support and with the Democratic Party's chief limitation out of office, the hopes of the Republican Party to regain public confidence are not bright.

The Republican Party is now where the Democratic Party was four years ago—it is looking for an issue and a leader. Mr. Roosevelt holds the same position toward it that Mr. Bryan held to the Democratic Party. Whether or not he could be a successful candidate himself, he has it in his power to prevent any one who is not acceptable to him from being one. If the Republican Party wishes to make a good fight for the Presidency in 1916 it must put up a candidate and a platform that will satisfy Mr. Roosevelt.

In the Republican ranks are Senators Weeks, Borah, Cummings, and Burton—all presumably willing to accept the nomination. They are able men, but as yet none has struck a note in the Presidential key. They are not now on the Presidential plane in the public mind, and the fact that the public has become so familiar with them as part of our legislative machinery makes it hard to think of them in the great executive office.

Mr. Root has the respect but not the affection of the national public. Mr. Taft has the affection but not their confidence. Neither, seemingly, wants the nomination. Mr. Justice Hughes appeals strongly to the public imagination, but he has declared that he will not enter the race. Mr. Roosevelt is himself our strongest political character, except the President, but if he should run again he could hardly hope to reconcile the breach which his previous bolt made. A candidate of whom he approved might gain many votes that Mr. Roosevelt himself could not get.

So with Mr. Roosevelt in the strategic position that Mr. Bryan occupied four years ago, opposed to the bosses as Mr. Bryan was opposed to Mr. Ryan and Tammany, the Republican Party is looking for a Wilson to arise in its midst, some one that can pull its warring factions together and get the whole party moving in harmony in one direction.

Moreover, the leader that arises will probably have to decide on the route by which the party shall endeavor to regain the places of power. The Republican Party has not a very inspiring policy now. A little while ago it seemed as if it was willing to accept a howl of calamity as its principal programme, but the recent improvement in business conditions takes most of the wind out of the sails of this issue.

Mr. Weeks frankly wants to raise the tariff and restore some of the special aid taken from the manufacturers by the last tariff act. That is at least a positive programme and it has the political merit of taking advantage of the public's old preference for paying two or three dollars indirectly to the manufacturers and the Government through the tariff to paying the Government one dollar direct. During the last four years the public awoke to this situation and refused to continue it. Mr. Weeks is willing to stake the success of the Republican Party on the belief that the public has gone to sleep again.

Then, of course, there is the ever present issue with the outs, the issue of criticism of the ins. But that is not an effective programme if unaccompanied by any constructive suggestions.

The truth is that in its long lease of power the health and vigor of the Republican Party were undermined with privilege and easy living. Mr. Roosevelt's Muldoon treatment was too strenuous for it. As soon as his hand was withdrawn, the party relapsed, and when he tried again to give it his strenuous cure it preferred disintegration.

The Republican Party cannot look to the recent past for inspiration. It must look back to its beginnings when it stood for great principles and service to the Republic. In the issues of the last few years it has failed. Democracy has taken its place and done the task better, and at no time during his Presidency has Mr. Wilson had such a strong hold on the popular feeling as he has at present. The Republican leaders must cast about on a higher plane than they have recently been accustomed to for some great service that they can do

ation or else wait until the Democrats
ir turn have lost their moral vigor
pirit of high resolve by a long session
ver with its debilitating influences.
present the national Republican
has neither great men nor great
ires to offer. Nor do the state
olican governments give much prom-
f better things. The Republican
governments of New York, Ohio, and
nsin have shown but a small and
an spirit and a rather ineffective
mance.
he Republican Party is to render the
ry any great service in the near
it is time now that it got itself to-
and found some big men and big
ires dedicated to the welfare of the
United States.

NST A SUBSIDY OF ANY KIND

SPEAKING to the Pan-American
inancial Congress the President said:
"There is one thing that stands in our
mong others—for you are more con-
it with the circumstances than I am;
ing I have chiefly in mind is the phy-
ack of means of communication, the
f vehicles, the lack of ships, the lack
ablished routes of trade—the lack of
things which are absolutely necessary
are to have true commercial and in-
commercial relations with one an-
and I am perfectly clear in my judg-
that if private capital cannot soon
upon the adventure of establishing
physical means of communication,
overnment must undertake to do so.
annot indefinitely stand apart and
each other for this lack of what can
be supplied, and if one instrumental-
innot supply it, then another must
ind which will supply it."
vate capital may soon enter upon the
ture of establishing steamship lines
ith America, but the shipping laws on
atute books are not calculated to en-
ge such adventure—one of these laws
g been passed within the year. If,
vith the cheap money that is becoming
ful, we cannot start a merchant ma-
inder the present shipping laws the
is thing to do is to revise the laws
and see if we cannot then compete with other nations at sea.

There are several reasons to believe that this might be possible. We once had a very successful merchant marine. A combination of causes killed it. The policy of protection, of course, operated very strongly in favor of the shipbuilder and against the shipowner. When the change from wood to steel came in the construction of ships our shipyards did not respond as quickly as the English yards. The Civil War destroyed 100,000 tons of American shipping and transferred 750,000 tons to other flags. The navigation laws have greatly increased the cost and difficulties of operating American ships.

At the same time the tremendous requirements of energy and capital necessary for the internal development of the country bred a general indifference to foreign trade and helped to keep American money out of ships.

At the present time shipbuilding materials are no longer made so costly by protection, the disadvantages of war which we suffered when we lost our fleet are now operating against our competitors, and we are gaining tonnage at their expense. The country has capital a-plenty to go into shipping and we are fast losing our indifference to foreign trade. The chief artificial detriments in our way now are the shipping and navigation laws. To a certain extent these have been liberalized lately, and the results of the liberalization are apparent. It certainly would seem wise to continue to revise these laws so that they shall combine humanity and economics.

There are two deterrents that are particular to South American trade. The foreign shipping lines have had an effective trust organized and in operation. If the South American Governments allow unfair competition, they can hardly expect an American line to enter the field. The immigrant traffic, especially to the Argentine, has always been a great help to the European lines. An American line would suffer in this competition, for there is no immigrant traffic between the two Americas. The first of these deterrents is artificial and controllable. The other is more fundamental.

In times of easy money an enterprise that cannot get private capital is not likely to pay. Commerce that will not pay its own freight is not the best kind of commerce to have, for it is likely to want to be helped all its life.

For generations now we have refused to subsidize steamship lines even when there appeared no chance of our getting American ships any other way. Now when our chances are brighter does not seem the time to rush into a policy of subsidizing our foreign trade by carrying it in a line of steamships that cannot stand on their own bottoms commercially.

WHAT GOOD IS A COUNTY?

PROBABLY you know who is the President and who is the Vice-President of the United States, who is the governor of your state, who is the mayor of your city; but do you know who is the what of your county?

That silly question goes to the root of a very silly condition—the condition of your county, and of nearly every other county in the United States. The county is a body politic with all members but a head. It is dressed in expensive clothes, has money in its pockets to spend and willing hands to reach in them and spend it, under orders from the people to build their country roads, educate their children, keep the county's peace, levy taxes and collect and disburse them—and it is trying to do all these things without a head to carry the brains that shall organize and oversee all these activities.

Is it any wonder, then, that Westchester County, N. Y., for example, pays five of its officers as much apiece as the State of New York pays its governor; that it has 130 elected officers who have power to commit children to its eleemosynary institutions (at a cost of $300 a year apiece) and that it tempts these officers to commit children needlessly by paying them a fee every time they do it; that it paid fifty newspapers $117,374 for "legal advertising" in one year (1911); that the same piece of property may be assessed by four different officers at four different values for four different kinds of taxes in one year?

Most counties in the United States are governed by a board of supervisors. In most counties they are elected—and forgotten. They have large powers, especially in the spending of the people's money. They let contracts for the building of roads; they buy supplies for the county hospital, the poor farm, the orphanages, and the jail. When they buy extravagantly, each man says the other men did it. Nobody is responsible. Hardly a county in the country but has had its scandal over road building or county supplies, and hardly a county but always has its suspicions that if the truth were known such a scandal would be abroad right at the present moment.

The administration of justice is almost always clumsy in the county. Petty magistrates, of no great authority and little dignity, curry their jurisdictions for fees. The execution of justice suffers in like manner from the system of deputy sheriffs and constables, each of them, in most counties, a fee chaser, and all of them inefficient in the preservation of order in emergencies. The errors of bad organization and of no organization at all, of inefficiency and inordinate expense in administration, could be multiplied into a complex list in almost any county.

Here is a field for constructive statesmanship. Municipal government has been vastly improved by the adoption of centralized systems, such as the commission plan and the city manager plan, which give power to do business, expeditiously and economically, to men who are definitely responsible to the people. Some such reorganization of county government must be brought about. The reason it has not been brought about sooner is that the people have paid little attention to the county as a unit of government. It is a healthful sign, therefore, that a Conference for Better County Government in New York State was held at Schenectady last fall, and that such organizations as the American Judicature Society and the National Short Ballot Association have undertaken special studies of the county from their special points of view for the purpose of devising practical suggestions for reform.

MR. BRYAN'S RETIREMENT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

BY

THE EDITOR

THE people of the United States are glad that Mr. Bryan resigned from the Cabinet. They are glad that his resignation came as soon as it did. It :n them an added belief in the cour- the President and a renewed confi- in the conduct of their foreign

As our differences with Germany serious the public's trust in the nt was only tempered by the fear r. Bryan's well-meaning, fumbling might disturb the firm hand needed le the Government through the tions. The calm confidence and ıtion which the President showed in ings with the German Government rt of their force from the public's at Mr. Bryan did not have the of the President's convictions. t that Mr. Wilson has said less and earer doing exactly what he said ıy President of recent times did not ıer dispel the uneasiness caused by yan's presence in the State Depart-

But as it became increasingly evi- at Mr. Bryan counted for less and ur serious foreign relations, the trust President grew; and when finally ryan's resignation announced the all participation in the conduct of ign relations, the President received measure the public's confident and ıpport—a support that grows out as well as patriotism.

ı in February the President told the ı Government that the United would hold it to a "strict account- ' for the acts of its submarine com- s and would also "take any steps t be necessary to take to safeguard an lives and property and to secure rican citizens the full enjoyment of cknowledged rights on the high seas," the President meant it. The American people meant it. Mr. Bryan signed the note but seemingly he did not mean it. And Germany seemed to take Mr. Bryan's view of it.

When on May 13th the President reiterated his policy in these words, "The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment," the President meant what he said. The American public agreed with him. Mr. Bryan signed the note, but seemingly he did not mean what it said. And seemingly the German Government still took Mr. Bryan's view.

When, however, the President insisted upon maintaining this position again, Mr. Bryan resigned because he feared that a further effort to maintain our rights meant that either Germany would have to forego her illegal submarine methods or we should have to take measures to maintain our demands and he was not willing to face the possibilities of those measures.

As far back as February some people felt that the firm stand the President took for American rights might ultimately lead to war with Germany. After the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the dispatch of the second note more people saw the possibility of war and after the third note on June 9th still more because there was a growing feeling that Germany would continue to disregard our warnings.

Unquestionably the insistence upon our rights had in it the possibilities of war. It also had in it the possibilities of peace. On the other hand the surrendering of our rights had in it the almost certain postponement of war and its almost certain

ultimate arrival. The acquiescence in one violation of our rights to suit the necessities of one belligerent would normally and inevitably be followed by the transgression of our rights by all belligerents whenever necessity or convenience dictated until we should be in an intolerable position from which war would be our only egress.

It was therefore in the interests of peace and in the interests of that part of civilization not at war that the President refused to give up any of our rights to help a fighting nation. Neither the President nor his present Cabinet nor the American people want war. There has probably never been a President whose knowledge of history made him more keenly alive to the human, moral, and material wastes of war. There probably never was a time when the American people realized the blessings of peace more pointedly than they do now. It was with the most fundamental and earnest desire to maintain peace with every nation that the United States warned Germany three times that we should maintain our rights peaceably if we could, otherwise if we must.

The few who share Mr. Bryan's view that the way to permanent peace lies in surrendering to injustice can find the negation of their hopes in the foreign relations of the United States from 1805 to 1812. Then as now a continental country was fighting to dominate Europe. Then as now one of the chief obstacles to its success was the British Navy. Then as now a paper blockade—the Berlin Decree—was declared around England, and England by her Orders in Council endeavored to shut off commerce with her continental enemy. Then as now our citizens were attacked, our property destroyed, and our trade hampered. But then we did not hold the offenders to "a strict accountability." With feeble remonstrances we endeavored to maintain peace while insult and injury increased against us and finally drove us inevitably into war—a war which might conceivably have been avoided had we met the situation courageously when it first arose.

Mr. Bryan's retirement reassured the American people that their Government would insist upon their rights calmly and earnestly and to whatever lengths seemed necessary. France and England gave the same significance to the event. Germany unfortunately understood the incident less well. This was natural enough. Communication between the United States and Germany has not been sufficient to keep Germany well informed on American affairs. Moreover, in its present mood Germany is not prone to understand other nations. In particular the German Government seems to find it hard to understand democracies with an honest desire to keep the peace. Certainly German diplomacy in Europe was conspicuously wrong in most of its assumptions and here Count von Bernstorff and Dr. Dernburg, despite their intimate acquaintance with the country, woefully misjudged the temper of the people. The way in which the country accepted Mr. Bryan's resignation from the Cabinet was a spectacular proof of how small a minority he represented and how far wrong Germany has been in her view of American feeling. The serious part of the situation is not so much that Germany misunderstood us as that she based her acts upon her misunderstandings and we must deal with her according to her acts.

Mr. Bryan could not have chosen any other circumstances in which to resign his position in which his resignation would have caused less disturbance in the domestic political situation. He chose to leave the service of his Government at a critical time to go forth and preach acquiescence in the admittedly illegal practices of a country which has torpedoed our ships and killed our citizens, and to argue publicly for part of the contentions of that country even in direct opposition to the course of the Government of which he was so lately an officer, a course which he twice had publicly endorsed with his signature.

Moreover he leaves the Cabinet after having demonstrated his inability to fulfil the tasks which his office imposed upon him. He demonstrated this inability not only by those things which he did but by those things which he was not trusted to do. The President, though with the utmost friendliness and consideration, had to take the important business of Mr. Bryan's

ut of his hands. It is a great tribute President's abilities that he could ; and at the same time give a fuller iendlier recognition of Mr. Bryan's ualities than could the general public did not have to suffer in silence the uences of Mr. Bryan's shortcomings. resident's patient friendship for Mr. and Mr. Bryan's loyal friendship : President has been a remarkable nenon. It has been seldom that men ı divergent make-ups and conflicting ts have coöperated in politics in so iful and friendly a manner for even ears. But however little either of wished the parting of the ways to it was inevitable.

political power Mr. Bryan was in- sable to the Administration before sident demonstrated his own leader- As the President's political power ronger Mr. Bryan's became weaker. tatesman and as an administrative Mr. Bryan never pulled his own in the boat; and the extraordinary y of our foreign relations threw his ıcies into high relief.

Bryan came to the Secretaryship te with a great political following upon his courage and his abilities to protest against the special privileges had existed in the Government. He en able to hold a large part of his ng despite the fact that again and the country had repudiated the ill- ered remedies he championed for the f the ills of the body politic. Not ad he held a large part of his old ng but he gained at least something ect from his enemies when he faced Tammany at Baltimore and helped ınate another man for the position l so long coveted when the chance tion seemed brighter than ever be- This somewhat tempered the crit- hich his appointment to the Cabinet l. It was tempered also by the gen- alization that it was one of those tments which necessarily occur in binets of democracies in order to a working majority. For the first n his life Mr. Bryan was clothed ie responsibilities of administration. was not fitted for the task either by temperament or experience. He was not able to master either the formalities or the actualities of the position. His improprieties brought upon his head unceasing ridicule and his inability forced the President to take nearly all important matters out of his hands. Yet he stood the abuse, the ridicule, and the curtailment of his duties with good humor and fine loyalty. Even when he handed in his resignation his note expressed a sincere admiration and friendship for the man who had succeeded in the place he had hoped to fill and whose success excluded his own.

The President responded with evident sincerity: "Your support of the work and purposes of the Administration has been generous and loyal beyond praise; your devotion to the duties of your great office and your eagerness to take advantage of every great opportunity for service it offered have been an example to the rest of us; you have earned our affectionate admiration and friendship."

There could hardly have been more loyalty under more trying circumstances than Mr. Bryan's to his chief unless it were his chief's loyalty to him. No one could have worked harder or for a better cause than Mr. Bryan did in his efforts for peace.

There can be no question of the courage of the man who forced Woodrow Wilson's nomination and defeated Tammany at Baltimore, nor of his vitality, energy, and political ability. No one can honestly doubt his good intentions; and he has the faith of an evangelist. He feels and talks for great causes and for the common man. But he cannot think clearly for the causes he would further and he cannot organize or act for them successfully. This very devotion to the causes he believes in leads him to do things which other men would not consider "a square deal." For example, the day after his resignation was accepted and before the President's note to Germany was published Mr. Bryan issued a statement criticising the President's policy. In another man such an action would have been a sign of malice. In Mr. Bryan it is only a lack of perception. His criticism of the President was not made in the hope of making a break in the Democratic Party or to stake his personal political fortunes

against those of Mr. Wilson. His statement grew out of a zealous and ill-guided desire for peace. Nevertheless, the logic of circumstances is likely to push the two men farther and farther apart and to make Mr. Bryan the spokesman for those elements in the Democratic Party which are discontented with Mr. Wilson's leadership. If Mr. Bryan's resignation had come upon a more reasonable issue the natural defection it would have caused would probably mean a split in the Democratic Party similar to that in the Republican Party. This would have left the country with four unsatisfactory party fragments from which to choose its administration. But Mr. Bryan's withdrawal from the Cabinet as sponsor for an unpatriotic and unpopular doctrine is not likely to cause any serious split in the Democratic ranks. Whatever support Mr. Bryan may withdraw from the President will be made up by the thousands of voters who have found the Democratic Party in its present shape impossible chiefly because it maintained Mr. Bryan in a high place in its councils.

MR. BRYAN'S PROGRAMME

Mr. Bryan's programme for dealing with Germany is characteristic in its complement of good intentions and unworkable remedies.

"I believe," he said, "that this nation should frankly state to Germany that we are willing to apply in this case the principle which we are bound to apply to disputes between the United States and thirty countries with which we have made treaties providing for investigation of all disputes of every character and nature . . . that there shall be no declaration and no commencement of hostilities until the matters in dispute have been investigated by an international commission and a year's time is allowed for investigation and report."

If, while this year's investigation was in progress, Germany were to stop its submarine war, its opportunity ever to make it effective in this war would in all probability be gone. If it continued it no settlement would do us any service, for the damage would be done.

"President Taft," continued Mr. Bryan, "advised Americans to leave Mexico and President Wilson has repeated the advice. This advice, in my judgment, was eminently wise, and I think the same course should be followed in regard to warning Americans to keep off vessels subject to attack."

This is very much like the German suggestion that Americans give up their rights to travel upon the German demand, for it would be very difficult to go not only to England or France but to the neutral countries of the continent without sailing on a vessel subject to attack under the practices of the German submarine blockade. Nor is the analogy to the Mexican situation accurate. Whether wisely or not our Government warned its citizens to leave Mexico because there was in that country no responsible Government to protect them. Mr. Bryan suggests that Americans keep off the sea because otherwise the responsible agents of the German Government will attack them.

It is because the President refused to accede to these views that Mr. Bryan left the Cabinet. His going leaves the President immeasurably stronger in the public estimation and leaves the whole Administration higher in public esteem, for though opinion differs much about the abilities of the different Secretaries no large body of public thought lacks confidence in the common sense and character of the Cabinet as a whole.

But for the very immediate future the significant fact is that Mr. Bryan's retirement has added a unity and strength to the confidence of the people of the United States in their Government.

)ES HIGH INTEREST MEAN LOW SECURITY?

EW of the problems which people encounter, when they start out to put away money, are more perplexing than that of determining the relation be-

the rate of interest and the quality of estment.

example, a young business man in nia explained his dilemma somewhat s way: He had been engaged for ime in preparing himself to assume ponsibilities of personally supervised nent. He had begun by familiariz- nself in a general way with the vari- es and classes of securities and with trustworthy sources of information business and investment conditions. had no one dependent upon him. ned, clear of encumbrances, a well ed and profitable business plant. rpose was to "put away every penny necessities" in investments upon he could depend entirely for his in- t the end of fifteen or twenty years. first venture had been to take out an tment certificate" in an old-estab- local building and loan association, whose officers and directors there any of the most substantial business rofessional men of his community. ertificate, on which he was making ely small monthly payments, would : in ten years, giving him an average income of more than 6 per cent. d he had found that practically all nent authorities approved highly of lding and loan association idea, if one areful to discriminate between "lo- "neighborhood" institutions of that nd the so-called "national" con- which, with few exceptions, had l great harm with their abuses.

when he had come to look for other ds of employing his surplus capital cumulated he had found it difficult to ile the opinions of the various people advice he sought. For example, the nt of the bank in which he kept his account, when the subject of buying a railroad bond had been broached, had shaken his head disapprovingly, while emphasizing the small risk that would be involved by depositing the money in the bank's savings department at 4 per cent.

Consultation with the local managers of two or three of the large Eastern investment banking houses that specialize in municipal and utility bonds had left him with the impression that he would be taking chances if he tried to make his money earn more than 5 or 5½ per cent. on the average.

And yet an old acquaintance of long investment experience, to whom he had written, had replied with some tempting suggestions about mortgages and street improvement bonds, saying that such securities were recommended by many of the ablest bankers of the West as being "as safe as possible," declaring that he had never regretted confining his investments to them, and pointing out that they could be had to yield as much as 7 per cent.

As he turned over this conflicting advice in his mind, the business man said he was loath to believe that what personal benefits his banker might derive from increasing the deposits of his institution could have been the sole motive for his strong emphasis upon "4 per cent. and safety." Nor did he believe that the selfish enthusiasm of salesmanship had been entirely responsible for the warning of the investment specialists that 5½ per cent. was the limit beyond which he could not safely go.

Was there not, in fact, among all his advisers an honest difference of opinion, and was not the implication clear, therefore, that there were many competent judges who were guided by the rule that high interest means risky security?

In replying to this investor's letter, it was pointed out that, though there were many circumstances in which high income was everywhere accepted as an unmistakable indication of insecurity of principal, there were also many circumstances in which the

rule was frequently misapplied. It is by no means an ironclad rule of thumb, and too much emphasis can scarcely be placed upon the fact that if it were to be applied rigidly by investors generally it would result in an enormous waste of capital.

For example, the California business man has perhaps since learned that in the category of the street improvement bonds, to which his acquaintance referred, many conservative bankers are able to offer investments at 7 per cent. secured by liens that come ahead of mortgages, judgments, and private evidences of indebtedness of all descriptions, protected by margins of as much as 90 per cent. in real estate values, and being, in fact, identical in character with a large part of the investments which the savings banks of California make with the funds of their depositors, who for special reasons are willing to content themselves with 4 or 5 per cent. He perhaps has had called to his attention the records of the many cases in which, in some parts of the country, the mortgage rate has mounted even above 7 per cent., either because of sheer scarcity of capital in those communities or because of an exceptional demand for the available supply for other purposes, and not because of any lack of underlying security. Or again, his studies have probably indicated the extent to which difference in interest rates between bonds of the so-called "standard" classes is frequently due merely to the relative degree of marketability, or availability as collateral.

There are circumstances in which it may take nothing but ordinary business judgment to discover the intrinsic difference between the investment that sells through changing market conditions to yield the buyer 4 per cent. and the one of similar character that sells with equal persistence at 7 per cent. But there is a large field in which the tests of the market cannot be applied and in which business judgment alone cannot be trusted to discover the real reasons for differences of this kind. This field is one in which the investor must pick his way cautiously, of course. To ignore it entirely, however, is to miss many a chance for higher average income with the added advantage of greater stability, which, after all, is an unfailing sign of safety.

ARE WE ON THE EVE OF A WAR BOOM?

INFLATION, HIGH PRICES, AND SPECULATION, THE USUAL SEQUENCE OF WAR—THE GOLDEN FLOOD AND THE EXPANSION OF CREDIT THAT THREATEN TO RAISE VALUES IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

THEODORE H. PRICE

SOME years ago, Mr. Edwin Lefèvre wrote a story called "The Golden Flood," in which he described the effect of a supposed discovery of the alchemist's stone upon the value of stocks and bonds on the New York Stock Exchange.

The hero of the story deposited, day after day, huge sums of gold with a New York bank. Where he got it was a mystery to the bank's officers, who put detectives on his track and convinced themselves that he was converting the baser metals, iron, lead, etc., into gold.

The bankers were quick to see that if the transmutation were possible money, or monetary obligations payable in gold, would be worthless, and they proceeded immediately to exchange all the money at their command for an interest in productive properties, because money would

› more purchasing power than iron
as the alchemist's wonderful secret
: known.
result was a panic and rapidly de-
prices in the bond market, and the
sort of an advance in stocks.
ıe end it proved that the gold which
mystified the New York bankers
ir detectives was the war reserve of
ssian Government, which had been
' borrowed and brought out here,
e deliberate purpose of effecting the
ıarket *coup* that had been planned
rried out by the hero, who was
te student of practical, as well as
ical, finance, and who fully appre-
he defects and dangers of the system
attempts to measure values by a
ındard that is in itself variable.
economic chaos brought about by
ropean war promises some effects
: quite as fantastic as those pictured
: Golden Flood."
:he seven months ending June 30th
lue of the merchandise exported
he United States to all countries
›bably exceed that of all imports by
ıan $900,000,000.
ıe same period exports to *Europe*
ill exceed imports from Europe by
: $1,000,000,000, and for the thir-
ıonths ending December 31st it
ıltogether probable that the value
;oods shipped to Europe will exceed
those imported from Europe by at
,500,000,000.
:r normal conditions, no such bal-
›uld be established, for the increased
would have been in a measure
›y increased imports, and Europe
have paid its bills largely in kind.
is impossible, payment will have
ade in one of three ways:
n American securities held abroad,
:ilable supply of which seems to be
:xhausted, or,
n European securities or promises
which, as shown by the decline in
:nch loan recently placed here, do
n to be acceptable here, or,
n gold.
price of foreign exchange in New
ıeasures the cost of obtaining gold
currency now used in Europe, or
the depreciation already established in the specie valuation of that currency.

Russian exchange is 24 per cent. below the normal minimum. German bills are 14 per cent. under the theoretical cost of importing gold, and the abnormal discount on Italian, French, and English exchange is 12, 4, and 1½ per cent., respectively. Making all allowance for the difficulties incident to the transportation of gold in time of war, it is plain that the maintenance of specie payment in Europe has been practically abandoned and that a formal admission of this abandonment is only a question of time if the war continues.

This means inflation. It means that the internal commerce of the countries at war will shortly be conducted in a credit currency, as in the United States during our Civil War, when it required more than $2 of "shin plasters" to buy $1 in gold; that this credit currency will be made a legal tender; that all pretense of maintaining a gold reserve against liabilities will be abandoned by the governments and banks, and that in obedience to Gresham's Law gold will speedily disappear and be replaced by the less valuable paper money.

MORE GOLD, HIGHER PRICES

The United States will still, however, be in a position to demand payment in gold for what it may sell, and the result will be that a large portion of the gold now in Europe will be sent here to pay debts, and an additional quantity will be sent here for safe keeping. That inflation already exists in Europe is generally admitted. Mr. Paul Warburg, of the Federal Reserve Board, in a recent address before the Pan-American Financial Conference, referred to "the stupendous amount of bonds issued by the various European governments and the extraordinary inflation existing in almost every part of Europe," and the tabulation (shown on page 276), as of May 1st, of the deposits and circulation of the great European banks and the gold reserves upon which they are superimposed, will give some idea of the inflation up to that date.

If it were possible to expand this tabulation so as to include all the other banks

RESERVES AND LIABILITIES OF EUROPEAN BANKS
July, 1914, and May, 1915.

	DEPOSITS July, 1914 (000's omitted)	DEPOSITS May, 1915 (000's omitted)	CIRCULATION July, 1914 (000's omitted)	CIRCULATION May, 1915 (000's omitted)	TOTAL LIABILITIES July, 1914 (000's omitted)	TOTAL LIABILITIES May, 1915 (000's omitted)	STOCK OF GO July, 1914 (000's omitted	STOCK OF GO May, 1915 (000's omitted
Bank of England	$321,000	$1,117,390	$142,000	$175,015	$463,000	$1,292,405	$145,945	$23
Bank of France	255,000	2,316,870	1,283,000	472,040	1,538,000	2,788,910	939,310	90
State Bank of Russia	527,000	558,710	784,000	1,638,645	1,311,000	2,247,355	924,445	81
Imp. Bank of Germany	227,000	371,105	454,000	1,310,575	681,000	1,681,680	417,650	60
Austro-Hungarian B'k	NO REPO	RT SINCE	AUGUST	1914				
Bank of Italy	37,000	116,285	323,000	449,565	360,000	565,850	244,380	26
Netherlands Bank	2,000	15,150	124,000	202,835	126,000	217,985	64,895	12
Nat. Bank of Belgium	NO REPO	RT SINCE	AUGUST	1914				
Bank of Sweden	18,000	19,640	55,000	78,185	73,000	97,825	26,290	31
Bank of Norway	3,000	5,485	32,000	38,325	35,000	43,810	10,095	17
Swiss National Bank	10,000	9,960	51,000	80,705	61,000	90,665	38,725	5
Bank of Spain	96,000	134,170	368,000	400,690	464,000	534,860	272,520	27
Bank of Denmark	1,320	1,380	44,395	50,175	45,715	54,555	22,825	2
Totals	$1,497,320	$4,666,145	$3,660,395	$4,896,755	$5,157,715	$9,615,900	$3,107,080	$3,36

* Includes both gold and silver
† Represents total cash

Reserve Ratio for all Europe July, 1914 60%
" " " " " May, 1915 36%

whose reserves are, for the most part, held by the Government institutions enumerated, as well as the German and Austrian "War Banks" whose chief business is to issue bank notes against their purchases of Government bonds, the showing would convince almost any one that gold reserves in Europe will soon become as obsolete in theory as they are already in practice.

When that happens, the effect upon values as measured in terms of the depreciated European currency in which trade will then be conducted will be electrical.

Prices of commodities and real property will advance. What is now worth a shilling or a franc may be worth two shillings or two francs. As the cost of living increases, higher wages will be demanded and paid. More paper money will be issued, and prices and wages will again advance. If the war continues the sequence will be repeated until both war and inflation collapse because of their economic absurdity.

That the process has already commenced in Europe is shown by the "index number" of the London *Economist*, which was 3,337 at the end of April, against 2,565 when the war broke out.

This "index number" is the average value in the English markets of the staple commodities of civilization as expressed in terms of English currency. The advance from 2,565 to 3,337 is equal to about 30 per cent., and reflects not only the increased demand and diminished supply incident to the war, but the depreciated purchasing power of the currency in the merchandise sold is paid for.

It is one of the most interesting com tions in commercial economics, and v better understood from the detailed f given in the table on page 277.

As speculation is always the eff inflation and the illusion of wealth e dered by advancing prices, whether be fictitious or real, it may be ex that securities, as well as commo will also advance in Europe until th tention of the balloon causes an expl Thus it happens that in Germany, the inflation is at present the gr there is already quite a boom in stock even the war bonds which are in illim supply are actively traded in at adv prices. The same sort of specu will doubtless develop in Englan France, as soon as those countries r themselves from the curb of a gold r and plunge into the sea of an unli credit currency.

HIGHER PRICES, SPECULATION

The speculation which inflation e is one of the curious examples of p logical infection, for though every on know that unlimited credit is the road to bankruptcy, national and in ual, currency depreciation has a fostered the wildest sort of speculat everything. It was so in the time o Law and the Mississippi Bubble in F in the time of the Napoleonic war during our own Civil War in Americ

DATE	Cereals and Meat	Other Food Products (Tea, Sugar, etc.)	Textiles	Minerals	Miscellaneous (Rubber, Timber, Oils, etc.)	Total	Percentage Change
isis (average 1901–5)	500	300	500	400	500	2200	100.4
t quarter, 1913	594	358	641	529	595	2713	123.0
" "	580	345½	623½	522½	597½	2669	121.3
" "	583	359	671	523	578	2714	123.3
h " "	563	355	642	491	572	2623	119.2
nd Jan., 1914	562½	356	626	502	571½	2618	119.0
Feb. "	573½	352	630	491½	569	2616	118.9
Mar. "	560	350½	626½	493	567	2597	118.0
April "	560½	346	633½	482½	562½	2585	117.5
May "	570½	349	644½	480	551	2595	118.0
June "	565½	345	616	471½	551	2549	115.9
July "	579	352	616½	464½	553	2565	116.6
Aug. "	641	369	626	474	588	2698	122.6
Sept. "	646	405	611½	472½	645	2780	126.4
Oct. "	656½	400½	560	458	657	2732	124.2
Nov. "	683	407½	512	473	684½	2760	125.5
Dec. "	714	414½	509	476	686½	2800	127.3
Jan., 1915	786	413	535	521	748	3003	136.5
Feb. "	845	411	552½	561½	761	3131	142.3
Mar. "	840	427	597	644	797	3305	150.2
April "	857	439½	594½	630	860	3337	151.6

DEX NUMBERS" SHOWING THE INCREASE IN THE COST OF COMMODITIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

e is every indication that in this ect the present great war will follow edent, perhaps in proportion to its nitude.

he effect of European inflation upon es, business, and speculation in Amer- is perhaps a little more difficult to cipate, but it seems almost certain : tremendous stimulation will be felt , not only as a reflex of conditions in ope, but because of the unexampled ndance of credit and ease of money in United States.

1 a recent newspaper article American le is described as "swimming in a sea lle gold."

1 addressing the Pan-American Fin- ial Conference, Mr. Vanderlip, presi- t of the National City Bank, said:

he surplus reserve of the national banks, idicated by the last report of the Controller he Currency, reaches the enormous total 736,000,000. The Reserve Act reduced the legal limit of reserves, and that, in part, explains this great surplus, which is to be compared with a normal excess reserve of something less than $100,000,000.

This means that the national banks have a perfectly enormous capacity for expanding their loans. On the present reserves we can, I think, expand our loans about $3,000,000,000.

Mr. Vanderlip's remarks had reference to the national banking system alone, which includes only 7,525, banks, with total resources of $9,150,117,780. The national banks, however, control but little more than a third of our banking resources, as shown by the table printed at the bottom of this page. From this table it will be seen there are 30,011 banking institutions of all kinds in the United States with total resources of $24,340,090,112. As they are all more or less affected by the reduction in the reserve legalized under the Federal Reserve Act, it is altogether probable that, including the issue of Federal

U. S. BANKING INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR RESOURCES IN 1914

	NUMBER	CAPITAL	SURPLUS	DEPOSITS	NAT. BANK CIRCULATION	TOTALS
tional banks	7,525	$1,058,192,335	$991,522,431	$6,377,848,295	$722,554,719	$9,150,117,780
te banks, etc.	19,240	1,073,881,738	1,284,994,940	12,276,918,654		14,635,795,332
e-reporting banks	3,246	64,376,000	44,475,000	445,326,000		554,177,000
Totals	30,011	$2,196,450,073	$2,320,992,371	$19,100,092,949	$722,554,719	$24,340,090,112

Reserve notes against rediscounts, our banking situation as it stands to-day would permit a credit expansion of between $6,000,000,000 and $7,000,000,000.

This estimate is based upon the present reserves. If they shall be increased by the importation of $200,000,000 or $300,000,000 of gold released by Europe to pay for the supplies that must be had if the war continues, it would be possible for the banks to increase loans by $1,000,000,000 or $2,000,000,000 more.

MORE GOLD, EASIER CREDIT

For the information of those who do not understand how an increase of $200,000,000 in the surplus reserve makes possible an increase of more than five times that amount in loans, it may be explained that under the Federal Reserve Law the average reserve required is not more than 15 per cent. of a bank's deposits.

As the proceeds of nearly all loans made are immediately deposited in the lending institution or some other bank, any increase in loans means an equal increase of deposits in the banks taken collectively.

A surplus reserve of $15,000, therefore, makes it possible for a bank to increase its loans by $100,000, provided the sum borrowed is placed to the credit of the lender on deposit account. If, thereafter, the credit so established is checked out in cash, a reduction in the loans of the paying institution would be necessary, but the cash withdrawn would normally pass into the custody of some other bank, correspondingly increasing its lending power, so that taking the banks collectively it is accurate to say that loans may be increased in an amount equal to about five times the surplus reserve.

This is rudimentary, and bankers understand it, but it is not perhaps quite so clear to those who have failed to grasp the fact that an increase in the aggregate of loans always means a corresponding increase in aggregate deposits unless the cash is being hoarded or is being taken out of the country.

When, as in the present instance, the gold is coming into the country, loans may be increased, and if so deposits will be increased, by an amount equal approximately five times the amount of gold that is imported.

For this reason the present surplus reserves, plus whatever gold we may import from Europe until the war ends and we can get goods instead of gold, promises to work an enormous expansion of loans in the not distant future.

The effect of this expansion of credit upon prices in the United States is an important question for American business men to consider just now. As we have said above, the total resources of our banking system at present are about $24,000,000,000. Of these about $15,000,000,000 is in gold. The remainder is securities, cash items and minor assets.

If it is, as it seems to be, possible to increase loans by $7,000,000,000 the result would be an addition of nearly 50 per cent. to the fund of liquid credit available for the transaction of business.

In his "Principles of Economics," Professor Taussig of Harvard University asks: "What determines the value of money? That is, what determines the general range of prices?" And he answers: "The fundamental relation between quantity of money and its value is a simple one. Double the quantity of money, and, other things being equal, prices will be twice as high as before, and the value of money one-half"; and he says later on: "For a period an extension of credit may have the same effect upon prices as a corresponding increase in the quantity of money."

In addressing the Pan-American Conference, Mr. Charles S. Hamlin, governor of the Federal Reserve Board, said:

> If we assume—what is impossible of realization—that any country could shut off imports and continue to export, receiving gold for its exports, within a very few years it would cripple the exchange system of all foreign countries by the amount of gold it would take from them, but long before that point could be reached the importation of gold would raise prices as to effectually stop its exports.

Taken together, these quotations demonstrate the logic of the theory which assumes that a great advance in prices in the United States is indicated by

ɔra of credit and the impending gold
tation by which this country is con-
ɔd. Our banking system provides
ıe extension of credit to which Pro-
Taussig refers, and the military
ıcies of Europe compel her to send
ld on a scale which, as Mr. Hamlin
would under normal conditions "so
ɔrices as to stop exports."
ıs we have, in actuality, the very
ion that was fancifully described in
Golden Flood." Temporarily at
the United States will come into
ɜsion of a large portion of the Euro-
gold supply.
great expansion of credit seems in-
ɔle as soon as the crops, which now
ise well, commence to move.

ıORE CREDIT, MORE SPECULATION

less human nature shall change, the
with which money can be borrowed
ɜad to a repetition of the alchemist's
on.
ɜ periodical recurrence of this delusion
ɜ of the curious facts of history. Its
ppearance in the United States was
96, when a plurality of the popular
was cast in favor of free silver. The
ɜnback Party" was similarly an ex-
on of the idea that an increase of
y means an increase of wealth.
. Charles Mackay, in his book upon
ɑordinary Popular Delusions," tells
the alchemist's delusion has recur-
ɾ possessed men's minds from the
f Moses and the Golden Calf to that
ıgliostro (1743 to 1795), who per-
d many serious persons that he could
ɒewter into gold and that his "elixir
ıortality" would enable them to live
ɜr.
his book, "The Purchasing Power of
y," Professor Irving Fisher of Yale
s conclusively that "prices fluctuate
ly in proportion to the quantity of
y and the velocity of its circulation,
ıversely in proportion to the volume
de."
ɜse authorities and precedents are
because it seems that the facts and
ology of the present situation justify
ɒectation of an extraordinary advance
ɜ prices of property and commodities
in the near future. This advance, if it comes, will be the result of currency depreciation or inflation in the countries of Europe, and of the incidental redundancy of gold and the expansion of credit in the United States.

THINGS THAT SHOULD COST MORE

Logically, the things likely to show the greatest advance are the staple commodities, and the shares of corporations that manufacture and distribute these commodities. The vagaries of the speculative infatuation that inflation breeds are not, however, subject to any rules. The shares of an English company which produces crape and mourning goods are just now being extensively bought and sold at advancing prices in London, whereas the attempt to float a concern for the manufacture of dye-stuffs has been a comparative failure.

Such eccentricities are always to be observed in periods of speculation. No one can anticipate exactly the reaction of facts upon the human mind in the emotional excitement that war creates.

As a generalization, however, it seems sound and wise to assume—

(1) That great inflation in the belligerent countries will be, as it generally has been, a consequence of the war.

(2) That as a result prices in those countries will be greatly advanced as expressed in the terms of a depreciated paper currency, the use of which will displace gold except as it may be required to buy things from neutrals.

(3) That the gold so displaced will for the most part come to the United States.

(4) That because of its disuse in Europe and its superabundance in the United States the purchasing power of gold itself will be diminished, so that as prices are advanced by the depreciation of paper currency in Europe they will be advanced here by the depreciation of gold.

(5) That the expansion of loans made possible by the Federal Reserve Act will enormously increase the effect of inflation in both Europe and America and that the resulting appreciation in prices, with its illusions, is likely to breed a speculation that will be progressively more inclusive

and infectious and less discriminating and intelligent.

However we may deplore these conditions, they seem to be unpreventable, as the war itself has been. The psychological excitement which issues in war is closely akin to that which is expressed in wild speculation. They both disregard risks and economic law.

The culture beds of the collective human mind seem just now peculiarly hospitable to the germs of febrile inflammation, and under such circumstances large profits will accrue to the business man who is content to become an opportunist, while still preserving his facility of mental detachment from the mob when its frenzy is approaching the point of exhaustion.

"OUR JOFFRE"

A GENERAL WITH FORTY-FOUR YEARS OF PREPARATION, WHOSE CAREER IS SUMMARIZED IN HIS OWN WORDS: "I HAVE SEEN 1870. I HAVE GIVEN MY LIFE UTTERLY TO SEE THAT IT DID NOT HAPPEN AGAIN. I HAVE LIVED FOR 'THE REVENGE'"

AN INTERVIEW WITH

EUGENE ETIENNE

[TWICE FRENCH MINISTER OF WAR.]

[At this time, when the war has brought all Frenchmen tightly together, it is a pleasure to hear one Frenchman speak of another Frenchman. But to hear M. Eugene Etienne, one of the upbuilders of the French colonial empire and formerly Minister of War, speak of Joseph Joffre, generalissimo of the French armies, is more than a pleasure: it is a revelation. Listening to M. Etienne, one gets a better idea of the real greatness of General Joffre than by listening to General Joffre himself.

General Joffre, anyhow, does not talk much about anything and none at all about himself. He has never been widely known, but he is well known to men like M. Etienne, who worked with him trying to prepare France for war when France itself refused to think war was coming.—THE INTERVIEWER.]

I RECENTLY had occasion to visit General Joffre in his headquarters. The meeting was arranged and the appointment fixed for two o'clock in the afternoon. But the chauffeur drove a little faster than I expected and I arrived at 1:40. The orderly to whom I gave my name returned immediately and said: "But your appointment is for two o'clock. The general will see you at the agreed time."

I might have known that such would have been the response of General Joffre. I have known him since he was a colonial soldier in 1886, and he has always been the same—precise, exact, punctual. He lays out a simple plan and follows it. That is why he is a mystery. He is perfectly simple, and it is the perfectly simple thing which is mysterious, the perfectly simple thing always which is miraculous.

The formula for Joffre is easy to find. It is a number: it is a date: it is 1870.

When the war of 1870 broke out Joffre, a young fellow eighteen years old, was a student in the École Polytechnique. He served through the war as lieutenant of artillery, and suffered all the deceptions and sorrows of the invasion. When the war was over he had decided once for all what his life was going to be, and that it has been. While the rest of us have been more interested in internal development and colonial expansion, Joffre has never lost sight of the danger that lay across the Rhine. He said to me once: "I have seen 1870. I have given my life utterly to see that it did not happen again. I have lived for The Revenge."

And that is why his life seems so bereft of those incidents which make interesting

biography. His life is as simple as a beautiful Greek column. It has been but a long preparation for the day which has now come. And, the day having come, it is spreading itself out into its glorious fulfilment.

Joffre, from one day to another, apparently, has become a hero. As a matter of fact his whole life has been one heroic abnegation. Forty-five years ago he made up his mind that if ever France were attacked again from beyond the Rhine she should have her defender. He prepared himself for that part in patience and in toil, never forgetting his purpose for a minute. The time came. France was attacked; he was there ready to save her; he has saved her.

With this in mind it is interesting to study his career. Joffre unites in perfect balance the qualities of the thinker with those of the man of action. But because of the first qualities he has always had to fight to give exercise to the second. He has always been the sort of man who is apt to be kept under roof at the sedentary toil of organization. Well, he remained under roofs each time until he had mastered his subject or organized his service; then each time he has resolutely demanded air and a chance to develop his other qualities—those of action. Just watch.

After the war of 1870 he went into the engineering corps of the army, and there, in subsidiary positions, humble and unknown, but doing each thing well, for fifteen years he built barracks and fortifications. So well was he doing this that he was in danger of doing it forever. But he knew what he wanted. He struck and demanded action. He asked to go to Indo-China, where the French were fighting a big colonial war. He went a lieutenant, fought hard for three years, and came back to France a captain, with the Legion of Honor.

Then came another period when he gave work to his intellectual and meditative qualities. He was on the staff of General Mensier in the administration of the engineering corps. It was there I first became acquainted with him. That was thirty years ago. I went in one day to see General Mensier. There seemed to be no usher in the outer office. I was standing there waiting for one when, from a small desk in a little corner, a young officer rose timidly and announced me himself to the general. I said to the general, jokingly, "I see you have a new usher." "Oh," replied the general, "that's Joffre. He is good at all jobs." He remained silent for a moment, and then added, "He'll be good for the big job some day."

By 1892 Joffre knew it was time again to exercise the man of action within him. He went to Africa and built a railroad. While he was building it, there came news that Colonel Bonnier's column had been massacred near Timbuctoo. Joffre dropped his railroad, organized a rescuing expedition (organized it so well that to this day it is the model in the French army for expeditions of the kind), marched to Timbuctoo, secured its possession, went out into the desert, and punished the treacherous tribes—then went back to building his railroad. When he returned to France this time he was colonel and had gone up one degree in the Legion of Honor.

He remained three years in France, then was off again, to Madagascar this time. He built there the remarkable defenses of Diego-Suarez. He built them so well and so remarkably that when he returned to France he was placed at the head of the French military engineering corps. The general preparation of the defenses of France were now in his hands, and he built the forts of Belfort, Epinal, Toul, and Verdun. You will notice that in this war the forts of Belfort, Epinal, Toul, and Verdun victoriously resisted the Germans.

He was a general by this time. He had mastered all the organization of the French army. He had established the fortified defense of France. Most men would have kept straight on, making their career at the desk. Joffre, though, had never lost his purpose—to fit himself absolutely for the war which might come. He said, "I am an incomplete man. I have not had enough practice at handling troops in the field."

So he went back to active command. He commanded first a brigade, then a division, then a corps. He worked incessantly at tactics and the art of manœuvering big bodies of men. It was only when he felt he knew how to do it that he went back to office work. He became chief of the rear services; that is, of the formidable organiza-

tion which is the skeleton of modern war—the railroad, armament, commissary, plans of mobilization and massing—all the services which have worked so admirably in France in this war.

Now he had the business of war at his finger tips, and felt he was fitted for the position to which he was now promoted. In 1911 he became general-in-chief of the French armies. He was equipped. He had never let the purely intellectual side enslave the man of action. In him was a fine balance of calm thinking and vigorous decision. Then, from 1911, he had nearly three years to prepare himself for the supreme moment. And when that supreme moment came he was calm, smiling, resolute, and unmoved. He knew that he had forty-four years of steady preparation behind him. France had her defender.

During this long period of preparation it was my fortune to see a good deal of him, and so I can tell why so little is known of his life. It is because he has lived the life of an anchoret. He has lived profoundly alone with his purpose. One never saw him in officers' clubs. One never saw him on the terrace of a café. He was always with his work. What time he did not give to his mental preparation he gave to keeping his body fit. Every morning before six he was out on his horse.

Even the joys of family life he denied himself during that period. He married late. He married a lady who had lost her first husband and had two young daughters. Thus he gave to himself what he had so long denied himself—an entire family; and he became from one day to another a model family man. He took a little house at Auteuil, in the suburbs of Paris, and has lived there very quietly. His family circle is a charming one. For, grim and implacable as Joffre is when decision is necessary, in private he is not only gentle, he is timid. His pleasures are at the opposite pole from war. His recreation is music, with the companionship of his family, in the evening, grouped around the piano.

Joffre has been called "The Taciturn," but, despite being silent, he is at heart gay and sensitive. He is silent because he has a hatred of empty words, but he talks easily enough when he has something to say. Then he speaks with great simplicity, without the slightest wish to impress the listener artificially. He is also very gentle in his manners, though it is hard for him to hide the fact when he is bored.

He possesses obstinate will-power, but in this he is also well balanced and utterly reasonable. He never acts by sudden nervous impulse. His decision comes only after long and careful meditation, but once made it is inflexible and without regard for person. Of his will and of his patience he gave a striking example once before the war. It was during the debate over the three-year military service law at the Chamber of Deputies. I was Minister of War then and I had asked Joffre and General Pau to act as special commissioners to help us with their volumes of facts.

Joffre knew, as Pau knew, as I knew, as the Cabinet knew, that Germany had already decided on war; that she was preparing a sudden attack on France by which she planned to burst through the curtain of active troops with overwhelming forces before mobilization could be completed. We also knew that with what active forces we had the German plan was quite feasible. We knew the salvation of France depended on a three-years' law which would give enough men in active service to meet the first shock, so the reserves and territorials could mobilize normally.

But there were in the Chamber of Deputies many men who thought war impossible. They thought there could be no more war in Europe. They said the three-years' law was unnecessary, and that it gave the military authorities too much power over the civilian. They fought the proposed law bitterly, and one of their manœuvres in that fight was to try to provoke Pau and Joffre to some act of impatience which would give them grounds to cry out against the tyranny of the military party.

So, orator after orator arose and accused the French military staff of arrogance, laziness, ignorance, gross incompetency. It became too much at last for General Pau. He rose in dignity and strode out of the Chamber. Behind him was a clamor of cries from some of the deputies who denounced this act as a flagrant lack of re-

spect of the military authorities toward the representatives of the people. Had Joffre left, too, it would have been serious. But Joffre stuck. What he was after was the three-year's law. He wanted it for France, not for himself. And so he stuck.

For days he sat there at the tribune, his shoulders squared, perfectly impassive, while abuse which at times took on the volume of a storm passed over his head. Once in a while, when asked for information, he drew a paper from his portfolio and read figures which were clear and perfectly conclusive. Then he sat down again and became a statue. Well, the law was passed, and we who fought for that law with him knew that the army was in good hands.

When the war had come and he was departing for the front I went to say good-bye to him. I found him as he had always been —calm, gentle, not the least excited. But within him you could divine a flame. He had accepted without a qualm the terrific mission entrusted to him. He knew he was prepared. Ever since, he has been reaping the reward of his life-long devotion. Even the way in which through the years he had forged his habits has been of untold service to him. He has never lost a night's sleep. Even at Charleroi, when a promising beginning turned suddenly to defeat and possible disaster (through causes which history will some time tell), he slept that night as he had always done. Every night he is in bed at nine. Every morning he is up at five. He eats his meals regularly and, after every meal, takes up his stick and walks out alone for a little stroll. It does not make any difference what is happening, he goes through the same routine.

During the retreat to the Marne a high officer arrived at his headquarters at a few minutes past ten one night and insisted on seeing him. He declared his mission of the highest importance, and was beside himself when denied. But he did not get to see Joffre that night. He saw him in the morning, at six, however, and it proved to be plenty of time.

The character General Joffre has formed during his austere career is finding its full use now. It has shone like a sun and strengthened the whole nation. When, through no fault of his, he found success turned to defeat, he did not mope a minute, he did not hesitate for an instant. He ordered the retreat to the Marne about which whole libraries of books will eventually be written, and he ordered it with a return to the offensive in view. It was a retreat with a fixed purpose.

Having decided upon it, nothing shook him. The danger of frightening the country, of a panic in the Government, did not move him. Neither did the temporary loss of faith of our allies. The temporary successes of some of his generals also left him cold. General Langle de Cary beat the Germans on the Meuse. He sent message after message to Joffre begging to be allowed to pursue his success. Joffre answered: "I permit you to stand ground for twenty-four hours to show them you are not afraid of them." And added that on a fixed date he was to be at a definite place far in the rear. Langle de Cary held proudly for twenty-four hours, then retreated, and on that specified date was at the place named.

While retreating Joffre was reorganizing his shaken army. In a few days he broke dozens of generals. Some were his dearest friends. He had campaigned with most. They begged for another chance. He was impassive. But he has told me since it gave him many suffering hours. These were not political generals, as has been said. They were men who were too old, or who, brilliant in intellectual conceptions, had failed to show in the field the qualities of confidence and decision.

The Battle of the Marne was more than a strategic victory. It was a moral victory. It was won not only because Joffre led the Germans into a sack but because he sent from him down through all the officers to each of his two million men the will to conquer. On the eve of the battle of the Marne the officers gathered their men about the bivouacs, and, in the summer night, broken by the roar of cannon, read to them the proclamation issued by Joffre. It thrilled every one with the thought that the fate of France lay in their hands.

"Advance," read the order, "and when you can no longer advance, hold at all costs what you have gained. If you can no longer hold, die on the spot."

THE INVENTOR OF THE MODERN SUBMARINE

JOHN P. HOLLAND, THE IRISH PATRIOT, WHOSE PLANS FOR SUBMERSIBLE CRAFT WERE ADOPTED BY THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN, GERMANY, AND JAPAN—HIS LIFEWORK AN EFFORT TO DESTROY BRITAIN'S NAVY SO THAT IRELAND MIGHT BE FREED

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

ON AUGUST 12, 1914, two weeks after the outbreak of the European war, there died, in Newark, N. J., the man whose lifework, probably more than that of any other man of his time, promises to revolutionize naval warfare and to cause a readjustment in the great fighting force and historic influence known as sea power. The newspapers, busy recording the invasion of Belgium and the war preparations of England, dismissed his death with a paragraph or two. The journalistic neglect merely echoed the general forgetfulness of the public. *Who's Who* contains no reference to this man's extraordinary career and still more extraordinary achievement. His whole life was dramatic and in a sense tragic, not its least dramatic aspect being that he died just a month before certain events in the war demonstrated that his invention was really an epoch-making discovery. On September 22d last, a German submarine torpedoed and sank the British ships *Aboukir*, *Cressy*, and *Hogue*. The lifework of the man who died in his little Newark home had made possible that catastrophe as well as numerous other similar acts of war. The dead man was John P. Holland, and he will become immortal as the inventor of the modern submarine.

With the exception of the submarine, Holland had only one abiding enthusiasm. He was an ardent Irish patriot; his one desire was to see Ireland freed from English rule and made an independent republic. His two ambitions supplemented each other. In constructing his first submarine, Holland aimed at one result: the liberation of Ireland from English rule. He took upon himself what seemed at the time a fairly sizable contract—the destruction of the British navy. Forty years ago, when Holland first proposed destroying this supposedly impregnable fleet with an underwater boat, he furnished plenty of material to the humorous newspaper reporter. In view of recent happenings, his early programme does not look quite so absurd. The story of how the wild dream of this "crazy" Irishman has come true, and the extent to which his generally ridiculed contrivance has accomplished its end—the crippling of British sea power—forms one of the most dramatic episodes in the history of war.

Born in County Clare, in 1842, Holland's youth was passed amid many of the most stirring scenes in the nineteenth century Irish movement. He passed his early years in a riot of absentee landlordism, evictions, and tenant disturbances; anti-English sentiment, therefore, was his earliest inheritance. A boy of inquiring and industrious mind, with a particular leaning toward mathematics and science, he received an excellent rudimentary education—enough to qualify as a lay teacher in a Christian Brothers' school. It was while teaching in such a school that his mind first turned toward submarines. In 1862, when Holland was twenty years old, the *Monitor* fought the *Merrimac*. Echoes of the famous engagement reached the quiet North Monastery at Cork where Holland was teaching. The circumstance discouraged him, since it seemed to in-

dicate a continuance of British naval power. The event signified, as the youthful Holland reasoned, that the iron clad was the warship of the future; England, equipped with a fleet of such vessels, would absolutely fasten her naval power upon the world. That meant the postponement of the cause nearest Holland's heart—that of Irish freedom. Was there any way to destroy such a fleet? Holland had read Jules Verne; he also had heard of several attempts, notably those of the Americans, David Bushnell and Robert Fulton, to build a submarine boat. It was only such a boat, he believed, that could successfully challenge England's naval power. The early inventors, Bushnell and Fulton, had aimed their vessels at the British fleet; Lord St. Vincent, the great first sea lord of Nelson's time, had declared to Fulton that his submarine was mainly useful to the weaker naval power, and practically useless to the nation that already commanded the seas. In his solitary room in this Irish monastery Holland worked over plans; he actually believed, greatly to the amusement of his clerical associates, that he had solved the problem of under-water warfare. Holland tried, even then, to get backing, but no one listened to the crazy boy. A year or two afterward he came to America, settling in Boston. Almost on his arrival he met with an accident that sent him to a hospital. Time lying heavy on his hands, he unearthed, from his trunks, his designs for a submarine. He worked hard, adding many details, so that when he was discharged from the hospital he had the contrivance fairly well in mind. Again he sought the backer who would furnish the money to build the boat, and again he failed and laid his plans aside.

THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD

In 1873 he came to Paterson, N. J., as a teacher in St. John's Parochial School. Again submarines occupied his mind more completely than the educational needs of his charges. And now the opportunity seemed fairly to have arrived. The Fenian excitement had reached its height. The Fenian Brotherhood was a secret organization of the most militant Irish nationalists. Its purpose was the achievement of Irish independence and the establishment of an Irish Republic. Though its activities had started in Ireland and England—Fenian outrages, in the 'sixties, kept the English police pretty busy—its most important affiliations were in the United States. Had it not been for the American Civil War, indeed, the Fenian movement would probably have gained little headway. Irishmen of the more level headed type had little sympathy with it; the Catholic Church in Ireland strongly opposed it.

POST-BELLUM FEELING AGAINST ENGLAND

The Civil War, however, introduced two new elements into the Irish question. It produced a large number of Irish-American soldiers—thousands of men whose bravery and fighting quality had been tested on many a battlefield. These men themselves, in the eyes of Fenian enthusiasts, formed the nucleus of a great Irish army which would prove useful in a fight for Irish freedom. Thousands of these soldiers, after the war, returned to Ireland, and, in many instances, actually began the work of secret recruiting. Again, the Civil War had left a feeling of intense bitterness in this country against England. Americans to-day cannot appreciate the fierceness of this hostility. In the last 'sixties and early 'seventies one fact in international relations stood out fairly distinctly, and that was the likelihood of war between England and the United States. Had England not finally submitted the *Alabama* claims to arbitration there is not the slightest doubt that this threatened war would have become a fact. This Anglo-American war was the central point upon which the whole Fenian movement turned; when the war failed to materialize, the Fenian Brotherhood practically ceased to exist. Immediately on the outbreak of the anticipated struggle, it was planned that the Fenian revolution would start in Ireland and that the American army, numerously supported by the Irish, would invade Canada. According to the programme, the United States would necessarily win; and the independence of Ireland would be part of

the peace terms. It all looks wild and ridiculous to Americans to-day; forty years ago, however, when the native American mayors of certain American cities used to dress up in green on St. Patrick's Day and the Irish vote was regarded as essential to the Democratic Party, this programme was seriously regarded. In the early 'seventies a provisional government for the Irish Republic was established in the neighborhood of Union Square in New York City.

THE BRITISH NAVY VS. IRISH FREEDOM

Only one difficulty loomed large as a formidable obstacle to this procedure. The Fenian attack on England ran up against the familiar problem of an impregnable British navy. English sea power was the great bogie to the Irish and the Americans forty years ago as it is to the Germans to-day. If England could be cut off from Ireland and Canada, the success of the Irish-American plan would be assured. If England could be prevented from sending troops and supplies to both Ireland and Canada, the military problem of her enemies would be simplicity itself. Mr. John P. Holland, the teacher in a parochial school in Paterson, N. J., now came forward with what seemed to be the one possible solution of this problem. Holland himself was not a Fenian, but he sympathized keenly with the approaching revolution and for several years worked with the Fenian leaders. Only a submarine boat, he declared, could possibly block the British navy; a fair-sized fleet of such vessels could easily keep the English fleet in home waters and leave Ireland and Canada open to military operations. Holland had already built an experimental vessel in Paterson. Old residents still recall witnessing a curious spectacle passing through the streets: a truck, bearing a cigar-shaped wooden boat, drawn by sixteen Roger's Locomotive horses to the Passaic River. This was Holland's first submarine. Though the inventor always claimed that this vessel contained all the essential ideas of his perfected ship and that it satisfactorily demonstrated these principles, externally it was not a brilliant success. It stuck in the mud in launching; it continually leaked; and its petroleum engine broke down incessantly. Naturally the thing became a huge joke, and one day Holland took out the engine and fittings, towed his unpromising craft to deep water off Lister's boat house, and sank her in four feet of mud. She lies there yet, though recently a movement has started to resurrect the vessel and preserve her as a naval antiquity.

Irish patriots in America, mostly poor workingmen and servant girls, had contributed their pennies and dimes to a collection known as the Skirmishing Fund—money intended to be used for military operations against England. Holland now laid his submarine idea before the trustees, who had about $80,000 in the treasury. They appointed a special committee of three—John J. Breslin, who rescued James Stephens, the Fenian leader, from Richmond Prison in 1865, Thomas F. Bourke, who had once been sentenced to be hanged for high treason, and John Devoy, who had served five years in prison for his patriotic activities—and who is now the editor of the *Gaelic American* in New York, a paper which still preaches rabid antagonism to England and violently advocates the German cause in the present war.

HOW THE "SKIRMISHING" FUND WAS USED

This committee of three decided to use the Skirmishing Fund to finance Holland's submarine. Holland had to build two boats, however, before he got one that fairly embodied his ideas. The first failed because of faulty construction; the machinery was placed so awkwardly that the vessel lay unevenly in the water, the nose always resting somewhat higher than the stern. This submarine, however, demonstrated the correctness of the principles at stake, precisely as had the unsuccessful boat of a few years before. It sank and rose easily, stayed under the water at the position desired, the operator had no difficulty in breathing, and the compressed air chambers worked exactly as the inventor had foreseen. The patriotic Irishmen were so encouraged that they decided to build a new boat, which would correct all the faults of the old one. This second vessel was a complete success. Holland

given up his school teaching, and,
a retainer from the Skirmishing
, now devoted all his time to sub-
ıe navigation. He operated his vessel
:lf; it had room for only one other
an engineer named Richards. Hol-
; greatest improvement over other
arines was the rapidity with which his
l dove. All submarines up to that
had sunk on an even keel, an agon-
process that took ten or fifteen
tes—time enough for an enemy's shot
ıd it to the bottom. But Holland's
really dove head first—taking only a
econds in the process.

d now for several months Holland
the people on the waters around New
entertained with his experiments.
Fenians had done everything they
to keep the thing a secret, though
rs of the usual "British spies" were
rous. Occasionally an excursion boat
ug would be amazed to see a peculiar
ivance suddenly stick its head out of
'aters; there were stories that it was
-serpent, or a whale, or a derelict.
ı the conning tower opened, however,
Holland's good natured Irish face
:nly peered out on the outside world,
ıystery was explained. The inventor
ıo difficulty in operating in all the
s about New York; his boat handled
, deftly, and safely, the only trouble
, as always, with the engine. The
)apers, which devoted columns to his
-water voyages, dubbed the vessel
enian Ram, a name more picturesque
descriptive, as it was not a ram at all,
torpedo boat.

IY THE "RAM" IS IN NEW HAVEN

ility to agree among themselves has
been a strong point with Irish
)ts; and there were some fine old
among the New York Fenians. Eng-
)ies, according to the popular explana-
precipitated these contentions; in
:ular they were accused of having
ed an investigation to discover what
become of the Skirmishing Fund.
circumstances, especially the fact
ın American war with England ceased
a probability, put a temporary
ıs on Holland's enterprise. One dark night a group of Fenians took the *Ram* and towed it up to New Haven, Conn. Holland always said that they "stole" his favorite vessel; in any case it proved something of an elephant on their hands, as no one knew how to manage it. The kidnappers finally hauled the boat up on dry land and stored it in a shed near the brass foundry of James Reynolds, a well known Irish patriot; and there it has remained to this present moment.

Though Holland continued experimenting, the world heard little more of his submarine until 1895. Meanwhile mechanicians in all countries, especially the United States and France, had worked at the problem and produced many boats, most of them unsatisfactory. In 1895, the United States advertised for bids for a submarine to be built at the Government's expense. Many plans were submitted; when the best was selected it was discovered that the inventor was Holland, of the almost forgotten old *Fenian Ram*. Holland obtained the contract; and the *Plunger*, now tied to a dock at New Suffolk, L. I., was the result. And now began Holland's protracted struggles with government officials and other professional people who insisted on "improving" his specifications. Holland was not a trained engineer —as very few inventors have been; but he had studied deeply the scientific aspects of his designs, and he was an excellent draughtsman. He was ill for a considerable part of the time that his new vessel was on the ways, and the technicians in the navy seized the opportunity to introduce many modifications. The *Plunger* that was built, therefore, did not represent Holland's ideas. Holland always asserted —and subsequent facts have borne out his assertion—that these modifications explained the failure. For one thing, the navy experts did not insulate their fire boxes, and, as a result, no human being could stay inside with the hatches closed, the heat was so intense. They introduced twin screws and two sets of engines, more than a vessel of the *Plunger's* size could carry. In disgust, Holland's company, which he had just organized—the J. P. Holland Submarine Boat Company—refunded to the Government $95,000 and

took back their ship. It was a great disappointment for Holland, as the winning of this contract in his mind marked the triumph of his boat above all others; in two or three years, however, he achieved a great and permanent success.

THE FIRST REAL SUBMARINE

Holland, disgusted with the interference of outsiders, made one request to his new company: that he be permitted to construct one boat exclusively on his own plans and under his own personal supervision. He was willing to let the question of success or failure be decided by this one test. His company consented and the *Holland*, representing his ideas, was constructed at the Crescent Shipyards at Elizabeth, N. J., in 1898. This vessel is probably the most important warship ever constructed since the beginning of time. When it was completed, the submarine question, which had agitated naval experts for a hundred years, was settled. The submarine was no longer a fad, a toy, a crazy idea of amateurish inventors; it became, in a moment, one of the most terrible engines of practical warfare ever devised. The boat was only fifty feet long; it carried only one torpedo tube; and it amazed everybody with the deftness with which it sailed. In mobility it seemed almost a thing alive; in diving skill, Holland himself said, he had taken the porpoise as his model. This rapidity of submersion, as already noted, was the quality which Holland regarded as important above all others; speed and cruising radius were desirable, but the ability to come to the surface quickly, take observations, and drop below the waves before the enemy could train a gun was the prime essential to success. And this the *Holland* had in amazing degree. It could rise to the surface and disappear again in five seconds. Its navigator had absolute control over the little ship. So successful did the trials prove that the United States Government viewed the submarine with some apprehension. It was finished a few weeks after the blowing up of the *Maine*. When the *Viscaya*, the Spanish cruiser which was afterward destroyed at the Battle of Santiago, visited New York Harbor there was a genuine fear that Holland and his associates might torpedo her in retaliation. The closest watch was therefore kept on Holland's boat. Despite this, the Government did not use the vessel in the Spanish War, although Holland offered to take her into Santiago harbor and blow up the Spanish fleet—something he probably could have done. Had the war lasted very long, Holland's boat would probably have played an important rôle.

ADMIRAL DEWEY'S OPINION

However, the Government purchased the *Holland* and ordered half a dozen more from Holland's company. The annual manœuvres off Newport in 1900 settled the question to the satisfaction of the biggest men in the American navy. The *Holland*, under the command of Lieutenant Caldwell, made a night attack upon the fleet. The warships knew the vessel was after them, they covered the sea for miles around with searchlights, yet the *Holland* crept up to the *New York* and launched an imaginary torpedo at her. The little viper easily did the same thing to the *Kearsarge*. Had the attack been a real one, the naval officers said, both vessels would have gone to the bottom. It is worth while recalling now, in view of our negligence in building up a submarine fleet, what our naval leaders said about this type of vessel fifteen years ago. It will be seen that the official demand for this kind of protection is nothing new. "Gentlemen," said Admiral Dewey before the House Committee on naval affairs in 1900, "I saw the operation of the boat down off Mount Vernon the other day. Several members of this committee were there. I think we were all very much impressed with its performance. My aid, Lieutenant Caldwell, was on board. The boat did everything that the owners proposed to do. And I said then, and I have said it since, that if they had had two of those things at Manila, I never could have held it with the squadron I had. The moral effect—to my mind it is infinitely superior to mines or torpedoes or anything of the kind. With those craft moving under water it would wear people out. With two of those in Galveston all the navies of the world could

JOHN P. HOLLAND
Who gave Germany its most effective engine of naval warfare, the modern submarine

not blockade the place."

"The *Holland* impressed every one," said Admiral Farquhar, then commander-in-chief of the North Atlantic Squadron, "with the idea that under ordinary circumstances she could always get in a torpedo either day or night without being discovered."

"It is clear," said Captain William M. Folger, "that the Holland type will play a serious part in future naval warfare."

"She worked beautifully," said Commander — later Rear-Admiral — Richard Wainwright. "I was very much surprised. I followed the boat for a good many years, but I was very much surprised to see how well she can be handled."

"She has passed," said Rear-Admiral Hichborn, "the experimental stage."

Despite this testimony few people realized then, as few realize to-day, what a tremendous gift Holland had made to his country. He had given it the means to protect itself for all time against sea attack. He had absolutely insured the stability of the Republic, so far as foreign foes were concerned. Two things are indispensable to the protection of any nation. One of these is that it shall be self-supporting. The other is that it shall be able to repel foreign invasion. If a nation is so circumstanced that it can perform these two functions it cannot possibly be destroyed. The United States, on every ground, is self-supporting. We can feed ourselves, clothe ourselves, warm ourselves, shelter ourselves, and provide practically all the materials of manufacture for an indefinite period. If all the rest of the world should suddenly sink into the sea, our forty-eight states could support a much larger population than the present one for centuries—

ENTERING THE TURRET OF THE "HOLLAND"
The boat that definitely demonstrated the practicability of submarine warfare

MR. HOLLAND AT THREE STAGES OF HIS CAREER

At 35, when he built the *Fenian Ram;* in 1895, the year of the *Plunger;* and in 1900, the year of the wonderfully successful *Holland*

probably forever. In war time, therefore, the Nation could never become a beleaguered fortress. No tactics of "starving out" could ever bring us to submission. "Cutting us off" from the rest of the world would not be a logical war measure. In only one way could the enemy overcome us, and that is by invasion. If he could land troops and munitions in sufficient amount, it is conceivable that the Nation could be

Copyright by Brown Bros.

THE "FENIAN RAM," MR. HOLLAND'S FIRST SUCCESSFUL SUBMARINE BOAT

It was intended to help the Fenians in the Irish revolution. It is now lying neglected in a shed on the property of Mr. James Reynolds, a famous Fenian of New Haven, Conn.

Copyright by Brown Bros.

A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH OF JOHN P. HOLLAND

died two days after the outbreak of the European war. Mr. Holland, who was an Irish Nation-
vented his boat in his search for a weapon that would destroy British sea power and so help free
from English rule

THE "HOLLAND" UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN 1898
"If the Spaniards had had two of those things at Manila," said Admiral Dewey, "I never could have held it with the squadron I had"

conquered. Now John P. Holland's invention, intelligently used, completely protects our sea coast from this second danger. If we had a large fleet of Holland submarines, along both coasts, no foreign warships could get near enough to bombard. Blockades would be impossible—the submarine prevents all effective blockades in the present war, as it will in all future wars. No foreign Power could land troop ships on our coasts; the submarines could sink them as rapidly as they came up. The enemy, with a fleet of sea-going submarines, might shut off our commerce and confine us in our own country; but that would be only an inconvenience, it would not spell national disaster, for we could exist very comfortably on our own resources. As a result of the submarine and the long stretches of ocean east and west, the United States is probably the most easily defended country there is with an extensive coast line.

So much, therefore, Holland had done for us; but what had he done to England? His inspiration, as already recounted, was hostility to the mistress of the seas. In the seclusion of his Irish monastery he dreamed of destroying British sea power; he planned to secure "the freedom of the seas" long before the Kaiser devoted his energies to that ambition. And there is a possibility that, some day, his submarine may accomplish that very end. In the present naval situation, of course, there is no doubt as to where sea-mastery lies; the English fleet has driven all German ships, naval and mercantile, from the seas. She will unquestionably hold this mastery for the rest of the war. Had Germany had a large fleet of sea-going submarines at the beginning, however, the question whether England would have produced the present naval situation is at least open to discussion. It is not likely that she has many submarines, perhaps not more than half a

Photographed by John T. Garrison

THE COMPLETED "HOLLAND"

two of those vessels in Galveston," continued Admiral Dewey, "all the navies in the world could not blockade the place." "She worked beautifully," said Rear-Admiral Wainwright

, with a cruising radius sufficiently ded to operate in British waters. submarines, however, have abund- shown what they can do. In the est engagement fought thus far, that st the German cruisers in the North the British ships were not able to fol- up their success because, according ie official statement, they were ap- hing the German submarine fields. ts, therefore, seem to have shown con- rely that large battleships cannot te anywhere near an efficient fleet bmarines. If Germany had enough of this type to patrol the whole Bri- oast, she undoubtedly could keep all arge British warships penned up in own harbors. Again, if Germany es to ignore all principles of warfare wentieth century civilization, as she pparently no hesitation in doing, and ys merchant and passenger ships, it ceivable that, with an enormous fleet of submarines, she might isolate the British Isles and keep from the English people the necessities of life, especially food. England's only recourse under such conditions would be to devise some means of destroying the German submarines. But against the submarine there is at present no effective defense. One submarine cannot fight another submarine because under water they cannot see each other. The present struggle seems to have developed only one way of attacking submarines, and that is with destroyers. We have no means of knowing to what extent this method has been successful. In fact, the war has yet furnished no real test of the effectiveness of the under-water boat, simply because no nation has a fleet large enough to operate on an extensive scale. Submarines can be useful only in large numbers; with a huge fleet of them it is not improbable they may exercise the determining influence upon any naval war.

THE SUBMERGED "HOLLAND"

American, English, and Japanese submarines are built directly from plans furnished by Mr. Holland. The submarines of all navies follow essentially the Holland ideas

In 1904, England began building submarines. Vickers, Sons & Maxim, the English ship builders, came over here and purchased the plans from the Holland Company. In 1905, Japan began constructing a submarine fleet. The Japanese Government asked Holland to go to Japan to supervise the work. He refused to do this; instead, a little workshop was established in his Newark home, and here Holland drew the plans for the first Japanese submarines.

Holland always maintained that Japan and Germany were the only countries that had submarines which represented his mature ideas. He had great difficulties with the Holland Company, from which he withdrew in 1904. This company built most of the American submarine fleet and, indirectly, through Vickers, Sons & Maxim, that of England. Holland asserted that the plans, "improved" with many suggestions of naval experts, departed so far from his conception that they produced an exceedingly inferior type of boat. He made many complaints to Congress, denouncing the so-called Holland boats as unseaworthy "death traps." His last days were made unhappy because he had failed to influence Congress and the public; almost with his last breath he prophesied disaster to his country. To what extent these lamentations represented the disappointment of a neglected inventor and to what extent they had a real basis, only events can show. Holland, of course, was not the man who first devised a workable submarine. Two other Americans, to whom he always expressed his great obligations—David Bushnell and Robert Fulton—had done that. In the last half century scores of inventors had attempted to improve on Bushnell's and Fulton's ideas and make their boats useful in modern warfare. Of these Holland was the one who succeeded. The fact that the submarines of all navies are essentially Holland submarines—those of the United States, England, and Japan being built from plans actually furnished by Holland—fairly measures the extent of his achievement.

HOLLAND'S SUBMARINE MAKING A DIVE

It could rise to the surface and submerge again in five seconds, going down head first, as a comparison of this picture with the one above makes clear. This is its great superiority to other types

ITALIAN SOLDIERS IN A PASSENGER COACH BOUND FOR THE FRONT

ITALY AND THE WORLD WAR

THE NEW ALLY OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND RUSSIA, AND THE ELEVENTH POWER TO ENTER THE EUROPEAN CONFLICT

PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY, THE RULERS AND MILITARY LEADERS, AND THE STRATEGIC FRONTIERS

AN ANTI-GERMANIC DEMONSTRATION IN MILAN

Students of the Milan Polytechnic School demanding the expulsion of German professors during the patriotic excitement that preceded Italy's entrance into the war

Copyright by Pach Bros.

THE MILITARY LEADERS OF ITALY

Left: the Duke of the Abruzzi, Commander-in-Chief of the Italian navy. Right: Lieut.-Gen. Luigi Cadorna, Chief of Staff of the Italian army

SIGNOR ANTONIO SALANDRA

Premier of Italy, who led the movement for war against Austria

QUEEN HELEN OF ITALY

her father, King Nicholas of Montenegro, who hopes to add territory on the Adriatic Sea to his possessions if Italy defeats Austria

KING VICTOR EMMANUEL III OF ITALY

With Queen Milena, the consort of King Nicholas of Montenegro

ITALIAN "TOMMY ATKINSES"

Marching across the Libyan Desert during the war of 1911-12 in which Italy took Tripoli from Turkey as an outlet for its surplus people and as a strategic base to protect its military interests in the Mediterranean Sea

IN TRIPOLI

Where the Italian soldiers who have seen service in actual warfare got their experience. The picture to the left: Italian soldiers drilling in the courtyard of a barracks in the desert

ITALY'S SOLDIERS OF THE DESERT

ALPINE ARTILLERY

s taken great pains to develop a large body
hat are trained especially to operate in the
untry of its northern frontier, which is
the Alps of the Austrian Tyrol, one of the
grounds of the war

THE TYROL

Italy covets from
least as far north
untain barrier that
only by Brenner
ture to the right:
at a summit in the
practice campaign

ITALY'S SOLDIERS OF THE SNOWS

AN ITALIAN BATTERY ON PARADE
Besides field artillery, as here illustrated, and fortress artillery, the Italian army includes two regiments of thirty-six batteries of mountain artillery

AN ITALIAN BATTERY IN ACTION
The Italian artillery has of late been re-armed with the famous De Port 75 millimetre gun

ITALIAN CAVALRY AT DRILL

anship of the most daring kind has probably been more highly developed in the Italian cavalry than in the same branch of the military service of any other nation

ITALIAN CAVALRY IN BARRACKS

A near view of the soldiers of King Victor Emmanuel III in their modern uniforms

THE "DANTE ALIGHIERI," ITALY'S FIRST DREADNAUGHT

Which, though built in 1909, has greater speed (24 knots) than any of five dreadnaughts of 1910 and 1912, and greater speed than any ship of its class in the United States Navy

THE "NAPOLI"

A high-speed pre-dreadnaught of the class which, before 1906, comprised the first-line battleships of all navies. Italy now has at least ten modern dreadnaughts

TRIESTE, AUSTRIA'S PRINCIPAL PORT, AT THE HEAD OF THE ADRIATIC SEA

Though Trieste has been in the possession of Austria for more than five hundred years, three fourths of its population is Italian. Its commerce is far greater than the commerce of Venice, its Italian rival

POLA, AUSTRIA'S PRINCIPAL NAVAL STATION SINCE 1848

And an Austrian possession since 1815, which Italy wishes to bring back under its sovereignty as a step toward its complete control of the Adriatic Sea through the possession of the best harbors of its eastern shores

THE LOW-LYING ITALIAN SHORE OF THE ADRIATIC

Where the commerce of Venice and other eastern Italian ports has felt the adverse effect of the competition of Trieste in the race for mercantile advantage

THE IMPREGNABLE DALMATIAN SHORE OF THE ADRIATIC

Ragusa and other Dalmatian ports, with their rocky headlands, are easily fortified, and, when so fortified, will dominate the military situation in the Adriatic Sea

THE BEAR AT BAY

RIVEN BACK FROM THE CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS AND THREATENED N THE NORTH BY THE GERMANS OF EAST PRUSSIA—GENERAL VON MACKENSEN'S ADVANCE FROM CRACOW

TCHING the shifting fortunes of the several theatres of the Euro- conflict, the observer should re- er that they are all merely phases : mighty effort, the effort of the ush Germany, the effort of Ger- rike such a decisive blow at one nemies—either France or Russia all be free to defeat the other at ndeed, in a strategic sense, this arily a war between France and and its outcome, in all probabil- e decided on the western front Germans face the French and an and British allies from Belfort rk. Russia's function in the f the war is to pre-occupy the f Austria and to force Germany its western front to defend itself st against an invasion toward t will probably continue to the reaten but may never succeed. d Turkey, Italy and Servia, are only to the degree that they der the combatants who are at hat western battle-line. What n Asia Minor or at the Dar- hat comes of the Italian offen- Tyrol or along the Isonzo River, occurs on the mighty Russian- attle-front, short of a possible ing victory by one or the other ; is of military significance it compels Germany to withdraw m the defense of that vital e or as it permits Germany to s to the offensive power of that e.

at the war from this high view- events of April and May fall proper perspective. Their main e explained in this article and hat follow it.

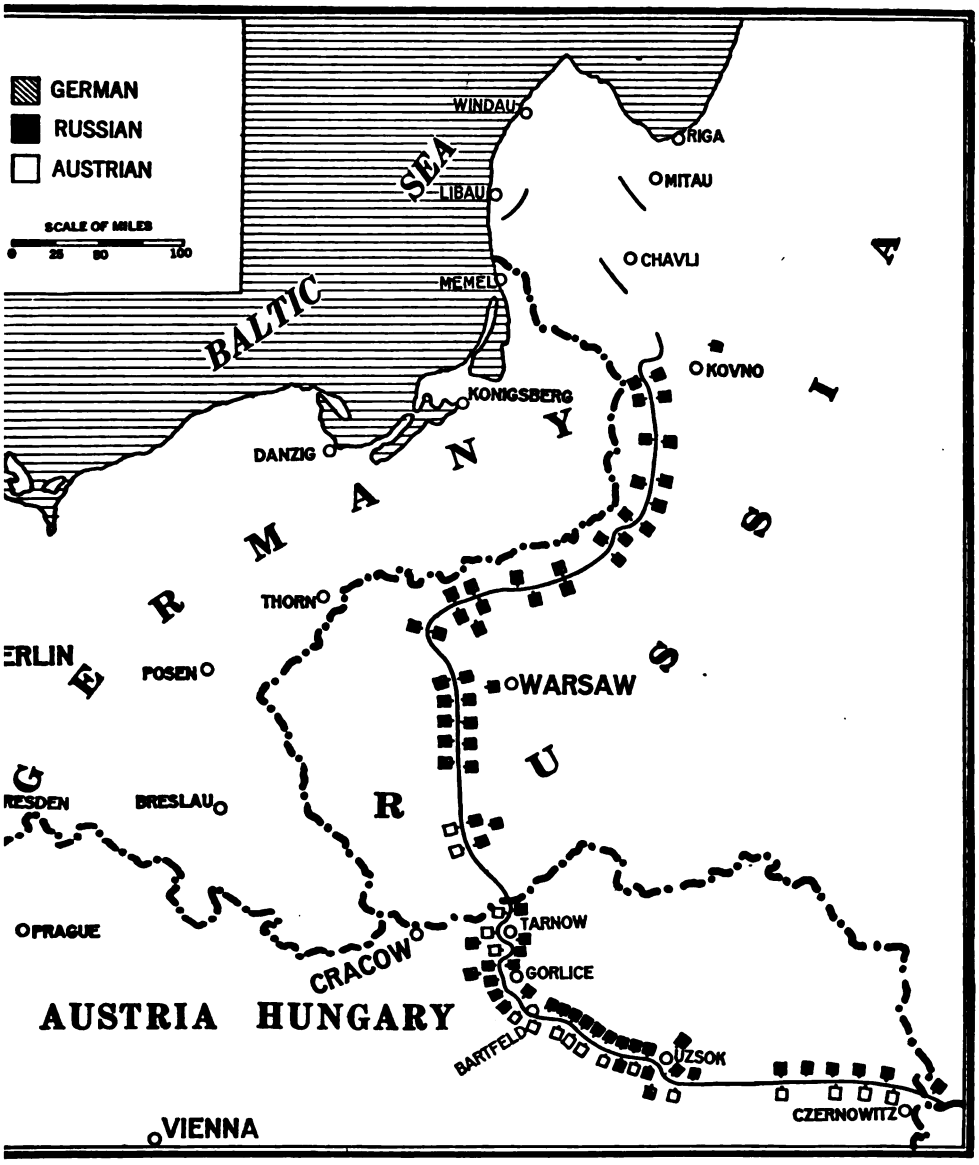
he winter campaign was ended , the Germans had been unable the offensive power of the Rus- sian army, although they had inflicted heavy defeats on it both at Lodz and in the Mazurian Lakes. During the last of March, moreover, the Russians had taken the Austrian fortress of Przemysl, which had the effect of opening up the high roads and communications in northern Galicia toward the Carpathian Mountains. In addition to taking this fortress, three Russian army corps were thus released for duty elsewhere. As all the Russian attempts at offensive moves in the centre of Poland and East Prussia had ended disastrously, they returned to their old plan of an advance on Cracow: that is, to strike at Germany through Galicia with the idea of turning the Oder River and then working north toward Berlin.

To succeed in this plan, the Russians had first to seize and hold the crests of the northern Carpathian Mountains on the border line between Galicia and Hungary. Then their left flank would be secure against counter attacks by the Austrians directly against their communications. The Russian front in northern and central Poland was well established along the marshy banks of the now rapidly filling rivers. In southern Poland and northwestern Galicia their lines were equally strongly posted in hills and along the rolling banks of the Dunajec River south of Tarnow. On all this front their position consisted of double, triple, even quadruple, rows of trenches and field works, well manned and fairly well provided with artillery. These lines, then, could be expected to hold while the move on the Carpathians took place. Accordingly, immediately after they captured Przemysl the Russian hosts took up their advance on the Carpathians. Their main attack was directed between the Lupkow and Uzsok passes: to keep pace with it, a heavy column was thrown through the Dukla Pass in the direction of Bartfeld.

THE RUSSIAN BATTLE-FRONT, APRIL 1ST-25TH

As soon as the Austrian fortress of Przemysl was taken by the Russians in the last days of March, thus removing this menace to a main attack on the Northern Carpathians, the Russians undertook a grand attack all along this line on April 1st. The main body moved against the area between the Lupkow and Uzsok passes while smaller bodies moved on the Dukla Pass and the passes farther east. The Austrians held the railroads and main roads through these passes in considerable force with heavy entrenchments. In the intervening territory they had comparatively light forces with heavy reserves behind them in the hope that some of the Russian columns would push farther ahead than the others and thereby expose themselves to a surrounding attack. This the Russians were careful to avoid and attempted attacks and sheer weight of numbers to gain mits of the range so as to protect their left subsequent move on Cracow. For nearly the Russians fought hard through the melt to attain their object but were definitely st April 25th. During this time the Germ quietly assembling an army of about 250,00 troops south of Cracow. At the same tim sembled a great cavalry force along the Nie and the extreme north of East Prussia for a of the Russian Baltic provinces. General kensen's army south of Cracow waited Russians had become enmeshed in the rid Carpathians and until the country dried up

In all, close to a million men marched under the Russian standards into the wooded Carpathians. There, during th part of April, they encountered snow



THE RUSSIAN BATTLE-FRONT, MAY 1ST-5TH

May 1st the Austro-German offensive in western was launched with marvelous rapidity. At me time a demonstration was made into the n Baltic provinces by great masses of German with even greater rapidity. The Russians the Dunajec River from the Vistula to the Car- n mountains were overwhelmed with a tremen- rtillery fire and frontal assaults of infantry carried their three main fortified lines in rapid sion. The severest fighting took place at the town of Gorlice on the upper Dunajec River and on a hill just south of the city of Tarnow. These positions were stormed and quickly taken by the Germanic allies by May 5th. The position of the Russians in the Northern Carpathians was thereby "enveloped" and their situation made precarious in the extreme. In the Baltic provinces the German cavalry during this time reached the outskirts of Libau, Mitau, Chavli, and the railroad between that place and Vilna.

in many places, freezing at night and ing in the daytime. They had to re roads and build railroads as they ced. They had to preserve their ments and maintain contact between the various elements of their forces among the intricate ridges of the mountains. The Austrians, on their side, held the lines of railroads and the main wagon roads in some strength, with weaker forces between

them, their whole front being backed up by strong bodies of reserves. The Austrian detachments, along the roads especially, were very strongly entrenched, which made the Russians bring greatly preponderating forces against them, and the Austrians entertained the hope that the Russians would attempt to push heavy columns into the intervals between them, thereby exposing themselves to attack from three sides. This the Russians, however, were careful to avoid, maintaining their fighting fronts fairly well in alignment and intact, while they steadily pushed the Austrians back toward the ridges of the mountains.

In these operations terrific frontal assaults by the Russians were the rule, which entailed a great loss in men and equipment. These attacks were particularly severe in the Ondawa, Ladorza, and Ung valleys.

When there remained no doubt in the minds of the Austro-Germans during the middle of April that the Russian attempt on the northern Carpathian passes was a major operation their plans were quickly made regarding counter measures. As heretofore, the primary object of all the Austrian and German strategy has been the destruction of the main Russian army in Poland, or in other words to get to Brest Litovsk toward the south and Bielostock in the north to sever the communications of the Russian main army and attack it from the rear. The immediate object of the Austro-German strategy, however, was in this instance to destroy as much as possible of the Russian army in Galicia and the Carpathians, and to draw as many as possible of the Russian reserves and new formations from the interior into southern Poland and Galicia, so that the Germans might make another stroke from East Prussia in the north.

To carry out this scheme General von Mackensen was brought down from the front in Poland, and he quietly assembled a German army of five first line corps, or, roughly, 250,000 men, in the area south of Cracow. In the meantime the Austrian army opposite the Uzsok Pass and the Austrian army in Bukowina took the offensive, the first in the direction of the Stry and the second in the direction of the Dniester River, with the object of pulling all the Russian forces held in reserve in northern Galicia to that part of the theatre of operations. These attacks had their desired effect and the Russian lines in that area were reinforced. This left few of the Russian reserves available for the Tarnow-Gorlice front. The effect of these attacks also was to bring the Russian thrust against the Carpathians to a standstill on April 24th. During this time also the Germans had collected a great force of cavalry and mobile columns of infantry in the extreme tip of East Prussia near Memel and the Niemen River where it crosses the Russian border into German soil. A German naval expedition was also made ready for operations against Russian Courland, the Baltic provinces, and Riga.

Melting snows during the last part of April had turned Poland into a quagmire, with the marshes full and the rivers flooding their banks. On the northern slopes of the Carpathians, however, the drainage is good and the water ran off rapidly. On May 1st the stage was set for the German offensive, and the Germans and Austrians concentrated in the Cracow area moved forward to the attack on the 60-mile front from the Vistula River to the Carpathians, or approximately from the point where the Dunajec River meets the Vistula to Gorlice. At the same time all through Poland attacks were made against the Russian position to hold their troops in place, and the cavalry and mobile infantry columns from East Prussia were launched into the Baltic provinces.

The local character of the attack from the Vistula River to the Carpathian Mountains was frontal and was prepared by great masses of artillery arranged in tiers: that is, the field guns in front, the medium-weight howitzers behind them, and the heavy-weight howitzers in rear of these. At the first onslaught of the infantry the triple Russian line along the Dunajec River was forced in practically every place. The two strongest points, Tarnow and Gorlice, put up a desperate resistance. The conflicts were particularly fierce in Gorlice, which General Mackensen's army took by assault, and on the Wal Mountain just south of Tarnow, which had been

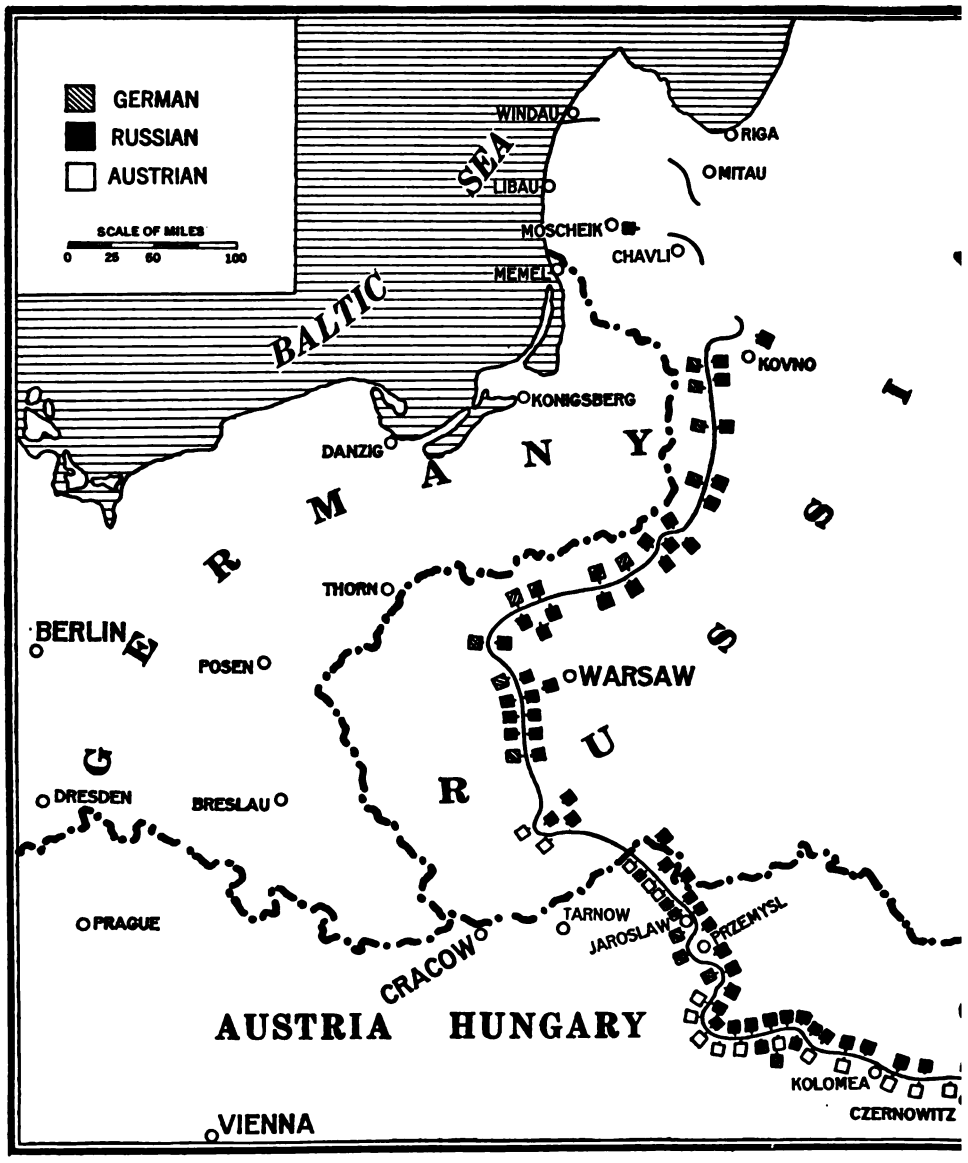
into a veritable Gibraltar by the ıns. The Austro-Germans had pre- well for the pursuit and it was kept elentlessly, smashing the Russian guards as the Allies advanced. By 5th the Austro-Germans had crossed unajec River at all points, thereby ping the Russian right in the Car- ıns. Pressure was also brought by ustro-Germans against Uzsok Pass direction of Stry with the additional rcements which had been drawn from ırmy in Bukowina.

May 5th, also, the German cavalry, ing from East Prussia, had crossed iemen River and had engaged the ın detachments in Chavli, Mitau, and in the Russian Baltic provinces. ay 9th the Russians all the way from stula River to Uzsok Pass in Galicia n full retreat. In an attempt to ease essure in northern Galicia, the Rus- ıttacked the now weakened Austrian n southeastern Galicia and Bukowina en the Dniester and Pruth rivers on ont from Kolomea to Czernowitz. Austrians fell back to their bridge along the Pruth and there held them, ; the counter offensive at every op- ıity in order to keep all the Russian ; possible in that area. On May 8th ermans captured Libau in the north, ied Chavli, and their cavalry cut the ıds northeast of Kovno. By May General Mackensen's advance guards efore Przemysl, the former Austrian ss, then strongly held by the Russians, he Austrian advance detachments ome in contact with the Russians e west bank of the San. Owing to eat dent in their line, the Russians Kielce district of Poland and along ilica River began to fall back before erman pressure on these points. On 15th the Austro-Germans reached ıe of the San River and had captured e towns on the west bank except ıysl, forcing the Russians into their ive lines on the eastern side. The ıns, in an attempt to relieve the ıre, tried offensive moves on the left of the Vistula River against the Rawa zura German lines west of Warsaw. moves, however, had no effect.

The Russians now were attempting to reform their lines east of the San River, and for that purpose were gathering every available man that could be found in that vicinity, while their comrades south of Przemysl, now in danger of being surrounded in the foothills of the Carpathians, extricated themselves as best they could. The San north of Przemysl is a narrow, rapid-flowing stream, fordable at this season of the year at only a few places, a formidable military obstacle. General Mackensen, for the purpose of forcing the crossing, assembled a great battery of 1,500 guns on a 20-mile front opposite and north of Jaroslaw and by May 20th had obtained a strong lodgment across the river. At the same time the Austrians, pushing through the Uzsok Pass in the direction of Stry, forced the remaining Russians back upon the marshes between the upper reaches of the Dniester River and the San River, southeast of Przemysl.

The Russians now had on the way all the available men from the interior of Russia and were concentrating them at Warsaw, Ivangorod, and Lublin, while from Bessarabia in the Odessa district troops, probably intended for a future move on Turkey, were headed up toward Czernowitz and the Dniester area in southeastern Galicia. In the meantime the Germans had captured Windau in Courland, were in touch with the Russians at Mitau, and were pushing patrols up along the Gulf of Riga toward the city of that name, while considerable bodies of infantry were landed by ships at Libau and Windau.

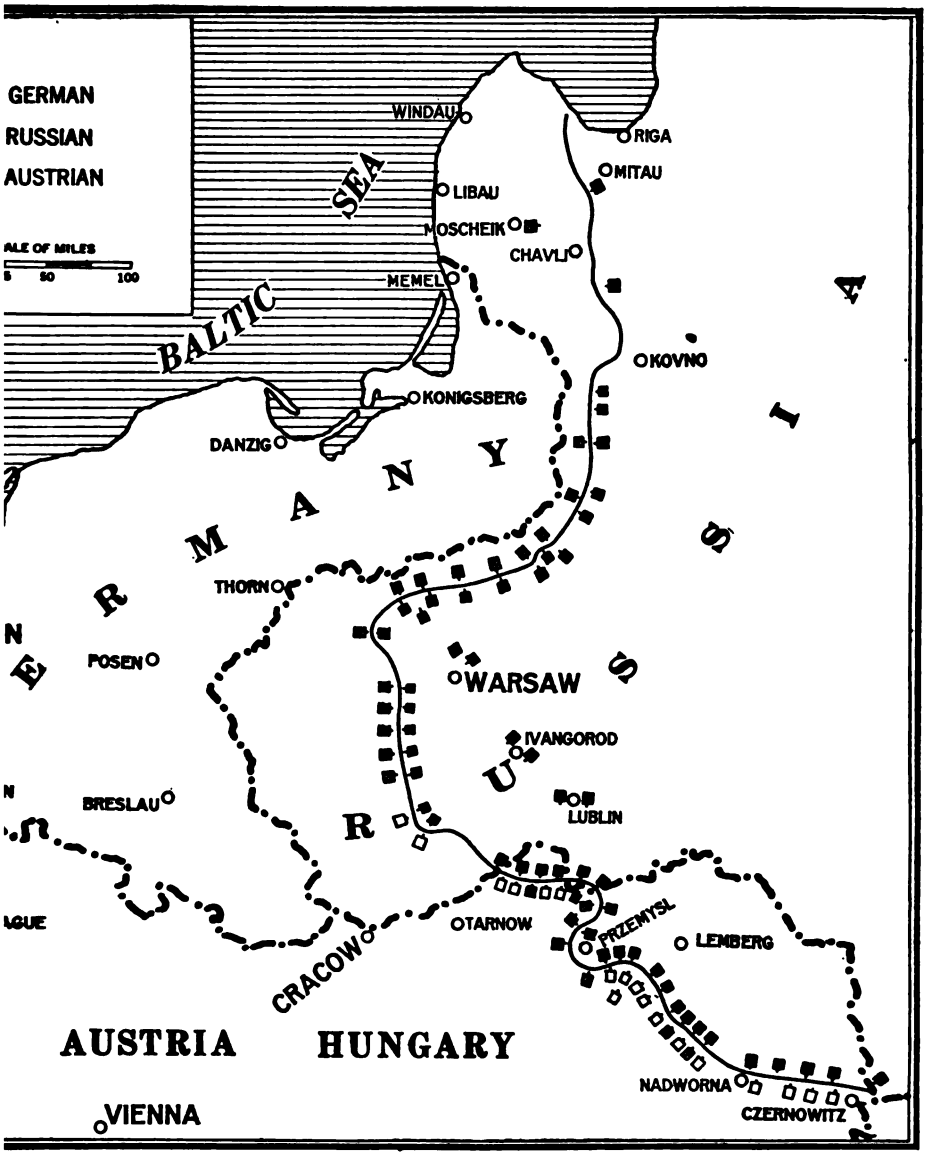
The main direction of the German demonstration in the Russian Baltic provinces has not yet made itself manifest at the time when this is written. It would appear probable, however, that if the Germans can maintain themselves in sufficient strength in this area, it is designed to turn the line of the Niemen River east of Kovno for an advance on Vilna. Considerable quantities of foodstuffs, horses, and cattle are being gathered in this rich agricultural area. The Russians are attempting a counter offensive against the Germans in the vicinity of the point where the San and Vistula rivers come together, but up to June 1st made little progress.



THE RUSSIAN BATTLE-FRONT, MAY 15TH

By May 15th the Germanic allies had reached the west banks of the San River and had captured all the towns except the fortress of Przemysl, then in possession of the Russians. The pursuit was steadily maintained for ten days, covering a distance of about 100 miles. The Russians attempted to reorganize the remnants of their defeated forces behind the line of the San River and brought up reinforcements from every possible source. To the south of the San River along the Carpathians the Russians made great e extricate their troops, which were now hotly with the Austrians in that area who had b other attack in the direction of Stry. A Dniester River the Russians drove the Austri to the Pruth River. In the Baltic provi Germans took the seaport of Libau, Ch the railroad northeast of Vilna, and push and east toward Windau and Riga.

The Austro-Germans in northern Galicia at that time were replenishing their stocks of ammunition and bringing up their reserves for keeping up their attacks in this area. Under General von Mackensen they captured Przemysl on June 3d. The effect of this movement has been to cl northern Carpathians of all Russians make it extremely difficult for them pair the damage, at least for some t to come, as the Austro-Germans repo they have taken a very large num



THE RUSSIAN BATTLE-FRONT, MAY 23D

ians by this time had succeeded in reor- ir forces to a great extent behind the line Liver, but not before General Mackensen crossing on a twenty-mile front north of The Austrians pushed hard south of d completely cleared the Northern Car- Russians, pursuing them to the marshes of the Dniester River, which at this time s in flood. The Russians are concentrat- available new formations that have been ought from the interior of the country at ngorod, and Lublin. They have taken : to cover these concentrations wherever ecially in the angle formed by the junc- San and Vistula rivers, where they have made some progress. The Germanic allies are now on the edge of the great swamp lands in this area and the Russians are close to their railroads. Two hundred thousand prisoners and a vast quantity of war material have been taken by the Austro-Germans. This means that the total casualties inflicted are the equivalent of the men of at least ten Russian army corps. In doing this they have stood very heavy losses but all their organizations are practically intact. In the Baltic provinces the Germans have occupied Windau and transported troops by sea to both this place and Libau, from which points they are advancing eastward with the object of menacing the Russian communications in Poland. Przemysl is being assaulted vigorously by the Germanic forces.

risoners and great quantities of rial of all sorts.

The Teutonic allies, therefore, have dealt the first blow against the Russians

in the summer campaign, and as they stand now will at least compel a considerable re-arrangement of Russian forces throughout Poland and the Baltic provinces, even if they accomplish nothing more. They have also stopped the probability of any large Russian expedition against Turkey and rendered it possible, should necessity arise, to detach forces from the eastern front for duty against France or against Italy. The outcome of the whole operation in Galicia and Courland leaves the Russian lines in this district almost exactly where they were on October 20th—long before Przemysl's first fall. The line of the San River, with its fringe of swamps, is obstacle to further Teutonic advanc oess for the Austro-Germans towa berg would place the Russians soutl Dniester in great danger, as they wo their communications threatened. Russians are also awaiting a possibl from the north and East Prussi Russians sorely need ammuniti military equipment of all sorts. T of Archangel in the Arctic beca of ice in May. This port and Vla on the Pacific are their only availal ports of entrance for military ma the present time.

WAR BY INCHES IN THE WEST

THE STALEMATE IN THE DECISIVE THEATRE OF THE EUROPEAN W

UP TO the present time—June 1st—nothing has been done to indicate that the great "spring drive" of the British and French against the Germans, which was to begin under a full head of steam on May 1st, has yet been attempted or in any way started. There have been many actions of a terrific character but these have been local affairs when compared to the whole situation. The Germans have kept on the western front only a "screen" of men, holding their larger bodies of troops in reserve to meet the concentrated attack at any point. This has been possible because the Germans have the inside of a curved line. Maubeuge and Laon have been bases for reserves. Each attack made by the Allies has met considerable immediate success in consequence. This was true in Champagne and before Ypres. In both these cases the Allies broke completely through the German lines of trenches, but were checked by the attacks of the reserves.

The most serious trials of strength have been at Nôtre Dame de Lorette, Perthes, and at the Heights of the Meuse, where the ents lasted over many days and t ad plenty of time to bring up In all these cases the Germans counter attacked violently, French held what they had gained. of the attacks were made by the o ritorials and reserves, the "unsha the French call them. The best troops have not seen much action thi

The Germans during May mad termined attack with two army co front of about seven miles north Ypres and advanced in some pl much as four miles. The object attack was entirely local in its nat was made for the purpose of firmly lishing the German line in that with its right on the hills which adj inundated islands about five mile of Ypres; also, to take Ypres, an im road centre, and to establish a firm on the west side of the Yser River which for a long time has formed ditch between the contending force locality.

The French, on their part, hav sharp local attacks, notably north o gaining here and there from one miles of ground. It is in this vicini the German lines are nearest to th and should the Germans make a su drive through here, the French, E and Belgian forces north of this would necessarily be cut off.

The Germans' effort here has been to reach the River Somme and shorten their line, as well as to capture all northern France. They directed their strongest attacks here last October, throwing the Bavarians and the Prussian Guard against the French Tenth Army, then in the process of formation under General de Maud'huy. They were stopped, however, at that time, on a line running nearly due north from Arras to Béthune, and they have been losing ground continuously in that region all winter. They have not captured a single trench, whereas the French territorials have won almost all the local German first line trenches. This has required long, patient effort, gaining a few yards at a time, work at which the French territorials have shown themselves equal to the best Bavarian troops.

Sharp attacks have also been made by the French southeast of Verdun and in Alsace, while the Germans have attacked in Argonne west of Verdun, all of these with no appreciable success. The main force of the French army continues to be deployed between Rheims and Epinal back of the salient in their lines, the apex of which is the great fortress of Verdun. It is from this great stronghold toward Metz and the Treves Gap that the true line of offense of the French army lies, and a successful move in this direction well carried through would isolate the bulk of the German army which lies west of that line. All through this district both French and Germans have been attacking for months with but little general success.

Up to the present, then, the military situation on the western front is about the same as it has been during the winter: that is, a stalemate. France has now all its able-bodied men of fighting age incorporated in her military establishment. Never again during this war will it be able to have so many of its own sons under the tricolor as it has at the present time. The reason that it cannot have more is that all its able-bodied men have been called out and that its annual contingent of able-bodied men of military age does not exceed 250,000. Its loss from deaths due to war alone, excluding the prisoners of war, largely exceeds this number. Its army at the present time is in a very high state of efficiency, not only in its personnel but in its training, equipment, and discipline. The only accessions of men that can come to it may be from England. These, however, are problematical, and, as they consist of units improvised since the war began, they cannot for a long time equal its own troops in offensive ability. France as a whole is keyed this spring to the highest pitch. If

THE WESTERN THEATRE ON MAY 23D

Little change is manifest in the positions of the contenders on this front in the last six months. Attacks of all have been local, have in some cases made or lost a few hundred yards, in some cases a very few thousand. These have been about equally divided between the contestants. The French have done most of the attacking, and the Germans have held them back by sharp counter attacks. Some of the attacks have involved as great a body as two army corps. The Germans have about one million men on this front. From the Swiss frontier to Metz, generally speaking, these troops are organized primarily for defense; west of Metz they are not only organized for defense but for offense as well. The Allies dispose of about one and one half millions of men on the line itself, while behind the line is an equal number of organized reserves. This is nearly the limit of their available personnel. Of the allied front the Belgians hold about 7 miles, the British 25, and the French 420. This is the most decisive theatre of the whole European war because, could France obtain a decision over Germany or Germany a decision over the French, the strongest opponent would be eliminated. The shortness of the front has made it possible to entrench it completely and thereby has reduced the military operations to siege methods that offer slight chances of success to either side.

military strategy permits, it is willing to make whatever sacrifice is necessary to get the Germans off French soil. The French recognize that this will be an undertaking expensive in lives, but the sacrifice is already accepted as a necessity.

The Belgian contingent, of about 50,000 men, is so small as to count little in an offensive way. As for months past, the Belgians are holding about 7 miles of front, the British about 25 miles, and the French about 420 miles.

The Belgians have won certain strategic positions by crossing the inundated district and taking the advanced German positions from which they were able, from a thoroughly protected position, to attack the French troops to both the north and the south. The presence of the Belgians across the Yser also necessitates the keeping of a considerable force opposite them to protect the German front and also to protect the German flank in making attacks. The French troops along the sea, in the sand dunes, have taken advantage of the positions gained by the Belgians to push steadily on toward Ostend. They have gained only a few miles, and the German troops against them have been strengthened to prevent the line being turned on the edge of the sea.

Against the Allied line of about 1,500,000 men and an equal number in reserve, the Germans have about one million, with available augmentations dependent upon the success or failure of their campaigns in other places. The Allies at best, then, have a preponderance of about three to one on this whole front should they throw in every available man. To undertake a general offensive just at the present time, against the exceptionally strong positions which they will have to surmount all along the line, appears to be a desperate venture. However, if it is to be done it will be started, in all probability, within a short time.

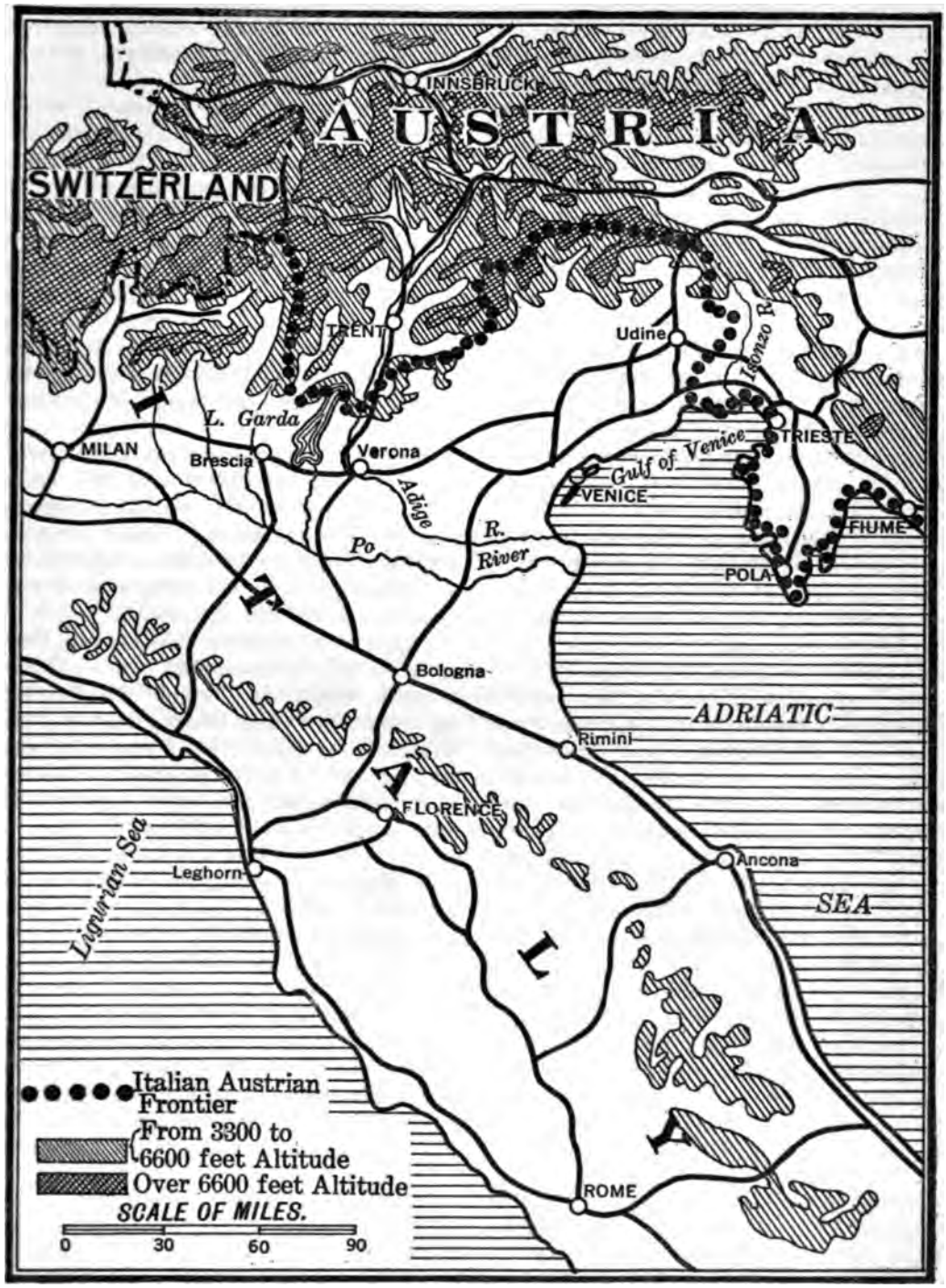
France is Germany's most dangerous opponent, and Germany is France's most dangerous opponent. A decision obtained by one over the other would more hastily lead to a cessation of the present war and an arrangement by the various Powers than any other one thing. On the other hand, due to the comparative shortness of the front and the nature of the country and communications, it is more difficult to obtain a decision in this theatre than in any other place, and the stalemate which has characterized this most decisive theatre of the war for months is likely to continue for some time to come.

WHAT ITALY'S ARMIES CAN DO

TO RID THEIR COUNTRY OF THE MENACE OF AUSTRIA'S CONTROL OF THE ALPS THAT COMMAND THE VALLEYS OF THE RIVER PO—HOW THEY CAN HELP THE ALLIES

ITALY'S accession to the list of the Allies, which occurred on May 23d, was due to a variety of causes, both military and political. The chief military reason is that the Austrians hold the crests and southern slopes of the Alps, on Italy's northern frontier, thereby making it easy for them to invade the fertile valleys bordering the River Po in northern Italy. Not until Italy can possess itself of these heights can it have any assurance of being able to protect itself from a northern invasion, and not until this immunity from a northern invasion is secured can Italy hope to become a great nation.

The military significance of this great barrier of the Alps is the same to-day as it was in the days of the Romans. So long as these heights were available to the people of the north, Rome remained a small state. Rome began as a small military community in the centre of Italy. Its next move in expansion was to cross the Apennines and gain the valley of the Po. This greatly consolidated its power and formed the basis of its future expansion.



THE DECISIVE THEATRE OF THE AUSTRO-ITALIAN WAR

The Austrian province of Trentino projects like a great bastion into Northern Italy. Through the centre of this bastion runs the River Adige, which furnishes an open door to the northern invader. This great bastion, with its easy means of ingress into Northern Italy, is directly on the flank of any Italian move toward Trieste and the country around it. The whole area between the River Po and Trieste forms a drainage basin for the Alps, the crests and southern slopes of which are everywhere held by the Austrians. These mountains on the north rise to an altitude of 10,000 feet, on the east to a height of 6,000 feet, and form a most formidable military barrier to any invasions from the south.

Not until its victorious legions crossed the Alps and established themselves firmly to the north of them did it become a great World Power of the period. And then, when its hands, weakened by centuries of unchallenged power and its degenerating influence, let fall the northern passes Rome ceased to exist as mistress of the then known world.

The strategic considerations are the same to-day. Italy, to be a great State, must possess the Alpine passes. The States to the north must prevent it to protect themselves. Modern Italy has consolidated its power on the old Roman peninsula, "has crossed the Apennines," and stands at the foot of the great mountain barrier gazing intently toward the north. There are many points of difference, however, between the ancient Romans and the modern Italians which greatly affect their ability to carry out their national aspirations. Rome, in its days of glory, sent out in its legions men all of one blood. Their military system, training, organization, and equipment were far superior to those of their adversaries. Their unity of purpose was absolute. For these reasons, even against unbelievable odds, their eagles screamed victoriously at the end of practically every campaign for several centuries. Modern Italy has neither the homogeneity of people and institutions nor the relative efficiency of armed forces which the Romans possessed. Their problem is the same but the means for carrying it out are not so potent. In Northern Italy the population is descended largely from the Gallic and Germanic hordes that formerly poured through the Alps and were annihilated in a military way or passed into the hands of the Romans as slaves, some later going as conquerors and peopling the fertile valleys of the north. This stock, comprising roughly one third of the population, is efficient military material. In central Italy the racial elements exhibit many of the characteristics of the old Roman conquerors of the world from whom they are largely descended. In the south, however, and in Sicily, the Arab element enters into the mixture of national characteristics which contain a hodgepodge of all the old trading nations of the Mediterranean. These are probably the weakest racial elements, from a military standpoint, in modern Italy.

The population of Italy is approximately 35,000,000, giving a total of about 3,500,000 men of arms-bearing age. The country is divided into twelve army corps districts, so that Italy's available field army, aside from its troops engaged in non-mobile duty, cannot exceed 800,000 men. The military system, founded on its present basis in 1875, is similar to that of the other great European states. Its thoroughness, however, when compared to that of France, for example—in which 90 per cent. of the arms-bearing population actually render service in time of peace—or to Germany and Austria, is inferior. Great efforts have been made by Italy to perfect its armed forces during recent years, and during the last year especially details of organization, equipment, and training have been thoroughly renovated and brought up to date.

The modern Italian army has never been truly tested. In Abyssinia it did not distinguish itself. In Tripoli it operated against a very weak, disorganized, and inefficiently led enemy. It is unused to war and has yet to prove its value. Against it, in the principal theatre of operations at least—along Italy's northern frontier—it is faced by the Austrian troops in their own mountain fastnesses. These troops are now inured to war and include veterans of a hundred battlefields. In addition, the troops of Germany will be found shoulder to shoulder with their Austrian allies, and it cannot be denied that after the last ten months of conflict these fighting men, in their homogeneity of personnel, organization, training, and equipment, and in their perfect unity of purpose, are probably more like the ancient Romans, or even Spartans, than any other nation now in existence.

The most important strategical aspect of Italy's position is the Austrian frontier in the province of Trentino, which projects like a great wedge or rock-walled bastion between the Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. Along the rest of the frontier towering mountains confront the Italians everywhere except in the area immediately north of Trieste, where the great heights give way to more gentle slopes. But here

he Isonzo River forms for Austria
ıg defensive line on both sides of
and back of it again rise great
ıins. All these heights and their
n slopes to the fertile valleys of
are held by the Austrians. To
n their menace, through the apex
Trentino bastion is a natural opening
by the valley of the Adige River
through Verona, only thirty miles
he Austrian frontier. The straight
e from the point where the Adige
crosses the Austro-Italian border
Adriatic Sea near Venice is scarcely
les, so that any force which Italy
ırow to the east in the direction of
Göritz, and the Istrian peninsula
ria would have its flank dangerously
d by the Austrians operating from
ıny of the numerous streams which
ıis part of the drainage basin of the
he heads of which the Austrians
. The only way Italy can make an
north from Verona and yet keep its
nications squarely behind it and its
unexposed is along the line of the
River; and to make good on this line
ations in the face of the natural and
ıl obstacles imposed is truly a her-
task. West of the Adige River and
utaries no good main line of opera-
or an invasion to the north can be
ın the Alpine wall; and only a few
est of this valley, Switzerland, firm
rmed neutrality, guards the passes
nountains.

artificial defenses on both sides of
ntier are profuse and modern in
espect. The railroad systems on
ides are complete, but in these
as somewhat of an advantage. It
o practically parallel lines of rail-
ınning generally from Verona and
northeast into Austria through
vince of Venetia. Through Tren-
ıstria has one principal line of rail-
nning through Trent to Verona and
ther lines entering eastern Venetia
Villach, Göritz, and Trieste, re-
ly. No matter what main line
ıtions the Italians adopt in northern
ainst Austria, the task is a difficult
taly's natural lines of defense, in
ı to the River Adige, which can
easily be turned from the Austrian Trentino, are to be found in the River Po, flowing generally from west to east, a few miles south. Even this river may be turned, although with difficulty, by invasions from the Austrian Trentino. Farther south the line of the Apennine Mountains forms a strong Italian defense practically across Italy from Genoa to Forli. These mountains vary in height from 3,000 to 6,000 feet and in former times have forced back many an invasion. The fertile valleys of the River Po, and those of its tributaries and contiguous streams, form one of the great battlegrounds of the world and here again, as in former days, some of the great decisive battles may be fought.

Italy's eyes glance also at the shores of the Adriatic Sea on the opposite side from its own coast; and to Albania, particularly, its desires seem to extend. It has now a force of about one army corps in the excellent port of Avlona. This harbor is strategically located because from it roads lead out to the interior which would place Italian forces operating from Avlona as a base on the flank of any move south from Servia toward Greece or Salonika, southwest from Bulgaria or north from Greece toward Albania, Servia, or to the east. In addition, Albania itself constitutes a fertile area with excellent ports along its seaboard. Dalmatia also, now held by Austria and abounding in excellent ports, would be a great acquisition. Italy is interested not only in these provinces but also in the Ægean Islands, the Dardanelles, Asia Minor, and Africa, especially in connection with its aspirations to become the predominant naval Power in the Mediterranean Sea.

Aside from military operations along its northern frontier, Italy's participation in the war necessarily involves oversea expeditions. Its navy in the Adriatic appears somewhat superior to that of Austria and certainly should be superior with the accession of some Allied ships. The Adriatic, however, is not a broad sea, and a modern submarine develops its highest efficiency in deep water of this character. The Austrian submarines have operated with success as far south as the Strait of Otranto.

So far, Italy's strategy has not been re-

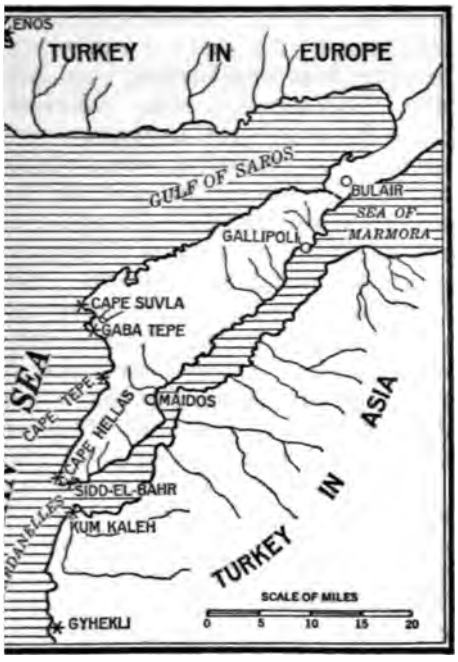
vealed. It would appear, however, that the only defense that it can make for its northern provinces of Venetia and Lombardy is a vigorous offense against the Austrians, the principal concentration point for which is in the area around Verona, with a secondary concentration area northeast of Venice. Opposed to this, the Austrian concentration is south of Innsbruck, with a secondary point north of Trieste. It is rumored that Italy is assembling a force close to Brindisi, in the heel of Italy, and is collecting transports for an oversea expedition. Whether these troops will go to Avlona and join with the Servians for an invasion northward into Austria or for the purpose of going to the Dardanelles, Asia Minor, Dalmatia, Istria, or even the northern frontier, remains to be seen. The decisive theatre of war for Italy is its northern frontier, and it may be expected that a great effort will be made in that direction. As has been pointed out above, this entails the overcoming of natural obstacles of tremendous military strength; and a great preponderance of military efficiency will be required to make it a success.

As to the general effect on the European war of Italy's entrance, conjectures only can be made. The Austro-Germans will have to keep about 500,000 men on this frontier. They appear to be abundantly able to do so at the present time. No immediate effect on the war as a whole, therefore, can be expected.

THE STUBBORN DARDANELLES

FIVE WEEKS TO GAIN FIVE MILES FOR THE ALLIES ON THE GALLIPOLI PENINSULA—LAND AND WATER ATTACKS BY A HETEROGENEOUS EXPEDITION AGAINST STRONG TURKISH FORTIFICATIONS IN MOUNTAINOUS COUNTRY

THE unsuccessful attempt of the Allied fleets to force their way through the Dardanelles on March 18th and the days following entailed the loss of three second-line battleships and smaller craft from gunfire and mines. The French and English then prepared to force the entrance by the use of a field army, and for this purpose French troops from the mother country, native organizations from the African dependencies, British troops of various sorts from England, Australians, New Zealanders, and contingents from India were gradually assembled and equipped in Egypt and at other points on the Mediterranean. The Island of Lemnos, about forty miles from the Dardanelles, was used as a rendezvous, and a great fleet of transports with these mixed forces began assembling there in the middle of April, the whole force, of about 100,000 men, being under the command of General Ian Hamilton, General D'Amade commanding the French contingent. Every equipment and facility for a landing and for shore operations, which the English know so well how to provide, had been obtained. The landings commenced in the latter part of April, being preceded by a demonstration against Smyrna and a landing of about 10,000 troops at Enos, north of the Gulf of Saros. On April 25th the landings on both sides of the Dardanelles began under the protecting fire of the warships. Five beaches on the Gallipoli Peninsula were used, stretching from Cape Suvla to Sidd-el-Bahr, a front of about twenty miles. About 60,000 men were put ashore on this peninsula, besides 4,000 French troops at Kum Kaleh on the Asiatic side. The landings were completed by April 29th and were successful on all but the beach near Cape Suvla, where the Turks drove the Allies back into the sea. The landing forces sustained heavy loss as the Turks put up a strong resistance, but the Turks were unable to prevent the landings in the face of the cross fire from the warships.



THE DARDANELLES ON APRIL 25TH

April 25th the landing operations of the Allied commenced on both sides of the Dardanelles, os, Cape Suvla, Gaba Tepe, Cape Tepe, Cape s, Sidd El-Bahr, Kum Kaleh, and a few days it Gyhekli, fourteen miles south of Kum Kaleh. andings were successfully accomplished under e of the warships at all points except in the vic- of Cape Suvla. At Kum Kaleh, 4,000 French alese troops were driven off also, but later re- d and also landed at Gyhekli. About 10,000 ere put ashore at Enos and 60,000 on the Gal- Peninsula. The personnel of the Allied force is the most heterogeneous that ever fought under anner. There are native British troops, colon- om Australia and New Zealand, natives of India frica, and French from the parent country, from , and from their Foreign Legion, composed of all ialities. There are few countries, races, or creeds do not have some representative in this ex- onary force. It is commanded by the English al Sir Ian Hamilton. The landings were com- l by April 29th, after heavy casualties had been ed by the 50,000 entrenched Turks. Wharves constructed, all vantage points possible were , and everything was made as secure as possible e Allies.

ie Allies, having obtained a foothold he peninsula, began to build wharves prepare facilities for disembarkations supplies, all of which was done under inuous fire from the Turks. By May he French on the Asiatic side of the lanelles had been forced to withdraw, they again landed at Gyhekli, about een miles south of Kum Kaleh. Upon ig up the advance the Allies on the poli found every step contested. The

THE DARDANELLES. ON MAY 25TH

By May 25th the Allies on the Gallipoli Peninsula, now numbering 80,000 men well equipped for this character of warfare, have been able to maintain themselves and, under the protection of the fire of the warships, which in addition to shell fire are using shrapnel profusely, have advanced about five miles and confront the Turkish main position. This runs roughly from Eski Hissarlik opposite Kum Kaleh to a point near Sari Bair, a front of about twenty miles. This line and succeeding lines behind it are very efficiently entrenched and provided with all modern expedients of war. The Allies have been brought to a distinct stop on this line and are maintaining their positions with difficulty. The Turks, who have been on the lookout for a Russian expedition on the Black Sea or a possible incursion from the Balkans, have held most of their troops in reserve. They are now reinforcing the troops in the Gallipoli Peninsula and are considering the possibility of the coming of Italian troops. The fire of the Allied warships has had no appreciable effect on the Turkish water defenses or on their main troop positions inland. The Allies have lost 7 battleships (5 British, 1 French, 1 Russian.) Many of their small craft have been sunk and larger ones injured by gun fire. Allied submarines have penetrated to the Sea of Marmora and have caused some temporary damage to the shipping. The Russian fleet has demonstrated along the shores of the Black Sea and lost one of its battleships. Even if the Allies are able to force one or both sides of the Dardanelles, the task of finishing Turkey will be by no means complete, as every yard must be won by hard fighting and the Bosphorus is even harder to take than the Dardanelles providing the Turkish army maintains the efficiency which it has displayed so far.

Turkish fortifications and obstacles which cover the whole area are excellently constructed, profusely supplied with artillery, and adequately manned. During the month of May the Allies have gradually brought

up their forces to about 80,000 men on the Gallipoli Peninsula and have advanced inland an average of from four to five miles, where they have encountered the main Turkish position and have been stopped short. Their losses to date (June 1st) are estimated to be at least 25 per cent. of the force originally landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula. The Turks in the beginning had about 60,000 men on the peninsula and had to provide for a possible attack on the Bosphorus. Since the Russian defeat in Galicia and the sinking of one of the Russian battleships in the Black Sea this menace has been removed to a great extent. The Turks are, therefore, sending reinforcements to the peninsula in the hope of driving the Allies back to their ships.

The line of operations adopted by the Allies is the line of shortest distance for getting to the defensive works along the Dardanelles. This rugged, mountainous peninsula, however, offers exceptionally strong defensive positions in every part and, for this reason, in the struggle for its possession, the tactical advantages lie greatly on the side of the Turks. To obtain complete control of the Dardanelles both sides of the Straits must be taken, and this entails the destruction of the Turkish field army. So far the Turks, under German leadership, are exhibiting many of the fighting qualities of their ancestors, and it appears that a larger and better appointed army will be necessary to open the Dardanelles.

Where these troops are to come from is a question. Bulgaria, with its efficient army, undoubtedly holds the key to the deadlock but it looks with dread upon the acquisition of the Dardanelles by one of the great Powers. Italy may be able to furnish a contingent also. Even after the reduction of the Dardanelles, should this be accomplished, there remains the reduction of the Bosphorus, an equally difficult task, especially as the Turks are now provided with means for making a great deal of their own ammunition, and as they are now equipped with submarines, as was shown during the last of May when Turkish submarines, probably of German make, suddenly made their appearance and sunk the British battleships *Triumph* and *Majestic*. In all, seven battleships have been sunk by the Turks, five of which have been English, one French, and one Russian. The warships have been unable to cause any permanent damage to the Turkish fortifications or land works situated at a distance from the sea, and the Turkish main batteries and the water defenses are still as efficient as ever and have easily held off the armored ships of the Allies within the Dardanelles. English submarines have penetrated the Dardanelles and sunk some of the smaller Turkish vessels and transports. Two of the three submarines of the Allies which penetrated the Straits appear to have been destroyed by the Turks.

In the Caucasus, Russians and Turks—about four army corps of each—oppose each other along the frontier in very much the same areas that they did in April. They alternately take the offensive and defensive. In eastern Armenia and western Persia bands of Turkish and Russian irregulars scour the country. No decision has been reached in this field. The Turks have kept up some feeble demonstrations against the Suez Canal, which have compelled the British to keep about 40,000 troops near that waterway and in Egypt. There has been little activity recently at the mouth of the Euphrates, the British being satisfied in holding their positions at Kurnah and Ahwaz, which cover the mouth of that waterway. The Turks still hold one army corps and auxiliaries, about 50,000 men, in the vicinity of Smyrna while they are gradually bringing up reserves in addition to their six available corps to the principal theatre of operations on both sides of the Dardanelles, European Turkey, and the Bosphorus.

So far as the main European war is concerned, the Turkish part of it is of secondary importance. The main issues of the struggle will be determined on the west front of Germany or the east front of Germany and Austria. Turkey's effect on this main conflict has been and will be to divert several hundred thousand men from the decisive points in Europe to the Turkish frontiers. The soundness of the strategy of the Allies in this particular is, therefore, open to question from many standpoints at the present time.

IGLAND'S NEW CABINET OF "ALL THE TALENTS"

**NITE THE COUNTRY BEHIND THE GOVERNMENT IN THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR
A COALITION MINISTRY OF THE LEADERS OF ALL THE POLITICAL PARTIES—
WHO THE MEN ARE, WHY THEY WERE CHOSEN, WHAT THEY HAVE TO DO**

FOR the first time in many decades England has a Government of "all the talents." After nine years in office its Liberal Ministry has been re- l by a Cabinet of Liberals and Con- :ives. The change came with start- apidity. It was accompanied by a aper controversy of unusual venom, ich the chief characteristics were it attacks upon Lord Kitchener, linister for War, and upon Mr. Wins- :hurchill, the First Lord of the Ad- :y, as the English Secretary of the is called. Both ministers were lly charged with faulty conduct of ar in their respective departments. d Kitchener, despite his great reputa- nd the success with which in less than r he has raised in England, whose ing army was only less small than f the United States, a force of prob- more than two million men, was ac- , first, of mismanaging the supplies of for the army in France, and, sec- , of mismanaging the recruiting prob- 1 England. The charge against him ard to ammunition was that he had -estimated the importance of artil- 1 trench warfare and had failed to or- : the productive power of British am- :ion producers as he ought to have and also that, contrary to expert ad- nd to the example of the French, he d on sending to France a dispropor- :e amount of shrapnel, whereas only 1 unlimited expenditure of high ex- e shells could the field fortifications ire entanglements of the Germans be ed down. Criticism in this respect ccompanied by an outpouring of ar- in the newspaper press insinuating to the War Secretary's mistake had due an unnecessary sacrifice of life as well as the inability of the British to make satisfactory progress. In respect to the recruiting problem, it was alleged that the War Office was proceeding upon no definite plan and that by an unpicturesquely rigorous and sometimes over optimistic censorship it has muffled national enthusiasm and has likewise prevented the country from realizing the full gravity of the war.

The charge against Mr. Winston Churchill was that he had interfered unduly with the plans of his expert naval advisers and had refused to be guided by them at vital junctures. Chronologically the recent crisis was caused by the announcement that Lord Fisher, the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, could not tolerate the situation any longer and had resigned. Admiral Sir John Fisher is a plain sea dog of seventy, whose conception of a fleet in war time is as an instrument for the sole purpose of destroying the enemy with as little sideplay as possible. Mr. Churchill, on the contrary, is an exuberant youth of forty odd years, a kind of Anglo-American Roosevelt, who, in default of a White House for the eventual satisfaction of undoubted abilities, has to be contented with constant appearances in as many and as variegated parts as possible. During the early part of the war he worked off his superfluous energies by visits to the battle line in France, by personally leading an amphibious and much criticised expedition to Antwerp at the time of its fall, and by a series of swashbuckling speeches. But his most criticised venture was his attempt in March to force the Dardanelles by naval power alone. The attempt is now admitted to have been a costly mistake and it is even said that it was made without or against the advice of Lord Fisher and his naval colleagues at the Admiralty. Pop-

ular distrust of Mr. Winston Churchill was increased by the *Lusitania* incident. Very possibly the Admiralty had good reasons for not having looked after that ship more effectively: but until they are known the feeling will persist that somewhere or other there was carelessness and overconfidence.

The Government as a whole naturally did not escape. The Liberals were accused of having underestimated the tremendous gravity of the war and the need for a really national effort if the war was to be waged effectively. Point was lent to the accusation by memories of the way in which they had until the very eve of hostilities steadily refused to take the German menace seriously. Having failed to foresee the growth of the nettle, might they not fail to grasp it with sufficient firmness now that it had to be uprooted?

It must be left to history to decide how much fire there was behind all this smoke. That there was a good deal seems to be proved by Mr. Asquith's action in forestalling criticism in Parliament by asking the Conservatives to enter his Government. Also the first Dardanelles fiasco is an incontrovertible fact, and the best of the available evidence is to the effect that all possible efforts to get the right sort of shells to the front had not been made. There is further the testimony of many competent American observers to the effect that undue official reticence and optimism had had a numbing effect on the British democracy. More important still, there is the testimony of Lord Lansdowne, the Conservative leader of the House of Lords, given in a public speech after he had accepted a place in the new Cabinet. Referring to the conduct of the war, Lord Lansdowne said that the country had already experienced many disappointments. There had been shortcomings, miscalculations—some probably excusable, some of them perhaps not. There had been something amiss with the national organization of the country. "We are not sure" he continued "that we are getting enough men, or if we are getting the right men. As to munitions, I will not dwell on that painful chapter. But it is a matter of common knowledge that the failure in the supply of essential munitions, not once, but many times, has interfered with the due progress of the military operations. If this, or half of this is true, it means that the staying power of the country is going to be taxed as it never was taxed before, and if we are going to pull through it must not be by the efforts of one party or another party, but by the efforts of the whole nation."

A CABINET OF ALL PARTIES

Such is the superficial background for the formation of the new Cabinet. As Lord Lansdowne said, it is national rather than political. It represents the desire of Englishmen of all shades of politics to unite in the vigorous conduct of the war. After ten months of hesitation they have done what the French did almost immediately—entrusted the national fortunes to those best fitted to rule, irrespective of party. One sees that in the make-up of the Cabinet. Though there has been some talk of political favoritism and though political affiliations were taken into account to the extent of the inclusion of representatives of every political group except the Irish Nationalists—and Mr. Redmond was pressed to join—its chief posts seem to have been placed in the strongest hands. Mr. Asquith remained Prime Minister; Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Minister. Mr. Lloyd-George left the Chancellorship of the Exchequer for the new and absolutely vital war post of Minister of Munitions. Lord Kitchener remained Secretary of War. Indeed, the only important Liberal who left the Cabinet was Lord Haldane; and since the outbreak of the war Lord Haldane, partly on account of his erstwhile pro-German sympathies, has been negligible. Mr. Winston Churchill, though he lost the Admiralty, remained in the Cabinet in a subordinate maid-of-all-work position, the acceptance of which by so ambitious a man speaks volumes for the earnestness of the patriotic spirit which pervaded the shuffle. Of the eight Conservatives, on the other hand, the only one who holds a really important war position is Mr. Arthur Balfour, who succeeded Mr. Winston Churchill at the Admiralty. Mr. Bonar Law, the leader of the Conservatives, is Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Austen Cham-

, Secretary for India. Sir Edward
is Attorney General; Lord Curzon
r. Walter Long accepted subordinate
ns, and Lord Lansdowne came in
t a portfolio. The remaining place,
f Minister of Education, went to
rthur Henderson, Parliamentary
of the Labor Party.

s, so far as the management of the
concerned, the authority of the late
Cabinet, which keeps thirteen
in the new formation of twenty-
mains virtually unimpaired. That
ould be so is due to the fact that the
power in English politics is to-day
tedly on the Liberal side. The
fference in the actual running of the
ment is that, instead of having the
support of the Conservatives, Mr.
can now demand their active
ce. Of this difference he has
availed himself. Mr. Balfour's
ance at the Admiralty is a case in
Mr. Balfour is about the last man
one would expect to find in such a
such a time. He is the very op-
of Mr. Winston Churchill. He is as
and lackadaisical as Mr. Churchill
assertive and energetic. Even in
me—and he is more than twenty-
ears Mr. Churchill's senior—one
imagine his leading a forlorn hope
al reservists to Antwerp, shouting
ces to frightened mayors across
obbies, or rushing, napkin in hand,
e open street to gaze at Zeppelins.

ALFOUR, LACKADAISICAL AUTOCRAT

gh for years head of the Conser-
Party and for some years Prime
r, Mr. Balfour has not been a suc-
political leader. He has proved
at evading issues than at facing
His refusal to give a clear lead over
form and other matters contributed
mall extent to the disastrous over-
his Ministry by the Liberals under
squith and Sir Henry Campbell
man in 1905. His leadership of
nservative opposition was hardly
nspiring. An elegant dilettante in
life, a writer upon philosophy, and
analytical scholar, he appeared to
blic affairs lightly and to disbelieve
in everything, including himself. "My dear fellow, you don't mean to say you really believe in all that," he is reported to have said to a young and ardent protectionist follower who came to ask for his support in some election. Yet in view of the fact that Mr. Churchill's ambitious ineptitudes were one of the chief causes of the discomfiture of the Liberal Ministry, the reason for this paradoxical appointment becomes sufficiently clear. Though no longer the official leader of his party, Mr. Balfour, by the charm of his personality, by his social position—he is a nephew of the late Lord Salisbury—and by an apprenticeship of nearly forty years in Parliament, is, since the death of Mr. Chamberlain, the chief figure-head of the Conservatives. And if a civilian must be at the head of the Admiralty—a thing which some, including apparently Lord Fisher, doubt—what better appointment could Mr. Asquith have made than that of an old and respected but constitutionally unambitious opponent? Also, if tact and firmness should be required of Mr. Balfour, his career proves that for all his philosophical and cynical detachment he can rise to great heights as an administrator as opposed to a political leader. In 1887, when the Irish question was boiling, Lord Salisbury made his nephew Secretary for Ireland. Everybody was dismayed except the Nationalists, who howled derision at "Pretty Fanny." Mr. Balfour met their jeers with imperturbability. An aristocrat to his finger-tips, he, to the surprise of the United Kingdom, ruled Ireland like a good-tempered autocrat. Opposition and responsibility steeled him. "Pretty Fanny" became "base and bloody Balfour," but at the end of his tenure of office Ireland was better governed than it had been by any other Conservative.

Under Mr. Balfour's auspices the naval experts at the Admiralty will be safe from interference, while if they need the support of their civilian chief in the Cabinet councils or in Parliament—English Ministers, unlike the American Cabinet, have a seat in the Legislature, in the House of Commons if they are plain citizens, in the House of Lords if they are peers—Mr. Balfour can be relied upon to fight their

battles with firmness, skill, and discretion. In these circumstances it is perhaps a pity that Lord Fisher did not reconsider his resignation. No man was better qualified by career or character to preside over the general strategy and organization of the navy. The excellent shape in which the navy found itself at the beginning of the war was largely due to his foresight and energy. It was he who nearly a generation ago led the campaign which ended in the realization by England that the effectiveness of its fleet had largely become a figment of comfortable tradition, that its ships and guns were rapidly becoming obsolete, and that the efficiency of its personnel was blunted by an unimaginative subservience to the routine of other days. It was he who, having galvanized the navy into reforms, led at a later date the fight for swift battle cruisers the success of which has been so far one of the outstanding facts of the naval war.

LORD FISHER'S SUCCESSOR

But Lord Fisher is an old man and maybe he is wise in his decision. He has left the navy in excellent hands. Admiral Sir Henry Bradwardine Jackson, who succeeded him, is a sailor of tried abilities. He was chief of the War Staff from 1912 to 1915 and before that had been in command of the Mediterranean squadron. Unlike Lord Fisher, who had made his reputation in the nineteenth century navy, Admiral Jackson is essentially a product of the twentieth century scientific school. He has commanded the naval war college and has served on many technical committees in connection with the equipment and design of battleships. His greatest achievement was the introduction of wireless telegraphy into the navy. Also he is only sixty, as compared with Lord Fisher, who is seventy-four. Difficult as Lord Fisher was to replace, it is possible that in these days when science and mechanical technique play so large a part in naval warfare the change may turn out for the best.

If events have proved that the Admiralty ought to be left as much as possible to expert control, the exact opposite has been proved in regard to some of the most important functions of the War Department. Lord Kitchener's reputation rests upon his genius for administering and leading armies in the field and for diplomacy in difficult places. He helped to organize the Egyptian army after the British occupation in the early 'eighties; he organized the Omdurman expedition by building impossible railroads and by generally revolutionizing the system of desert commissariat; he settled the Fashoda question between England and France by whiskeys and sodas and a ready display of human tact; he organized the campaign against the Boers under Lord Roberts, brought the war to a triumphant end as Lord Roberts' successor, and in the settlement that followed again showed the value of diplomatic generals. In India he remodeled and "speeded up" the Indian army; in Australia and New Zealand he devised the military machinery that has produced such fine material in the present war. No better choice could have been made for the War Office last summer. But the war has been a war of surprises, of which for England the chief surprise has been the magnitude of its side issues. Perfectly competent to send to France the best equipped expeditionary force that ever left British ports, Lord Kitchener was "snowed under" by contingent responsibilities. It was not his fault. It was the fault of the development of war into a national industrial as much as a specialized military undertaking. The raising of endless levies and the production of munitions of war are now at least as important as the training and equipment of existing reserves and the administration of armies in the field. Modern warfare in fact is a job for the political publicity agent and for the industrial organizer as much as for the soldier. Lord Kitchener had his hands already overfull with purely military problems. Other arrangements had to be made to deal with the rest of the work and that has clearly been Mr. Asquith's chief practical object in reconstructing his Cabinet.

THE NEW MINISTER OF MUNITIONS

That he has been successful there is every reason to believe. The key to his plan has been the creation of the post of Minister of Munitions for Mr. Lloyd-

, and nobody will be surprised if the next few months the key does complish more to unlock the re- f England's patriotism and of her ial resources than all the rest of binet changes put together. Mr. George is by all odds the most e man in British politics. The a poor Welsh schoolmaster and he has made his way to the top er force of ability and character. ericans he first became known when, Asquith's Chancellor of the Ex- , he produced his famous finance 1909. The bill was a masterpiece calism. It taxed land and other f property in a way which made vatives gasp. It showed a general y of budgetting which shocked the s community. But the people were it and it was passed, after a threat ough new peers would be created to ı favorable majority for it in the of Lords. The stubbornness of the chamber of Parliament brought he momentous constitutional revo- f depriving the House of Lords—the of England—of the power of vetoing ssed by the Commons. The budget owed by other radical—the Conserv- aid socialistic—measures of reform t of which Mr. Lloyd-George was ible. Hence a year ago he was d by the discontented democracy and as its guardian angel and by its ied upper and moneyed classes as arnation of the spirit of demagogic

But in reality he was far more ı agitator. By upbringing and by temperament a passionate cham- the "underdog," self-assertive to the of audacity and recklessness, as ng of epithets as Mr. Roosevelt, ; at the bottom of his character a ind of reasonableness and farsight-

If he agitated it was because he l that the country needed stirring l not because he hoped to further r personal ambitions.

e who had watched his routine work Government had long ago realized r. Lloyd-George could administer as apostrophize, but since the out- f war he has surprised even his friends. His patience, caution, and ability when confronted by the tremendous task of finding the "silver bullets," not only for his own country but to no small extent for his allies, was wholly admirable. By a few tactful consultations he won the whole-hearted support of his old enemies in the city of London, and by his financial measures their whole-hearted admiration.

Why, then, has he been moved from the Chancellorship of the Exchequer at this critical time? One answer is that the financing of the war is largely a matter of cool calculation ahead of time and that, having mapped out a policy, Mr. Lloyd-George's great abilities can be better employed in the equally vital but ever present problem of stretching the output of munitions of war and of recruits to the limit. Especially is this the case as a good man has been found to take his place as Finance Minister. Mr. M'Kenna, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, was, before he became Home Secretary in the last Liberal Cabinet, Financial Secretary of the Treasury. In that position he made himself a very enviable reputation. But though a sufficient explanation for the change, the foregoing is not the only or the most important explanation.

THE TASK OF AROUSING ENGLAND

In Mr. Lloyd-George's new position, especially when examined in the light of Mr. Balfour's appointment to the Admiralty, is to be found the real explanation of the whole crisis, a far more exhaustive and significant explanation than that afforded by the necessity of helping Lord Kitchener or of eliminating Mr. Winston Churchill. The coalition Cabinet seems to mean that right down in her heart England realizes that she has not met this war quite as it ought to be met—as it must be met if she is to do her effective part in winning it. The recruiting difficulty, the labor troubles in the shape of strikes and drunkenness, the continued playing of spectacular football matches, the ostrich-like vagaries of the censorship, the bursts of false optimism and the other symptoms of "something wrong" which have worried the wellwishers of England and encouraged her enemies, are all symptoms of the same trouble.

The German people face the war "as one man" because, besides being healthily patriotic, they are splendidly drilled. The French people are a nation in arms because their system of universal military service has trained them to be solidly ready for this war. The Italians drove their Government into the war to gratify a national sentiment. The English, on the contrary, were unprepared for Armageddon. The island tradition of "glorious isolation," which in England takes the place of America's similar tradition of concentrated self-containedness, was still strong. The possibility of war had not been much more seriously regarded by the British people than it seems to be by the Americans. There were no draped statues in Trafalgar Square to beckon the nation on to armed revenge. To the average Englishman, as to the average American, politics meant not international politics with war in the background so much as party politics with elections in the background. If his eyes turned overseas it was usually to scrutinize the Imperial fabric or to take stock of trade opportunities. But as a rule his purview was parochial. In the year preceding the war British politics had been growing so bitter between Conservatives and the Liberal champions of the people in England and of the Nationalists in Ireland that civil war was seriously feared. Possibly it was only Germany that prevented it. Be that as it may, the state of England during the fateful days that preceded the outbreak of hostilities last August seemed grave indeed. On the one hand was the Conservative Party, disgruntled to the point of bloodshed, lacking real leadership and hag-ridden by a softly materialistic following, to whom the signs of the times were as a closed book. On the other side were the Liberals and radicals, effectively led but not brilliantly enough to preclude the possibility that the spirits of democratic unrest and socialistic aspirations which their somewhat reckless reforms had conjured up, especially in the industrial North, might overwhelm them.

The war has shown that in spite of all this the heart of the English people remained fundamentally sound. But finely as the British nation responded to the crisis, the harm wrought by the preceding troubles could not be entirely obliterated. It was not only a question of unpreparednesses. The arbitrariness with which the Liberal Cabinet had governed continued despite the obvious determination of its members to do their patriotic best. The Conservatives, despite the political truce, remained somewhat suspicious, as the controversy accompanying the recent crisis proved. More important still, the industrial classes seem to have been unable to shake off the impression produced by the consistent way in which the Liberals had coddled them that the State was made for them and not they for the State. Among the middle classes, too, the old spirit of careless security seems to have been hard to root out.

LORD LANSDOWNE

Hence the immense importance of the Balfour-Lloyd-George combination, the appearance as political bedfellows of the aristocratic Conservative and the socialistic Liberal. To Mr. Lloyd-George falls the vital duty of stimulating industrial England to do its share in the war, to persuade those to enlist who are better qualified to fight than to manufacture, and to guarantee that those who stay to manufacture do so with as much patriotism and efficiency as those who fight. To Mr. Balfour and his Conservative colleagues falls the duty of seeing that from the lesson of their presence in the Cabinet the country shall form a true estimate of the crisis that has summoned them there. Their task in that respect should not be a difficult one. The Conservative contingent is as impressive as it well can be. It contains all the leaders and all types of the party. In Lord Lansdowne it has a truer example than Mr. Balfour of the old type of aristocratic politician, of the head of a noble house, of the great territorial magnate, whose position as a party leader is due more to birth than to brains, more to sense of duty than to ambition. Not that Lord Lansdowne lacks intellect, save as compared with Mr. Balfour. Seventy years of age, he has been for forty-nine of them in active politics. Member of the House of Lords, assistant secretary to various

et ministers, Governor General of
la, and later of India, Secretary for
Secretary for Foreign Affairs, he has
nore offices than any other public
Never brilliantly successful, in the
Office a conspicuous failure (for he
ed over the opening fiasco of the
War), he has come through it all with
ıtation for sound sense. It was he,
ample, who with King Edward was
sible for the beginning of England's
ship with France in 1904: and that
s not been given a portfolio is pro-
largely due to Mr. Asquith's desire
ve him free to help Sir Edward
At the opposite pole to Lord
owne is Sir Edward Carson, a bril-
xample of the middle-class lawyer-
ian with conservative instincts,
o commoner in the United States
n England.

SIR EDWARD CARSON

Edward Carson's inclusion in the
t is also the most striking example
tical hatchet-burying that its forma-
ıas produced. As leader of the
r is right, Ulster will fight" civil
rotest against Home Rule, his im-
nent for high treason was quite
y discussed by the Liberals. And now
Attorney General! Between these
e conservative types comes Lord
ı, who, though of noble family, has
ıis own way and earned his own title.
r bumptious and unpopular in his
days, Lord Curzon is in some ways
ervative equivalent to Mr. Winston
hill: but increasing years and his
sibilities as Viceroy of India, where
ıtally he quarrelled with Lord Kitch-
ıave mellowed him, and he is well
in the Cabinet. Mr. Austen Cham-
ı will also strengthen the Cabinet.
ıg the brilliancy of his father, he has
ed from him a large following, and
nservative Chancellor of the Ex-
r he acquired a reputation for sanity
ood judgment. Mr. Walter Long
e representative of the British landed
, whose chief claim to fame is per-
hat as Home Secretary in the last
vative Government he stamped out
hobia in England.

And finally, there is Mr. Bonar Law, the official leader of the Conservatives, a middle-class politician of the new school. Scotch-Canadian by birth and up-bringing, a good enough man of business to retire with a fortune at forty, since then for fifteen years a self-made politician of excellent brains, with a passion for argument and statistics, a sound man in a crisis but lacking distinction and so far without any clearly developed power of leadership, Mr. Bonar Law is far better placed as a subordinate in Mr. Asquith's Cabinet than he would have been as Prime Minister. For it is a piece of British luck that the new Cabinet is as happy in its Prime Minister as it is in its industrial organizer and Secretary of War. Mr. Asquith is an ideal head of a coalition Cabinet in a time of urgent national crisis. Of solid Yorkshire Puritan stock, educated in a middle-class school and then one of Oxford's most noted scholars, an expert parliamentarian, a brilliant and popular campaigner, an equally brilliant lawyer, a Liberal by conviction and yet anything but an ascetic recluse in society, he touches British life at many points. Besides being an excellent executive he is a first-class fighting man, sure of himself, slow and certain, very painstaking in reaching his conclusions, and mature in his sixty odd years and long political training. He is also one of the sincerest friends of the United States in public life. "My sympathies," he said during the Spanish War, "are and have been from the first entirely and heartily with the United States." Since then he has, like Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Balfour, shown himself a consistent believer in the Anglo-American bond in general and in Anglo-American arbitration treaties in particular.

With Mr. Asquith's other Liberal colleagues there is no need to deal. The retention of Lord Kitchener, the appearance of Mr. Balfour at the Admiralty and Mr. Lloyd-George and his new post—and with Mr. Lloyd-George goes for obvious reasons Mr. Henderson, the Labor member of the Cabinet—sufficiently indicate the nature of the new Government. Its task is a tremendous one. It has been formed not only to meet specific difficulties in

the most difficult period of English history, but still more to mobilize British opinion and British energies against the incalculable problems and dangers which must be overcome before victory perches upon the flags of the Allies. And if it succeeds it may reasonably be expected to do than that, to start British social and cal development at a new slant by h the war to lay the foundations of a bett erstanding between the old Conser order and the new industrial democra

MR. BALFOUR AND IMPERIAL DEFEN

THE WORK OF HIS ONCE DISCREDITED ADMINISTRATION IN PREPARATION FOR CRISIS—THE ONE MAN IN ENGLAND WHO MOST CLEARLY FORESAW GERMAN DESIGNS—HIS PART IN THE CRISIS OF 1909—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HIS RETURN TO THE BRITISH CABINET

PROBABLY no appointment to the new British Cabinet has surprised Americans more than the selection of Mr. Arthur J. Balfour as the First Lord of the Admiralty.

The civilian headship of England's navy in the present crisis seems to be almost the most important Cabinet post in the Government. It demands, in addition to an intimate acquaintance with England's defenses, great energy, industry, decision, and initiative. Now Mr. Balfour's political career, so far as Americans have observed it, seems to have been lacking mainly in those very requirements. Though he has impressed foreigners as England's most intellectual statesman, he has apparently had the faults, as well as the positive qualities, of that character. The scholar, the thinker, the speculative philosopher—and these have been Mr. Balfour's surface attainments—is altogether too likely to be vacillating, to see so many sides of the problem that he cannot form a quick decision as to the best policy to pursue. Certainly Mr. Balfour's premiership, from 1902 to 1905, accentuated these tendencies. For the seven years preceding the day Mr. Balfour succeeded his uncle, Lord Salisbury, as Prime Minister, the Unionist Party had wielded a huge majority in Parliament and enjoyed an almost unbroken parliamentary success. Few Englishmen had ever succeeded to a more alluring prospect than Mr. Balfour's. But in a few months Mr. Balfour's majority was hopelessly split in two. Chamberlain, its most powerful me boldly divided it on the subject of reform. Mr. Balfour found himself f this problem: should England mainta historic attitude on free trade, or ado modifications, especially preferential iffs for the Colonies, so strongly fa by an important element in the Con tive Party?

It is hardly necessary to rehears famous controversy at this time. proceeding, however, certainly focuse searchlight upon Mr. Balfour's char and the impressive thing was his pers refusal to meet the situation. This l ship struck most people as that of a successful compromiser. He fumble tinuously with this issue; refused to t stand, either for tariff reform or fo trade; attempted, by ambiguous ments, to cultivate both wings in his Through it all, the Prime Minister a ently had only one fixed purpose, an was to maintain his disorganized pa power and hold on to his office. A po Fabius Maximus, one admirer called and indeed, his success in preservi balance for two stormy years, in fa attacks, both from within and without a marvelous achievement in parliame acrobatics. When the Unionist Mi finally collapsed, in the latter part of Mr. Balfour as a forceful political was widely discredited.

However, the interpretation of h demands perspective, and the last

months have furnished new material for accurately judging Mr. Balfour's work as Premier. With the present situation in mind, the three years in which he guided the destinies of the British Empire are now seen to form one of the most epoch-making in its history. Mr. Balfour himself continually declared that economic reform was then not the most pressing problem facing Englishmen. He was justified in compromising on this issue, he maintained, if thereby he could concentrate his energies upon his really important task. His enemies laughed when he declared that the salvation of the Empire depended upon the continued incumbency of the Ministry then in power; but present conditions make us see the question in a different light. While the newspapers, the hustings, and Parliament were ringing loudly with preferential tariffs, colonial trade, "dumping," and other "slogans" purely fiscal, the Balfour Ministry was accomplishing scarcely noticed things of tremendous importance. It was creating the defenses, diplomatic and military, which have enabled England to meet the present crisis. What are the weapons with which England is now fighting for its life? On the diplomatic side are the Anglo-French entente and the Japanese alliance. From the military standpoint, the most important are the new types of ships (the dreadnaught and the battle cruiser), and that great reform in the distribution of the fleet which has placed England's concentrated navy in the North Sea. All these things are achievements of the Balfour administration. Without them, it is difficult to say in what position England would find herself at this present hour.

In his short period of office, Mr. Balfour gave his main interest to preparing the British Empire for defense. The South African War had revealed its weaknesses in many directions. In one critical week of that struggle England's home forces had been so reduced that she had only 17,000 men to protect her coasts. At that same time, too, the navy had been so dispersed that an enemy might easily have assailed her. This struggle also had revealed the danger that England faced in Germany. Public opinion in the Kaiser's domain was openly antagonistic to England. Germany showed this frequently in picturesque ways. Englishmen have not yet forgotten the cuspidors then freely sold in Berlin, the distinguishing feature of which was the portrait of Joseph Chamberlain embossed in the bottom.

Finally, in 1900, came Germany's famous naval law, openly declaring, in its preamble, its purpose to provide Germany with a fleet sufficiently powerful to meet England on equal terms. Perhaps Mr. Balfour, more clearly than most Englishmen, read these signs of the times. He saw what apparently few men outside of the navy saw: that England's fleet was antiquated, that it contained scores of ships that served no practical purpose except to weaken it, that its personnel was largely ignorant and inexperienced, and that its ships were so scattered in all parts of the world that the British Isles themselves were exposed to attack. While Parliament was ringing with discussions on free trade, therefore, and a hostile press was ridiculing Mr. Balfour for his tenacity in holding his place, he did one thing that made little impression at the time, but which has exercised an enormous influence in the present crisis. He called Sir John Fisher from the command of the Mediterranean fleet and made him first sea lord. This accomplished more than a change in personnel. It meant a revolution in the British navy, for Admiral Fisher modernized the whole British fleet. Until then this fleet had defended England and the Colonies by maintaining its greatest force in the Mediterranean and by placing other large squadrons in the Far East and in the North Atlantic. Meanwhile the British Channel and the North Sea were left practically unprotected.

GERMANY THE REAL ENEMY

The fleet was disposed upon the old theory that France and Russia were the two countries from which England had chiefly to fear attack. That idea represented the politics of bygone times. Mr. Balfour's Government definitely changed the situation when it negotiated an arrangement with France that has since grown to be an alliance. Meanwhile, the real danger was with a nation with which

England had for several centuries maintained relations of amity and peace; that was Germany. The great naval achievement of Mr. Balfour, and his first sea lord, was in rearranging the naval defenses in accordance with this new situation. England's greatest battle fleet was placed in the North Sea. A smaller fleet was placed in the Mediterranean. Another fleet of the same size as the latter was placed in the Atlantic with its base on Gibraltar. As a result of these changes, England, at twenty-four hours' notice, could assemble twenty battleships and twelve armored cruisers for the defense of her own shores. "Of all the reforms which have taken place since the days of Nelson," said Premier Balfour, "this perhaps has been the biggest that has yet been made." Only last August, when Germany, suddenly precipitating war, found England's huge battle squadron at her front door, shutting off Germany's communication with the rest of the world, and driving every German merchant vessel from the sea, did Englishmen really understand the meaning of the change. This same administration made many other innovations, such as scrapping useless vessels, providing a reserve fleet with crews, and, above all, introducing the dreadnaught as the effective fighting ship.

THE COMMITTEE ON IMPERIAL DEFENSE

In order to introduce these and other reforms, Mr. Balfour organized a Committee on Imperial Defense. There had been, indeed, such a committee for ten years, but Mr. Balfour so reorganized it and enlarged its scope that it became something really worthy of the name. It consisted of the Prime Minister, the civilian and professional heads of the navy and the army, and other officials whose business had close relation with defending the Empire. Its aim, as Mr. Balfour officially expressed it, was "to deal with questions of national defense and to foresee the Imperial requirements." It was to consider the needs of the Empire as a whole, to coördinate the work of army and navy, and to formulate plans to meet all contingencies. The reënrolment and reorganization of the navy, already described, was its first great achievement. But it undertook other matters, too. In a speech in Parliament in 1904, Mr. Balfour entertainingly described its work, discussing one subject that has the greatest interest now. One of the problems to which the committee first addressed itself, he said, was that which shadowed the existence of every Englishman: the question of invasion. Could an energetic enemy land troops on English soil and advance toward London? No one had invaded England successfully since 1066, the year of the Battle of Hastings; could any one under modern conditions such as steam navigation, wireless telegraphy, submarines, and destroyers, accomplish this feat now? Great soldiers, said Mr. Balfour, had always declared that the thing could be done; great sailors had always denied the possibility. Both Napoleon and Wellington had regarded an English invasion as a practicable military undertaking: Nelson had always scouted the idea as absurd.

"INVASION OF ENGLAND IMPRACTICABLE"

Mr. Balfour now gave the public the results of a minute study of this problem. According to Lord Roberts, the smallest army with which an enemy could attempt such a landing would be 70,000 men. If France or Germany could get that number on English soil, the consequences for England might be disastrous. An army of such a size, with horses, artillery, ammunition, and commissariat, was no small thing to handle. First, said Mr. Balfour, how many transports would it take to bring them over? At the lowest, his associates figured, it would demand 210,000 tons. At the rate of 1,500 men to a ship, this would require forty or fifty vessels. Taking France as the possible enemy, the committee claimed that the Republic could not possibly summon that number of vessels for the purpose. At that moment there was no such tonnage available anywhere within hailing distance of French ports. Assume, however, that an unfriendly nation could assemble such a mercantile fleet and that it was safely loaded and steaming toward some landing place in England. Wireless telegraphy enormously improved the situation; a moment's flash would send the news to the English fleet, wherever it

might be stationed, and in a few hours large squadrons of battleships, cruisers, torpedo boats, and submarines would reach the spot. For, according to the Defense Committee, a huge fleet of transports, carrying a fully equipped army of 70,000 men, assuming that it had reached a point of embarkation, would need at least forty-eight hours to land. This, on the assumption that it met no opposition. For forty-eight hours, therefore, these transports and their convoys would be at the mercy of torpedo boats and submarines of the English fleet, the latter as strong as any other two fleets then in existence. Mr. Balfour, therefore, announced the conclusion to which his committee had arrived: "The serious invasion of these islands is not an eventuality that we need seriously consider." Up to the present moment nothing has happened in this war that negatives this opinion.

THE NAVAL CRISIS OF 1909

The Liberal Party, which assumed office in the last days of 1905, was traditionally the party of retrenchment and pacifism. The question of navy expenditure figured in the general election of 1906, and the Liberal attitude was one of economy in that direction. Mr. Lloyd-George especially, its most conspicuous spokesman, took this stand. The party had an elaborate platform of social reform; it needed money for old age pensions and other popular purposes, and, to obtain it, necessarily had to curtail its military expenditures. Under ordinary circumstances such retrenchment would have promoted the public welfare; but the circumstances then were quite extraordinary. For Germany, now clearly launched upon her policy of aggression, showed no signs of following the pacific English example. All advances made by England for the mutual agreement on the limitation of armament the Kaiser rejected. Germany, the English Ministers were informed, had a definitely arranged programme, fixed by law. Nothing would prevent the Empire from carrying it out. The Kaiser would not increase it or decrease it, irrespective of anything England might do. If England stopped building warships altogether, Germany would still keep on. If England built a hundred a year, Germany would build no more than her programme called for. The introduction of the dreadnaught as the fighting ship of the first line made this situation somewhat serious for England. From that date the fighting ability of all nations was measured by dreadnaughts, and by dreadnaughts alone. As a result, in a year or two, Germany had within two or three as many capital ships as England. Mr. Balfour's chief work, in opposition, was to call the attention of the nation to these facts. In France, M. Delcassé, after his retirement in 1905, spent most of his time demanding that France arm itself against Germany. Balfour now assumed a similar rôle. In and out of Parliament, he directed national attention to the fact that the Liberal Government was neglecting the navy; that the imperial defenses were daily getting weaker in comparison with the progress of Germany in armament.

The crisis came in 1909. According to the forecast made in 1908, England, by the end of 1911, would have twelve ships of the new dreadnaught type against Germany's nine. Her superiority, therefore, seemed assured. But in the year 1909, Germany, according to the information afloat, was accelerating her programme; she was quietly assembling materials, manufacturing guns and mountings, for four extra ships. She had enormously extended her ship-building facilities, so that she could now build as fast and as many as England. The naval experts, basing their calculations on these facts, reached a new and alarming conclusion—that, by 1911, England could have only twelve capital ships to Germany's thirteen. The significance of this fact was enormous; it meant that Germany would be more powerful on the water than England.

ENGLAND'S SEA SUPREMACY THREATENED

These facts in mind, Mr. Balfour arose in Parliament and, in one of the most impressive speeches of his career, declared that that particular session faced one of the greatest crises in English history. He had never risen, he said, to speak upon a subject fraught with greater consequence to his country. For the first time in many

generations, England found itself practically overpowered at sea. England, far from maintaining a two-power standard, had sunk to a position where she was not maintaining a one-power standard. In 1908, the English Government, to show its good faith in the recently adjourned Hague Conference, had cut down its naval programme from four ships to two. Germany had taken advantage of this to increase hers. In the year 1911, said Mr. Balfour, England would find herself in a position of deadly peril. "For the first time in modern history," he said, "there is bordering upon the North Sea, upon our own waters, the waters that bathe our own shores, a great power that has got the capacity, and seems as if it has the will, to compete in point of numbers of these great battleships." Following this speech, which startled the English people as they had never been startled in a century, Mr. Balfour moved a vote of censure upon the Asquith Ministry. One passage from his speech, especially at this juncture of international affairs, illustrates the particular keenness of his insight into Germany and German standards:

THE COLLAPSE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

"There is only one other observation with which I will trouble the House. Much has been done in the last twenty years by which those countries that do not mean to quarrel and do not wish to quarrel may have their inevitable differences, that must arise from time to time, amicably and honorably settled without the *amour propre* of either side being in the least affected. These are all adequate for this purpose, but not adequate to keep the peace of the world if there is ambition on the part of any State whatever, not aroused by these small differences, but dominated by larger ambitions and more widely extended views. The only security in that case is the security of the law of Europe—the security of those treaties by which the less powerful States may feel that, though they are less powerful, they nevertheless are members of a civilized community of nations, to whom they can appeal with security, to the law of Europe, which is above them all. Will any man say that that public law has been strengthened in the last few years, the last few months, or even the last few days? I regret to say that, so far as I can observe, the tendency of public affairs, that which ultimately is the great basis of peace and security among civilized countries, the great organization of the public law of Europe, shows signs not of strengthening and growing, but of weakening and of fading away. In these circumstances more than all others, it behooves the country which has been at all times desirous of peace; whose first interests are of peace; whose great desire is to see some peaceful quality among the great nations of Europe —I say it behooves it at this time, above all other times, to see that its navy, which is an organ of peace, shall be beyond all precedent and all doubt the greatest in the world."

MR. BALFOUR ON GERMAN DESIGNS

Naturally this vote of censure did not prevail; but the scare of 1909 produced the desired effect—the strengthening of the fleet. Two years of great activity followed, so that when the war started the English navy was immensely superior to the German. Mr. Balfour, retiring from the leadership of the Unionist Party in 1911, continued to devote a large part of his leisure to studying foreign affairs. The war preparations of Germany apparently occupied his mind more than any other subject. More intelligently and eloquently than any other Englishman, he endeavored to warn his countrymen.

An article which he wrote for a German magazine, *Nord und Sud*, in 1912 showed how clearly his brilliant mind had penetrated German views. Parts of it are still worth quoting:

"If, therefore, recent years have produced a change in the way in which ordinary Englishmen judge of German policy, it is due to no national prejudice, to no underestimate of German worth, to no want of gratitude for German services in the cause of universal culture. To what, then, is it due? I reply that, so far as I can judge, it is due to the interpretation which they have thought themselves obliged to place upon a series of facts, or supposed facts, each of which taken by itself might be of small

t, but which taken together can be lightly treated nor ignored.

: first of these facts is the German ill and its results. No Englishman the right of every country to settle iracter and magnitude of its own ents; and there has been, I believe, rness to detect in the German naval any intention hostile to this coun- ut on such a point British opinion tive, and must be sensitive, for rea- ich are commonplace here, but are, t, but imperfectly understood by ermans who, in general, are friendly country. Let me briefly indicate iaracter.

FEAR OF GERMAN AGGRESSION

nglishmen were sure that a German s only going to be used for defensive s—i. e., against aggression—they iot care how large it was; for a war ession against Germany is to them able. There are, I am told, many is who would strongly dissent from atement. Yet it is no paradox. on one side all considerations on public morality, it must be re- ed, in the first place, that we are ercial nation; and war, whatever its s ruinous to commerce and to the on which commerce depends. It e remembered, in the second place, are a political nation; and an unpro- var would shatter in a day the most il Government and the most united It must be remembered, in the ace, that we are an insular nation, dependent on sea-borne supplies, ng no considerable army either for efense or foreign service, and com- therefore, to play for very unequal hould Germany be our opponent in ardous game of war.

s this last consideration which I earnestly ask enlightened Germans h well if they would understand the point of view. It can be made a very few sentences. There are ys in which a hostile country can be . It can be conquered or it can be . If Germany were masters in our aters she could apply both methods in. Were Britain ten times master in the North Sea she could apply neither method to Germany. Without a superior fleet Britain would no longer count as a Power. Without any fleet at all Germany would remain the greatest Power in Europe.

"It is therefore the mere instinct of self-preservation which obliges Englishmen not merely to take account of the growth in foreign navies, but anxiously to weigh the motives of those who build them. If they are built solely for purposes of defense, Britain would not, indeed, be thereby relieved of the duty of maintaining the standard of relative strength required for national safety; but she would have no ground for disquiet, still less for ill-will. But does Germany make it easy for Britain to take this view? The external facts of the situation appear to be as follows: The greatest military Power and the second greatest naval Power in the world is adding both to her army and to her navy. She is increasing the strategic railways which lead to the frontier States—not merely to frontier States which themselves possess powerful armies, but to small States which can have no desire but to remain neutral if their formidable neighbours should unhappily become belligerents. She is in like manner modifying her naval arrangements so as to make her naval strength instantly effective.

GERMANY'S TREMENDOUS WEAPON

"It is conceivable that all this [preparation] may be only in order to render herself impregnable against attack. Such an object would certainly be commendable; though the efforts undergone to secure it might (to outside observers) seem in excess of any possible danger. If all nations could be made impregnable to the same extent, peace would doubtless be costly, but at least it would be secure. Unfortunately no mere analysis of the German preparations for war will show for what purposes they are designed. A tremendous weapon has been forged; every year adds something to its efficiency and power; it is as formidable for purposes of aggression as for purposes of defense. But to what end it was originally designed, and in what cause it will ultimately be used, can

only be determined, if determined at all, by extraneous considerations.

"I here approach the most difficult and delicate part of my task. Let me preface it by saying that ordinary Englishmen do not believe, and certainly I do not believe, either that the great body of the German people wish to make an attack on their neighbours or that the German Government intend it. A war in which the armed manhood of half Europe would take part can be no object of deliberate desire either for nations or for statesmen. The danger lies elsewhere. It lies in the co-existence of that marvellous instrument of warfare, the German army and navy, with the assiduous, I had almost said the organized, advocacy of a policy which it seems impossible to reconcile with the peace of the world or the rights of nations. For those who accept this policy German development means German territorial expansion. All countries which hinder, though it be only in self-defense, the realization of this ideal are regarded as hostile; and war, or the threat of war, is deemed the natural and fitting method by which the ideal itself is to be accomplished.

THE MENACE OF GERMAN EXPANSION

"Now it is no part of my intention to criticize such theories. My business is to explain the views which are held in Britain, not to condemn those which are preached in Germany. Let German students, if they will, redraw the map of Europe in harmony with what they conceive to be the present distribution of the German race; let them regard the German Empire of the 20th century as the heir-at-law of all territories included in the Holy Roman Empire of the 12th; let them assume that Germany should be endowed at the cost of other nations with overseas dominions proportionate to her greatness in Europe. But do not let them ask Englishmen to approve. We have had too bitter an experience of the ills which flow from the endeavor of any single State to dominate Europe, we are too surely convinced of the perils which such a policy, were it successful, would bring upon ourselves as well as upon others, to treat them as negligible. Negligible, surely, they are not. In periods of international calm they always make for increasing armaments; in periods of international friction, they aggravate the difficulties of diplomacy. This is bad, but it is not the worst. Their effects, as it seems to us, go deeper. To them is due the conviction, widely held I am afraid by many Germans, that Britain stands in their country's light, that Englishmen desire to thwart her natural development, are jealous of her most legitimate growth. Of these crimes we are quite unconscious; but surely it is no slight evil that they should be so readily believed. If ever by some unhappy fate it became an accepted article of faith in either nation that Germany and Britain were predestined enemies, that the ambitions of the one and the security of the other were irreconcilably opposed, the predictions of those prophets (and they abound in the Chanceries of Europe) who regard a conflict between them as inevitable would be already half fulfilled.

ENGLAND'S POSITION

"But for myself I am no believer in such predestination. Germany has taught Europe much; she can teach it yet more. She can teach it that organized military power may be used in the interests of peace as effectually as in those of war; that the appetite for domination belongs to an outworn phase of patriotism; that the furtherance of civilization for which she has so greatly laboured must be the joint work of many peoples, and that the task for none of them is lightened by the tremendous burden of modern armaments, or the perpetual pre-occupation of national self-defense. If on these lines she is prepared to lead, she will find a world already prepared to follow —prepared in no small measure by what she has herself accomplished in the highest realms of science and speculation. But if there be signs that her desires point to other objects, and that her policy will be determined by national ambitions of a different type, can it be a matter of surprise that other countries watch the steady growth of her powers of aggression with undisguised alarm, and anxiously consider schemes for meeting what they are driven to regard as a common danger?"

R. HERBERT C. HOOVER, UNOFFICIAL DIPLOMAT

CAREER OF THE YOUNG AMERICAN MINING ENGINEER WHO, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSION FOR RELIEF IN BELGIUM, HAS BEEN FOR SEVERAL MONTHS PRACTICALLY ONE OF THE GREAT INDEPENDENT NEUTRAL "POWERS" OF THE WORLD

MR. HERBERT HOOVER, the young American mining engineer in charge of the work of Belgian relief in London, is one of a new kind of ens who, of late, have been making g one of the most practical of manuing industries. These men have tuted trained geologists for the esque prospectors of the past and developed chemical and mechanical ses by which ores—the raw material ir business—are manufactured into ercial products, whether gold bullion iron, as steadily and unromantically s are manufactured into hams and at Chicago. They are primarily ss men, who add to the usual equipof a business man a technical educa- a highly specialized field. They are to handling large investments and bodies of workers.

h these facts in mind it is easier to stand why Mr. Hoover, who was wn to the public though very well to his profession, was chosen for the d complex task of getting American in ship-load lots into all parts of m when that country was the battle l of Europe, occupied by one alien and fought for by two other alien . For the task was essentially an istrative job, that of handling a large ment in foodstuffs through a large f employees and transporting these uffs through familiar, though del, channels of communication.

Hoover graduated from Leland rd Jr. University in 1895. In the ten years he had reorganized and a paying basis, groups of mines in lia, China, and South Africa, beorganizing the newly created Department of Mines in North China for the Chinese Government.

Since this, Mr. Hoover has been called upon to take over one group of mines after another, all wreckages of bad management or bad finance: the great copper- and iron-mining estates in the Ural Mountains, the enormous lead-mines in Northern Burma, some of the lead- and zinc-mines at Broken Hill, N.S.W., and, last of all, just before the war, three large mining concerns, the only tangible assets of the failure of a London banking-house—and this at the request of the other London banks.

These represent consecutively the steps in Mr. Hoover's professional career.

When the war broke out, he was occupying positions as chairman, president, or director of, and giving administrative force to, a group of mines which produce metal of a total value as great as the whole annual metal product of the rich mining state of California. This is not the work of a consulting engineer or financier; it is the work of an administrator. It is the work of actual production of world necessities through the combination of technical skill and commercial efficiency.

The group of mines directed by Mr. Hoover employed an army of more than 125,000 men, and in practically every case they had been, prior to his taking control, either operated on a small and insignificant scale or had been in financial difficulties that menaced them with practical extinction. The successful generalship of an army of 125,000 workmen, engaged not only in mining but in collateral enterprises which surround the primary industry—in the construction of harbor works, the building of railroads and metallurgical establishments, the manufacture and sale of by-products, and the control of essential

supplies to those industries — proves experience and administrative knowledge sufficient for almost any executive task. It is an interesting commentary that with the handling of these many great bodies of men in such different parts of the world Mr. Hoover has never had a strike on any property which he was directing.

The control of large enterprises of this type in many countries also requires a knowledge of politics and economics, and constant dealing with high officials, at one time or another, over practically the entire world; and, therefore, this type of generalship implies a knowledge of diplomacy wider than that of most of the official representatives sent from the United States to Europe.

Mr. Hoover is a trustee of Leland Stanford Jr. University. One of his avocations has been to translate Agricola's "De Re Metallica" into English from the original Latin edition of 1530. This work involved years of careful investigation in hundreds of volumes of the sixteenth century and in earlier manuscripts. Scholar, engineer, diplomat, and administrator—this is the man that the United States Government first called into its active semi-official neutrality service, service which the Rockefeller Foundation and many other people and agencies have since joined. It is doubly deplorable that Germany, which has so greatly profited in Belgium by this constructive neutrality, should seem so obstinately bent now upon destroying the good will that made it effective.

Through Mr. Hoover, the United States has done a great service to mankind. What this service has been is put in an interesting way by Mr. Harry E. V. Brittain, one of the English founders of the Pilgrim Society, who recently visited this country:

It has fallen to my lot to see a great deal of the working of the American Commission for Relief, and the remarkable efficiency of what has been done has filled me with admiration.

Consider for a moment what this commission has done. A handful of Americans, with no previous experience at this kind of work, is feeding 10,000,000 people—7,000,000 Belgians and 3,000,000 French. In other words, with no hope of reward save the inarticulate thanks of a nation half-throttled and daily in danger of starvation, your countrymen in England and Belgium, backed, of course, by yourselves, have tackled a job bigger than that which confronts the commissariat of any army in Europe. And it is the privilege of every Britisher to tell you you have stepped in where war prevented us from going.

If for no other reason, for this alone the neutrality of the United States should be welcomed by every one of my fellow-countrymen. Through your neutrality you have been able to accomplish the greatest feat of the war. Mr. Hoover's commission has become the one Power—the really one neutral Power—respected by all nations. It was organized by Americans, it is run by Americans, and if any one ever says that the neutrality of the United States in the greatest of all wars was merely passive circumspection, history will haul him up as a liar and fling in his face an achievement that General Grant or General Lee would have admitted to be more to their credit than any of the many victories they gained by strategic genius.

Do not think because we say little that we are not grateful. We know at home in England that to the American Commission for Relief in Belgium we owe the safety and the lives of the bulk of the Belgian nation. Our Government takes the personal word of honor of your fellow-countryman, Mr. Hoover, as an international assurance in a way which has no precedent and no parallel in the history of peace or war. On the pledge of one American, we have allowed to go into Belgium millions of dollars' worth of food which would be of priceless military and other value to the Germans who occupy the country. Mr. Hoover, in the name of the commission, tells us this will go only to the Belgians. We take his word and have no reason to regret it.

But our military and naval authorities would never be justified in taking the word, under the circumstances of a life and death struggle, of one American, or even of the American nation, unless they were convinced that with it went the power and ability to "make good." We have found that you are as good as your word. Your flag has safeguarded more relief than the philanthropy of the whole world ever dreamed it would be asked to supply. Under the Stars and Stripes a distressed civilian army, greater than the combined militant armies of France and Germany, is being kept alive. Impelled by humanity and guided by an efficiency that is the envy of every European Government, you have pierced the lines of all armies, broken all blockades, and gained the first really decisive victory of the war.

THE PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

WHERE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY HAS PAUSED TO TAKE STOCK OF ITSELF AND TO RECORD MANKIND'S PROGRESS IN THE LAST TEN YEARS

BY

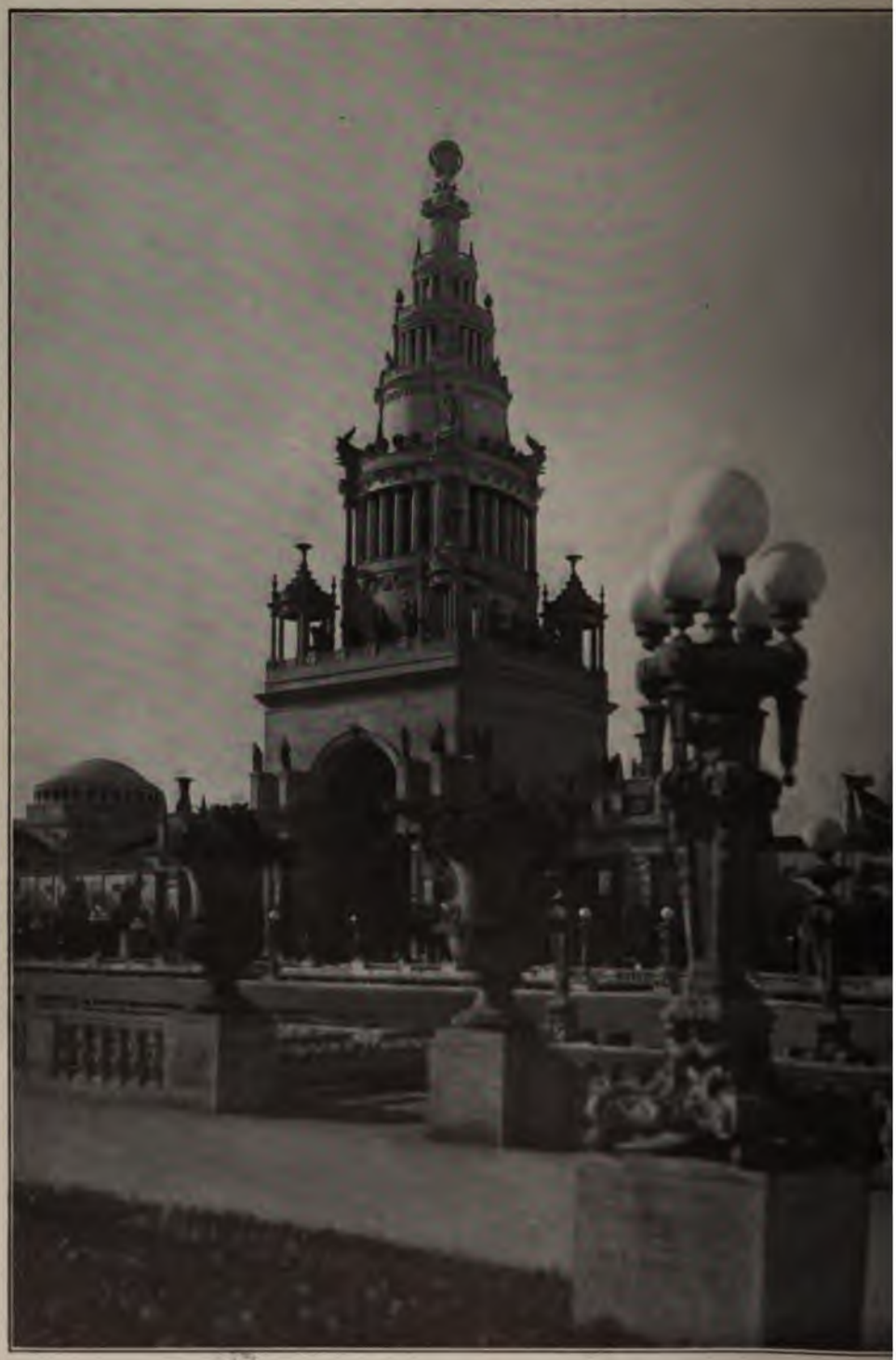
FRENCH STROTHER

PHOTOGRAPHS CHIEFLY BY J. P. McHALE

THE Twentieth Century, still young, has paused at San Francisco to take stock of itself. The Exposition is an inventory of its progress. Under the rules, every exhibit that was entered there in hope of an award for merit must be an exhibit of a product or a process of the last ten years. "What have you done since the World's Fair at St. Louis?" That is the challenge every exhibitor must meet.

And the answer is confident, inspiring: "Wireless," "radium," "automobile," "aeroplane," "Diesel engine," "high ten-

THE SOUTH GARDENS, AT THE MAIN ENTRANCE TO THE EXPOSITION GROUNDS



THE TOWER OF JEWELS BY DAY

The central point of the architectural scheme of the Exposition, a tapering shaft 435 feet high a
with 105,000 glass pendants that catch and reflect tiny beams of light

THE TOWER OF JEWELS BY NIGHT

Made almost pure white by the rays of light thrown on it by sixty concealed searchlights. Its brilliant illumination, being wholly indirect, puts no strain upon the spectators' eyes

THE PALACE OF FINE ARTS, PHOTOGRAPHED BY DAYLIGHT

The great, green hedge under the dome is built of up-ended shallow trays that contain, under wire netting, an inch or two of soil in which "ice plant" is growing

PHOTOGRAPHED DURING THE NIGHT ILLUMINATION

When every detail of sculpture and architecture is made as plainly visible, by indirect lighting, as it is by day

THE DIRECT LIGHTING OF FORMER EXPOSITIONS

Where the incandescent lamps merely outlined the buildings and by their glare pained the eyes and made it almost impossible to see architectural details

THE INDIRECT LIGHTING AT SAN FRANCISCO

no source of light is seen, where the buildings are made as visible as they are by day, and where the illumination, whether soft or splendid, leaves the eyes unwearied

sion current," "transcontinental telephony," "sanitation," "the Panama Canal," "the conquest of the soil," "university extension," "selective breeding"—these, and a thousand other cries, well up from the palaces to the glistening Tower of Jewels, the voice of mankind proclaiming its pride of power.

If you are fortunate, or wise, you will catch the keynote of this symphony by seeing the Exposition first at sunset. Sit on a bench in the South Gardens, with the Fountain of Energy on your left, facing north to the four palaces of Education, Liberal Arts, Manufactures, and Varied Industries, and watch the building up of the night illumination. As the softly splendid pastel colors of the buildings fail in the gathering dusk, the street lamps up and down the Avenue of Palms come on. But they are not such street lamps as you ever saw. They are not glaring points of light that make the

THE PALACES OF FOOD PRODUCTS (LEFT) AND AGRICULTURE
Looking out of the Court of the Four Seasons toward the Marina, where a battery of forty-eig lights throws a replica of the Aurora Borealis upon the sky

darkness beyond their little orbits blacker than before. They are shaded from your eyes, and throw their concentrated incandescence all upon the buildings' walls, whence it is reflected in a pervasive radiance that is as restful as it is illuminating. There are no deep shadows, no dazzling lights—you simply can see plainly everywhere without perceiving exactly why.

Now look up at the Tower of Jewels. From unseen sources behind and the columns and statues that a soaring flanks rises a glow of ru which makes every detail of arc stand out and reveal its shape an ture. And then, one by one, sixty lights from all directions are turn the tower, so gradually that y scarcely detect the accretions of br until at last it is a glowing pile

THE PALACE OF HORTICULTURE

Searchlights within the building throw their rays upon colored projectors which are so arranged that they can reproduce any constellation on the glass dome overhead

white, and yet your eyes feel no discomfort in gazing on it for an hour on end, so soft is the radiance of reflected light. Again there are no black shadows, for the ruby glow, though now almost invisible in the stronger brightness, makes even the shadows luminous.

Meanwhile, the statuary that surmounts an arch yonder or a column there has been picked up by two or three of the 373 hidden searchlights and disclosed in an aura of white mist. Walk as you will through courts or corridors or beside lagoons, you will not once see a direct source of light—and yet you will see your way and the buildings with delight and ease. If you wish to realize more fully what a revolution has here been wrought in illumination, you have only to walk over to the Joy Zone and see lights as they were used at former

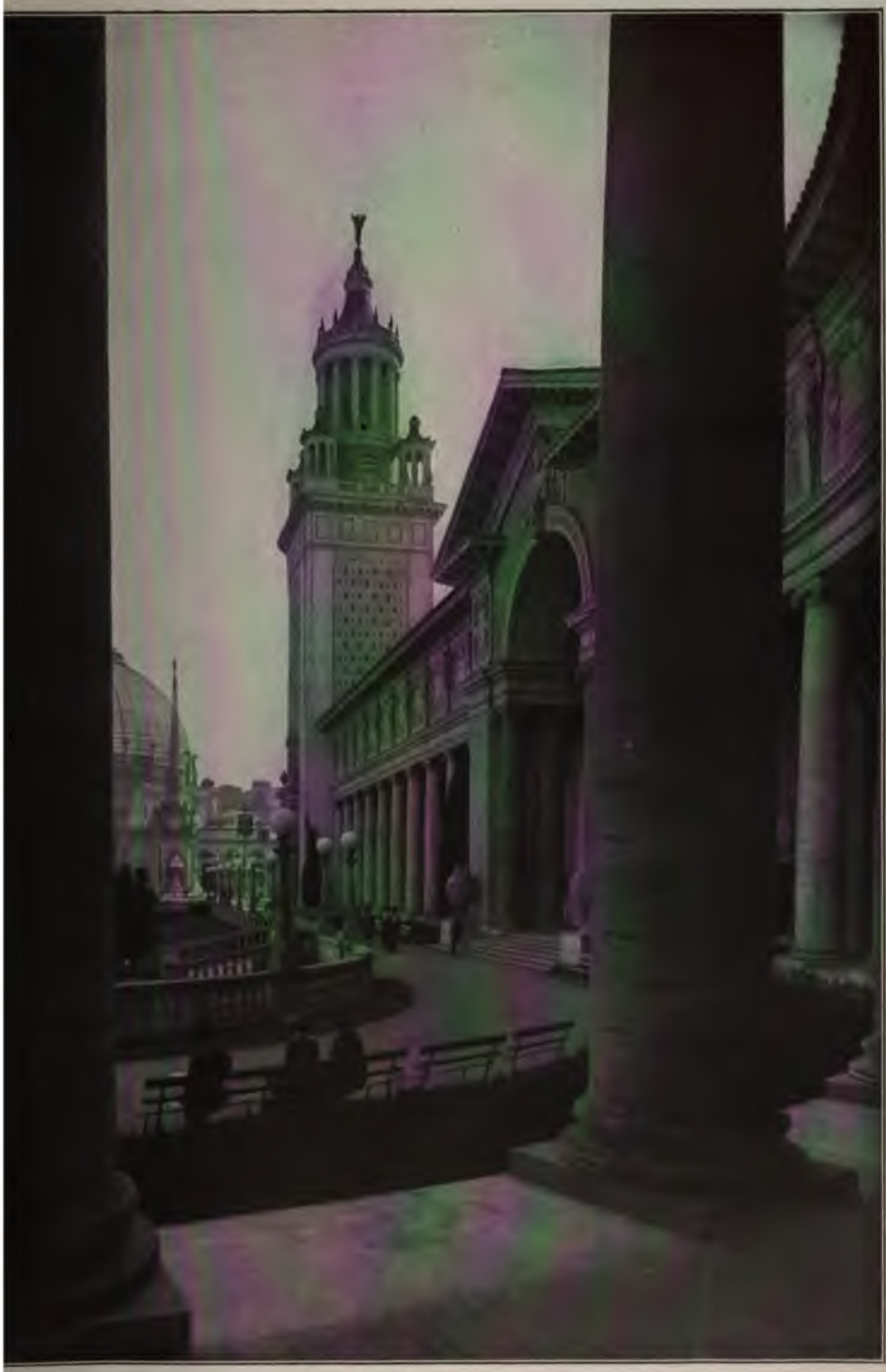
TWO STRIKING NIGHT EFFECTS

In lighting the Tower of Jewels and the Italian towers, ruby lights are concealed behind the pillars and statuary so that they stand out in their natural form just as they do in the daytime, despite the strong white lights that play upon them

THE ORGAN TOWER

Court of Abundance. Eight of the main exhibit palaces are grouped about three central the four walls of each court, instead of the four walls of each building, are treated as an al unit

A GLIMPSE OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY
Looking north from the Court of Abundance past the façade of the Palace of Transportation



THE COURT OF PALMS
Looking south past the façade and Italian tower of the Palace of Education

THE LAGOON OF THE PALACE OF FINE ARTS

Much of the land on which the Exposition is built was reclaimed from the water lots of San Francisco Bay, this lagoon being one of the bits of water that were purposely left for scenic effect

THE DOME OF THE PALACE OF FINE ARTS

the palaces are colored in soft tones of yellow, red, and green, in restful contrast with the glaring white of most earlier expositions

THE COLUMN OF ACHIEVEMENT (LEFT)

Upper picture: The Avenue of Progress, with the Palace of Mines on the right and the Palace of Machinery on the left. Lower picture: The Fountain of the Setting Sun, in the Court of the Universe

ions—strings of incandescent lamps ed across the highways and out- the corners of buildings, garish, and blinding. A popular expression contrast is a remark you will often om visitors: "The most profitable ion at St. Louis was for the sale of glasses; you can't find a pair on unds at San Francisco."

ination here has been made an art. p at any of the arches that roof the hes to the various courts, and you d their contour preserved by in- white lights from one side making s that are softened by indirect ruby from the other. Study the semi- fountains at the four corners of the of the Four Seasons and you will only that they are warmly lit; but and you will learn that the semi- as been divided into four segments, of which ten concealed blood orange re playing, on the next ten orange n the next twenty yellow lights, and last ten white lights, so that here the sense of roundness has been ed by gradations of color.

val Hall, the big auditorium, is ated from beneath the floor. There 18-inch projectors are concealed row their concentrated beams upon sor at the ceiling which, in turn, their rays softly into every corner hall.

he Marina—the pleasure path that he water's edge along the bayshore the Exposition grounds—lighting en used to obtain the spectacular of fireworks, only they are far more al than fireworks could ever be. A lator" has been built here, two f searchlights, forty-eight in all, inches across the face of the re- each capable of projecting 5 mil- ndle-power of light, all together of projecting 2 billion 600 million power. By means of instantly ad- gelatine screens, each may be o throw any color of the spectrum. t night, set in the form of a fan, ys throw upon the sky a perfect of the Aurora Borealis; or, all in nd weaving back and forth, their rms dance the ghost dance upon the clouds; or, when four dozen smoke bombs have been exploded high overhead, they play the rainbow colors upon the fuming streamers as they descend until they look like the night view of an erupting volcano, terrifying but beautiful.

Back of this twentieth century lighting is twentieth century power. The generators which develop it are 140 miles away, in the shadows of black pine trees high up on the slope of the Sierra Nevada. The electricity which they gather is carried over ranges of mountains and foothills, across a desert plain, above rivers and swamps, under San Francisco Bay. Ten years ago the greatest intensity at which electric current was transmitted was 80,000 volts. To-day current is sent from Big Creek, in Fresno County, 243 miles to Los Angeles, at an intensity of 150,000 volts.

And here the exhibits in the Exposition palaces perform their function: they show how the thing is done—not only in electricity but in the mechanical arts, in education, in manufactures, in science, in every field of man's achievement. Thus, in the Palace of Machinery, you may see the generators that produce the electricity, the Pelton water wheels (one of them when installed will swallow two rivers whole, extract their energy, and send them on below), the water wheels that turn the generators, the pipes that carry the water to the wheels, models of the dams that make the reservoirs that feed water to the pipes, maps and models of the Government's work that saves the forests that conserve the snow that melts and fills the reservoirs that feed the pipes that carry the water to the wheels that turn the generators that gather the power that flows over the wires to light the Exposition at San Francisco.

These mighty uses of power, however, are to the uses of it for wireless and for long distance telephony as the draft horse is to the thoroughbred. On the night of the 20th of February, the hundreds of massive machines in the Exposition buildings lay inert and dark, until President Wilson, in Washington, touched a key which closed a circuit at the wireless station at Arlington, Va., and an ethereal impulse spanned the continent in an instant to a hair-hung lever

in San Francisco, which it released, and the obedient machines sprang into action and the lights flashed into a burst of color and the Exposition was opened to the world. That is power in its subtle modern use, refined and perfected.

LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONY

This refinement of practice in the mechanical arts is perhaps the most striking characteristic of the exhibits at this Exposition as compared with the exhibits at earlier expositions. It is nowhere more graphically illustrated than in the telephone exhibit in the Palace of Liberal Arts. Here you enter a little theatre and sit for half an hour. For the first ten minutes of that period you hear a lecture on the development of the telephone. For the next fifteen minutes you watch motion pictures of the building of the transcontinental telephone line. Then you take a pair of receivers from the back of the seat in front of you and put them to your ears, the lecturer presses a button, and New York is switched on the wire. A boy in the New York office of the telephone company reads the headlines from the afternoon papers, describes the weather conditions at the moment, and then switches on a phonograph and you hear "canned music" by telephone over a wire 3,400 miles long. It is a thrilling sensation, especially to any one who has just traveled from the Atlantic Coast, to be carried back in an instant to a place from which he has traveled five days and nights by train to San Francisco.

And yet this extension of telephonic radius, from two miles in 1875 to 2,000 miles in 1911 to 3,400 miles in 1915, is only a refinement of the original process of telephoning. The same principle operates it to-day that operated the telephone forty years ago—even the same first crude instrument was used for the first transcontinental conversation that was used in the first of all telephone conversations. What has made speech across the country possible is hundreds upon hundreds of improvements —in instruments, wiring, power supply, and what-not, no one of the improvements a "revolution" but every one advancing the talking radius a few miles and every new one depending for its utility on the one before.

You will see this advance toward perfection all through the exhibits in the Palace of Liberal Arts. You see it in the typewriters—delicate but sturdy machines that have been developed from crude models of limited utility into devices that write all languages and that are useful for every kind of commercial work. You see it in the phonograph—grown from a raspy, tinpanny, wire-edged, mechanical sound-reproducer into a responsive instrument for the most accurate and beautiful interpretation of the most difficult music. You see it in calculating machines—that add, subtract, multiply, and divide, compute compound interest, and all but think for the accountants of modern business. You see it in the motion pictures—now clear, free from flickering, and adequate to the representation of all kinds of action, from the birth of a germ cell to the representation of a modern military battle.

ONE HUNDRED EDUCATIONAL "MOVIES"

Motion pictures—they have become the servant of industry no less than they are the handmaid of drama. There are nearly a hundred little picture shows in the various buildings at the Exposition—not to celebrate the doings of John Bunny or Mary Pickford or Sarah Bernhardt, but to show graphically why the Rogue River Valley of Oregon is a choice place to grow apples in, why the United States Army ought to be the goal of a boy's ambition, why you ought to choose a certain great railroad when you travel from New York to Chicago, how steel is made, what "safety first" means in actual practice, and so on to hundreds of things in industry and science and government that the mind can grasp most easily from pictures. These shows are free to the public, by the way.

Refinement of practice has not been limited to machinery. It has been remarkably illustrated in agriculture, horticulture, and the growing of live stock.

SOIL FERTILITY IN TIN CANS

Chemists—this is the age of the chemist in every branch of industry, as the Exposition will convince you—have made it possible for farmers to buy fertility in tin cans—a pint and a half to the acre. Several man-

; put up this product and sell it for
n. It just about doubles the pro-
of the soil. The can contains
" of live bacteria, the friendly, in-
le bacteria that accumulate de-
itrogen from the air in the roots
ious plants. The "cultures" are
h diluted glue or molasses and the
poured over the seeds you intend
nd stirred around until each seed
d with it. Then the seeds are
a the ordinary way. Alfalfa, for
grown from "inoculated" seed
at least as high as alfalfa grown
nary seed planted five or ten feet
l at the same time will leave the
· the next year, whereas the un-
l growth leaves it poorer.
husetts feels that she has studied
farming long enough so that
ified in shouting in big letters on
wall of the Palace of Agriculture,
, young man." Go East, where
eap, where money is more plenti-
: your market lies at your door.
o longer any such thing as "worn
—at the worst it is only tired, and
n teach you how to restore its
nergy. And this in the farthest
st part of the very West toward
race Greeley urged the young men
eration to find their way.
ndeed, is a revolution of the last

For the star of agricultural em-
nger wends its way westward; to-
eading the feet of the young men
"to the land of known desire and
light." Cattle growers in Idaho
s, their treasury of "free range"
are turning to the low-priced pas-
he Carolinas and Georgia to find
grazing that they need; and men
proved the value of high priced
alfalfa in California are demon-
hat Virginia can grow it just as
. Science has made all parts of
ican continent virgin fields for
; in agriculture.

ING TREES ON THE BOTTLE

progress can be found recorded
d industry in the Palace of Horti-
Feeding trees on the bottle is one
st striking changes in horticul-
tural practice in the last ten years. Of course, that is only a fanciful way of describing a serious advance in the art of fruit culture. What has happened is this: Ten years ago orchardists had learned that fruit trees should be pruned to make them produce the most fruit of the best quality and the biggest size. The theory back of this method was that by cutting away a lot of leaves and branches the available sap was concentrated where it would do the most good, that is, in the fruit. It was a good deal like the theory back of a doctor's advice to an elderly man: "You have only so much vitality, so you had best conserve it. So exercise only a little, just enough to keep your blood moving easily and healthily."

The new practice is to prune the roots as well as the branches. The theory back of this is: "Instead of concentrating the normal supply of sap, cut away any inefficient underground gatherers of water and nourishment, and so stimulate the efficient ones to increase the supply of sap that shall be put at the service of the growing tree and fruit overhead."

The theory works in practice; and the practice goes a step further by pre-digesting the food which the mouths gather. This is done by dynamiting the soil in which the tree is planted. This operation loosens the soil, divides it into small grains, as food is masticated by the teeth, and leaves it easily penetrable by the roots of the trees and its treasure of nourishment more readily assimilable from its smaller particles.

Great progress has been made, too, in the hygiene of the tree. As fleas to the rat, ticks to cattle, and mosquitoes to man, so predaceous insects have been carriers of deadly infection to fruit trees. Science has met them of late with increasing success. The insecticides and fungicides that are exhibited at the Exposition have proved to be of great value.

All these things in agriculture and horticulture deal with the production of food—raw food. The preparation of these products for human consumption is no less important, and here equally great advances in method are exhibited in the palaces of Horticulture and Food Products.

The tin can is the emblem of civilization. Its absence defines the savage: its use sets

apart from barbarians the modern, forehanded, sanitary man. It is civilization's defense against the leanness of lean years and against the attacks of carnivorous germs. It is important, therefore, that one of the most completely exhibited things at the Exposition is the tin can, both in its manufacture and in its use. It has been improved in the last ten years: the top and bottom are no longer soldered on, they are crimped on, so that no corrosion can result from acid contents. Cans are now sealed in a vacuum, so that no bacterial change can be set up within. The processes in these directions have been vastly improved. And the machinery for making cans (exhibited in the Palace of Manufactures) and the machinery for filling and sealing them (exhibited in the Palace of Horticulture) have been perfected until the process in each case is now a continuous process and a process wholly mechanical, in which the workmen share with their hands only to pull levers and adjust apparatus.

A REVOLUTION AT THE BREAKFAST TABLE

In the Palace of Food Products other dozens of ways to feed the world are exhibited in their recent perfection. Here the carton largely supersedes the can. One of the most noteworthy phenomena of the last decade is the reform of the American breakfast. Just as the most striking social change of the latter Nineteenth Century in America was the substitution of the French course dinner and French cookery for the native "family dinner" served en masse, so the most striking change in table practice in the early Twentieth Century is the development of the breakfast food. In older days the menu was doughnuts and coffee, buckwheat cakes and sausage (in New England) or hot biscuits, coffee, fried chicken and bacon (in the South). To-day, the national breakfast is fruit, cereal, and eggs. To-day you choose coffee, or coffee without caffeine, or a drink that has no coffee in it but the taste.

But the accent in the menu is now on the "cereal." The Palace of Food Products displays it in every way it can be bought—rolled and pre-cooked, gritted and predigested, shredded and pre-toasted, exploded and super-heated, from the kinds that grandmother approves to th that baby cannot get enough of—al in preparation through the proce which they are translated from th grains of the field into the airtigh board box for the breakfast table again the chemist has his inning stamp of approval is on every step process. Even in the making of complete mill is in operation in this palace—his test tubes and retorts a tric ovens and litmus paper are par process, and he controls the additi subtractions of ingredients to prod digestible and uniform and palatal sanitary result. And it is noteworth with all this care, foods cost litt now than they used to, and the varie is at the command of people of small has been infinitely multiplied.

QUICKER PROFITS FROM CATTL

The live stock exhibits at the Exp were delayed and somewhat curtailed Federal quarantine against foot-and- disease in the Middle West, but the ing is large, nevertheless, and sign to the utmost degree. Selective br has wrought changes in animal types last ten years that are revolutionary i economic results. The cow that to gold medal at St. Louis earned it by a of 600 pounds of butter in one yea could not even be entered for compet San Francisco, the increase in avera of milk has so increased. The be to-day produce 1,100 pounds of yearly—almost twice the best recor time of the earlier exposition. Te ago, cattle were ready for slaughter to four years of age: to-day, t brought to the same weight at fron two years of age. Ten years ago were bred primarily for their wool; a type has been perfected that yiel wool and is better for mutton beside years ago, the average market age was from twelve to fourteen months the average market age is eight In other words, the time in which a investment in live stock begins dividends has been cut almost in t

The horse, also, has altered in decade. The automobile has not

rom the field as most people changed his function some- Louis, the highly prized trotting horse—the sporting s been largely replaced by automobile. The horse at is a utility animal, strong, empered, enduring, versatile. eworthy advance in the art e stock is indicated by the hat invests the vocation of The old contempt for the " has disappeared with the terinary knowledge into a ompetes acceptably with the icine for human beings in its osis and rational treatment The success of veterinarians g cholera has saved the farmed States millions of dollars. tance of applying the knowltive medicine to live stock phically illustrated by the nder some veterinarian made hen he failed to recognize a d-mouth disease and brought tine that closed the Chicago d stopped shipments of cattle n a dozen states.

shared with live stock in the hods of farmers in the last he general adoption of the he best poultrymen would ly overturn of capital in the Ordinary hens lay about year. The farmers around if., the greatest egg-produce world, kill every hen that oo eggs a year. What they be done anywhere. The iming it is illustrated by the alue of the eggs produced by e United States is approxillion dollars a year.

the most significant advance of country life—agricultural, tc.—is the spread of the idea s that they are primarily and business men. The old ly growing things is giving cious study of agricultural processes and costs. The tester gave the first imnovement twenty-five years ago by supplying a definite standard by which, in one department of farm life, the farmer could easily determine where he was making money and where he was losing it. But the big development of the movement has come in the last ten years, with the adoption, by farmers who were also good business men, of the methods of bookkeeping and cost accounting that are the guides of manufacturers. The agricultural colleges have aided this movement by perfecting simple systems of accounting especially for farm use and placing them at the service of farmers.

"MANUFACTURING" GOLD

This conception of all productive industry as simply a process of manufacture has captured even the men who engage in what is commonly supposed to be the most speculative of businesses, the business of mining. A study of the exhibits in the Palace of Mines makes the advance very plain, and a talk with the men in charge of the exhibits makes it plainer. The picturesque prospector has given way to the highly trained geologist; the hit-or-miss mine superintendent has yielded place to the mining engineer who coöperates with chemists and physicists and geologists in gathering and working his ores; the wild-cat promoter has gone to make room for the hard-headed financier who invests millions in an enormous property as a straight manufacturing business on which he expects only the fair profit that comes with careful management in any other business. "Low-grade" is the word to conjure with these days—low-grade copper ores in Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and New Mexico; low-grade gold and silver ores in North Dakota and Nevada and California. It means that processes have been perfected by which the last atom of value is extracted from the ores by a combination of mechanical and chemical treatment. It means that these processes are continuous, like the process by which spruce logs go in at one end of a pulp mill and come out at the other end as rolls of newspaper. Continuous operation means economical operation. The work of Mr. J. V. N. Dorr, of Denver, in developing the continuity of processes in thickening the pulp of ores in the cyanide process, and in making possible the con-

tinuous decantation of the cyanide solution containing the dissolved metal, has been one of the great strides of the last ten years. Another is the work of Mr. Charles W. Merrill, of San Francisco, in the finer grinding of ores by which metal that formerly was lost is wrested from its hiding place in the minute particles of rock, and in the filter method of precipitating ground ores by which an increase in efficiency of nearly 10 per cent. has been obtained in the reducing of gold and silver ores. Still another is the improvement in the methods of concentrating ores, originated by the Inspiration Copper Company of Arizona, which raised the efficiency of this process from 70 per cent. to 90 per cent.

MINES THAT MINE THEMSELVES

Making a mine "mine itself" is one of the newest achievements of the engineers. It is feasible only in certain kinds of formations, but where it is practicable it has lowered the cost of getting ore out of the ground from about 45 cents a ton to about 23 cents a ton. It is practised on the largest scale by the Alaska Gold Mining Company, which operates the biggest gold mill in the world, with a capacity of 6,000 tons of ore a day. The method is to quarry the stratum of rock above the ore and the stratum of rock below it in such a way that physical stresses are produced by the disturbance of existing pressures so that the ore is forced downward and out from between the two strata much as the ribbon of tooth paste is forced out from the walls of the tube that contains it.

The Government's share in the advancement of mining is a large share. The idea of a Federal Bureau of Mines originated at the exposition at St. Louis, and Dr. J. H. Holmes's ten years' administration of its labors has been of high value to the country. Dr. Frederick G. Cottrell's electric process of precipitating the metal in the fumes that had hitherto been carried away into the air from the smokestacks of ore refineries not only saved wasted values to the refiners but saved the crops of neighboring farmers whose plant life was destroyed by these noxious fumes. As the courts had held that the farmers could enjoin a mining company from locating its refinery where it would injure crops, this invention has enabled the mining companies to seek the most advantageous sites, near railroads and fuel, for the reduction of their ores. Dr. Cottrell's work was done in the Bureau.

The labors of the Bureau in the Eastern states have been devoted chiefly to mine rescue work (with its development of the pulmotor and of other effective methods of rescue) and to studies in the most economical methods of using coal to produce power, with proof that for certain kinds of work the producer gas engine gets several per cent. more heat value out of coal than the ordinary boiler gets. Every day in the Bureau's exhibit in the Palace of Mines you may hear a loud explosion, see the dense smoke form in the glassed-in imitation of a stifling mine shaft, the rescue squad don their oxygen helmets and disappear in the smoke, return with the limp body of an apparently asphyxiated miner, apply the pulmotor to his mouth, and bring him back to life. It is a life-like and thrilling reproduction of the invaluable work that the mine rescue corps of the Bureau of Mines is doing every day in the grim realities of the coal mines of the Alleghanies.

In the West, the Bureau has embarked upon scientific research in mining of the sort which, in medicine for example, is so admirably done by the Rockefeller Institute. Its station at Denver has correlated all the known facts about radium—the ores that yield it and where they are, the methods of extracting the radium salts, and the physical properties of radium. Its station at San Francisco is studying the metallurgical problems of copper, lead, gold, and silver mining; and part of its exhibit at the Exposition is a hydro-metallurgical laboratory in which, day in and day out, earnest scientists are studying out improvements in the cyanide process of extracting metals.

COAL MINES AND RADIUM

The exhibits that illustrate these advances in the mining art are unfailingly interesting. You may go down a shaft in the Palace of Mines that leads you into a mine below the level of San Francisco Bay. The damp chill of the under earth heightens the illusion as you pass dimly lighted drift after drift from the main tunnel, where real

's in working clothes operate drills and in methods in a dozen reproductions, from the actual ore, of characteristic ings in a dozen famous American i. And when you make your exit at ther end of the long tunnel you come rough a darkened room in which you look at real specimens of radium, gh a microscope, and see the palpitat- ıys of this most marvelous of recent cal discoveries, the infinitely ener- element that perpetually emanates r without loss of its capacity to throw ıore.

HE ADVANCE IN TRANSPORTATION

e Palace of Transportation records al striking changes in locomotion since

At St. Louis the exhibits empha- the economic aspects of railroad trans- tion and the development of tractive r. At San Francisco the emphasis is ɔon safety, (2) upon the electric loco- e, and (3) upon the development of the truck as a feeder to the railroads. ty First" is illustrated by steel cars, e exhaustive governmental and pri- researches into the cause and cure of rails and rail joints, and by the charts hotographs which explain the success railroad companies in lessening the er of accidents by teaching their em- es how to avoid common risks in their

The electric locomotive is dis- d, with models that show the exten- f its use in suburban traffic around cities like New York and in freight on the Union Pacific and the Hill

A special building is devoted to trucks, which are bringing inaccessi- ıburbs, farms, and mines into touch the railroad system of the country. mportance of this movement to the ıds is attested by the attendance of entatives of fifteen leading railroad ıt the convention of the Motor Truck of America in Detroit last September. most popular exhibits in transporta- re the exhibits of automobiles. They graphic the great advance of the last ars—indeed, the whole change from paratively inefficient luxury to a de- ble vehicle of universal use. The ıg change in body lines from the un- couth models shown at St. Louis is only an outward evidence of the familiar improvements in their power plants. Better carbureters, better ignition systems, better lighting, self starters, improved bearings and springs, the advance from the "one-lung" motor to the six-cylinder and eight-cylinder motor, wider range in price, the development of the cheap and reliable car —all these things are displayed in the exhibits, the most popular of which is a miniature factory in which workmen assemble the parts of a Ford car before the eyes of the spectators as they do the same work in the Ford plants, completing the car in eighteen or twenty minutes and running it out of the building under its own power.

The exhibits of aeroplanes scarcely suggest the progress that has been made in aviation in ten years, but the daring loops and side-rolls of Lincoln Beachey, before his death, and of Arthur Smith, his successor as aërial performer at the Exposition, illustrate the advance that has been made in control of the heavier-than-air machines.

PROGRESS IN THE HOME

In the Palace of Manufactures are exhibits that reveal perhaps more intimately than anything else on the grounds the progress of the last decade—the progress that has been made in the hearthside arts of home. The House Electrical is an epitome of this progress. It is a complete bungalow completely furnished, and it is equipped with every electrical device that has lightened the burden of housekeeping. In its kitchen are an electric stove, an electric iron, an electric dishwasher, an electric water-heater, an electric vacuum cleaner; in its dining-room, an electric toaster, coffee percolator, dish warmer; in its living-room, an electric stove and electric piano-player; in its bed-rooms, electric curling irons, bed warmers, interphones, massage; in its nursery, an electric bottle warmer; in its bath-room, an electric stove and electric heater for shaving mug; all through the house, electric lights, and other devices that hasty memoranda did not catch. Practically all this extension of electricity to the service of the home has been made since the St. Louis Exposition.

In the Palace of Machinery, progress is recorded perhaps most graphically in the Diesel engine, which has achieved an efficiency of 30 per cent. in the utilization of fuel as against about 10 per cent. in the best steam engines. The Diesel invention is older than the Twentieth Century, but its application to varied kinds of power plants and the selection of crude petroleum as the ideal fuel for it are of recent date. The engine operates by the direct action of the combustion of low-grade fuel in cylinders. The advantage over the gasolene engine lies partly in the fact that the cylinder is practically its own carbureter (this is not a correct technical statement but suggests the actual operation, which depends on the expansion rather than the explosion of gases). The cheapness of the fuel is, of course, its great advantage, permitting the use of bigger engines. In naval construction especially the Diesel engine gives promise of almost a revolutionary advance in the generation of power.

The transmission of power in ships is another improvement of the last decade. By providing for direct drive of the propeller by means of gears, the electric ship is to be the ship of the future. The power plant of the latest battleships of the United States Navy, for example, is a steam plant which generates electricity which is applied through motors to the propeller shafts.

HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER

The generation of electricity on land by hydraulic power has been vastly improved by the perfection of the water wheels through refinements in the needle valve nozzle and in the shape of the buckets which receive the impact of water that turns the wheels—refinements that increase the power-producing efficiency of the water and that permit the use of greater volumes of water at higher head. The giant wheel that is exhibited in the Palace of Machinery will ultimately be installed at Lake Spalding, Calif., and will use 350 million gallons every 24 hours, or nearly as much as the capacity of the water resources of New York City.

The transmission of electricity has already been referred to. Whereas the few long-distance lines in existence at the time of the St. Louis Exposition carried tively little power and were consider best to be risky experiments, the lin to-day are more numerous, longer, carry infinitely greater quantities of p with no thought of serious difficulty. Lake Spalding development, for exa will use the entire flow of two rivers utilize the water seven times at diff levels, and will extract altogether 19 kilowatts of electricity from it before finally released for irrigation purposes i Sacramento Valley. And this power be carried with little loss and less th more than 100 miles to its users.

The machines that make machines been revolutionized in ten years. steel has replaced carbon steel in ma tools. As alloy steel will keep its te and hold its edge even when it is red the new machines can be operated co uously and upon harder materials. is one advance. The other most str forward step is in the shaping of cold me The old way of making a complicated chine part was to make a sand mould and pour the mould full of melted m The product had to be smoothed up; it was of unequal quality in different p often it was weakened or spoiled by de in the mould. The first step in the process is to obtain chemically pure me Then these metals are subjected to pre in machines that are simply huge enormously powerful dies. They pres cold metal into the shape of the die—i it into the exact form that is finally wa and the product is structurally homog ous and perfect.

EDUCATIONAL EXHIBITS

At the Exposition, the gap between material aspects of life and the life of spirit is measured by the length of the of exhibit palaces, by the distance from Palace of Machinery to the Palace of E cation, a half mile westward along Avenue of Palms. In this cloister of mind a very practical economy of en has been effected. The school exhibit selective rather than exhaustive. Wh at previous expositions every city and tried to exhibit the best of everything it here each has been allotted space only

best of the most characteristic thing it s. Thus New York State exhibits only its fection of organization and centralized nagement, Missouri and Illinois only ir kinds of local management, Massa- setts its system of vocational education, gon its rural schools, Indiana its con- dated schools, and so on. Thus a ly of all these exhibits is a complete ly of American education, but without rying and useless duplication. Chicago kes a significant exhibit of the N. W. ris extension service of the Field Mu- m which carries miniature cases of ntific exhibits to the public schools of city. The Philippine Islands show t their schools are doing to develop local ustries. Los Angeles makes plain its olutionary methods of extending freedom its pupils—a method popularized by . William Wirt at Gary, Ind., and now g put into operation in New York. n-air schools, one of the coming great ovations in educational method, are il- rated by models. Madame Montes- , teaching teachers how to apply her em of education, is an exhibit.

n this Palace social economy, community iene, and industrial and child welfare k are adequately represented. These jects have been made too familiar in nt years to need elaboration here ond pointing out that they have altered ely the death rate, the habits of every- life, and the conception of the functions he State to the people of this country, that they are almost wholly products he agitations of the last ten years.

THE AGE OF SERVICE

estival Hall (and the Civic Auditorium, ch, though not on the grounds, is one he Exposition buildings) is the centre he gathering of learned and other con- ses that will run well toward one thou- d meetings all told before the 4th of ember and will bring probably half a lion delegates to San Francisco. Here, t all, the spirit of the Exposition should ress itself. And its expression is also vidence of progress. The predominant racter of the congresses at the Chicago osition was religious—they looked to resolving of the conflict between the old orthodox faiths and the seeming menace of material science. At St. Louis the emphasis in the congresses was upon learning. At San Francisco, the keynote is service. The philosophy of "doing good" here triumphs over the philosophy of "being good," or being wise. It is the new, aggressive philosophy of the Twentieth Century, and it is fitting that these gatherings should unconsciously reflect a thing that shines out from so many of the exhibits.

These are a few of the things to see at the Exposition, a few of the things that interpret Twentieth Century progress. Of course, there are hundreds, thousands, of others, great and small, that are not hinted at in this article. Merely to walk by all the exhibits without stopping would take an active man a week. To stop at each one long enough to grasp its meaning would take years—and what you had learned in the Palace of Varied Industries would be out of date by the time you entered the Palace of Education. Nothing has been said at all of the greatest of all the exhibits, the people themselves. They are the most interesting sight on the grounds. Well dressed, well fed, earnest but joyous, eager to learn but eager also to feel, thrilled by the wonders of mechanism but more thrilled by some touching or laughable incident in the crowd, their intelligence and their humanness are the most absorbing and the most inspiring part of the show. After all, they *are* the show. The magic of the Exposition is the work of their hands, and though its ephemeral towers shall fail indeed, as they seem to fail upon the sight at dusk across the Bay, they can rebuild it more superbly when they will.

Here, in truth, is the essence of this Exposition. Ten years ago, men walked bewildered among the machines they had built, and even the strongest hearted feared that the race had delivered itself up to a soulless Superman made of steam and steel and chemicals. To-day, men have conquered these servants and freed their own spirits. Secure in their mastery of material forces, they are turning again to the study of the invisible forces, to learning the art of gracious living in all that that implies of personal amenity and social service.

WHAT THE PANAMA CANAL IS DOING

ITS TRAFFIC EASTBOUND AND WESTBOUND, AND WHAT IT MEANS TO THE RAILROADS AND THE PEOPLE

BY

C. M. KEYS

IN A big freight shed in San Francisco, a curious and somewhat skeptical reporter for an Eastern technical paper found out about the Panama Canal. What he learned both interested and alarmed him. He went at his task with a preconceived idea that the Panama Canal was a waterway between the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards. He left it with a conception that the Canal must be the main highway between all the markets of the United States.

His task was to look over the incoming tonnage and find out what it consisted of and the places from which it came. When he came to size up his impression on the first point of his inquiry he decided to make a catalogue of every kind of tonnage except the very low grade products that are turned out in profusion in every part of the country alike. In a general way, his conclusion was that the Panama Canal could, and did, bid for every sort of tonnage that the transcontinental railroads bid for.

Steel products predominated in the inventory. Textiles, leather, woodenware, coffee, copper manufactures, and paper products followed in about the order named. The ship, in fact, had brought in a miscellaneous cargo of good profitable package and bulk freight.

The origin of the shipments made a still deeper impression upon him. The cargo in which he was making his study came from New York via the Panama Canal to San Francisco. He found in it, however, freight that had come from Omaha, from Minneapolis, from Kansas City, from Grand Rapids, from Chicago, and from a dozen other cities which he, an Easterner, had always regarded as "some place out West" and neighbors of San Francisco.

That is the startling thing about the Panama Canal traffic at the present time. The steamship companies at New York bid for and get tonnage out of cities far beyond the Mississippi River, haul it by rail eastward two thousand miles to New York, ship it, carry it through the Canal, and actually send it several hundred miles eastward from the Pacific Coast ports. They do it cheaper than the railroads charge to haul it westward across the prairies and over the Rocky Mountains to the same destinations.

From Omaha to San Francisco, by rail, is less than 1,800 miles. From Omaha to New York is less than 1,500 miles. Yet, for certain classes of traffic, the agents of the steamship companies take traffic in the streets of Omaha and ship it East 1,500 miles and then on the long circular haul through Panama to San Francisco.

Of course, it is not typical. That it takes place at all, in all human probability, means simply that up to date the traffic lost from these great inland cities by the railroads is not worth enough to justify the railroads in revising their tariffs on all sorts of traffic. Any man who understands what it means to change a railroad tariff will readily enough understand the reasons that underlie that situation.

When the Panama Canal was building, there was much conjecture concerning what the results would be. The results were figured in two main ways, first in regard to what it would do to the railroads; second, in regard to what it would do to the cities. For the most part, the railroad men expressed the opinion that the Canal would never do much harm to the transcontinental railroads. These men, secure in a lifetime of contempt for steamship traffic, saw no reasonable chance that any steamship line, no matter where it ran or what it

did, would ever do much to a big transcontinental. Other critics, not quite so well armed with facts, took just the opposite view. Between the two, the prevailing opinion was that it might be worth while to wait and see what happened.

As to the cities, the Gulf ports, of course, being relatively small and very ambitious, advanced the claim that the water route would undoubtedly draw an immense tonnage on the north-and-south railroads to go by way of the Canal. The Eastern cities—being at all times only half awake, in the judgment of the West—made no claims worth while and seemed indifferent to the question. One of the big traffic men of New York made the statement that not a single dollar had been spent to equip New York Harbor to bid for the terminal business of the Panama Canal. That was probably true.

Of course, it is too early to say what the Panama Canal is going to do to the railroads. It is also too early to say what it is going to do to the cities. It was opened for traffic on August 14, 1914. It has been doing business more or less regularly ever since. That has been a stormy and abnormal period, commercially. It is, of course, too short to prove anything even under the best of circumstances. To make it worse, from the point of view of one who would draw conclusions, the reports of operations are mere fragmentary, sketchy figures, confessedly incomplete. Steps are being taken to compel shippers to give the Government full data of all shipments by the Canal. In the meantime, all the information there is about the traffic through the Canal comes by courtesy of the steamship companies.

Yet the figures are interesting enough in themselves. They fall naturally into four different divisions: (1) tonnage from Atlantic to Pacific ports, (2) tonnage from Pacific to Atlantic ports, (3) tonnage from Atlantic to foreign ports, and (4) tonnage from Pacific to foreign ports.

Obviously, there are two more divisions, namely, the tonnage coming to the Atlantic and Pacific ports from foreign countries. Unfortunately, there are no figures. Perhaps, after a while, there will be. Possibly, during the war, the figures are not much to miss.

At the end of February, the Canal had been working about eight months. During that time, the value of the shipments of freight from the Atlantic to the Pacific was $46,789,989. That is the Government's figure, confessedly not accurate. The principal items that make up the total are as follows:

Iron and steel, manufactures	$13,695,565
Cotton, manufactures	7,262,401
Paper, manufactures	3,289,373
Chemicals	1,968,689
Wool, manufactures	1,668,136
Vegetables	1,655,136
Leather, manufactures	1,289,373
Wood, manufactures	1,099,998
Coffee	1,025,789
Copper, manufactures	1,020,531

All other items are in aggregates of less than $1,000,000 value. The smallest detached item in the inventory, and also the most curious, is an item of $13,670, representing the value of the Eastern oysters sent to Western markets through the Panama Canal in the eight months of its activity.

As to the ports that have, so far, carried on the battle for this trade, the Government's table as it stands is quite complete. The figures refer to the value of the commodities moving through the Canal from east to west:

CUSTOMS DISTRICTS

Shipped from—	
Maine and New Hampshire	$ 81,445
Maryland	31,014
Massachusetts	2,551,515
New York	42,642,920
Philadelphia	962,668
Virginia	82,807
Mobile	192,092
New Orleans	243,016
All other districts	2,512
Total,	$46,789,989
Shipped to—	
Hawaii	5,425
Oregon	3,440,818
San Francisco	29,248,773
Southern California	10,171,175
Washington	3,923,798

There is, of course, nothing to be surprised at in these figures. That New York would practically monopolize this traffic in the early years of its growth was taken for

granted from the beginning by all who studied the matter. That San Francisco would be the largest gainer through the Canal traffic on the Western end was also a matter beyond guess. The smallness of the Hawaiian shipments might be made a matter of comment and thought. No doubt there is here a chance for some commercial development of traffic, for the figures on the other side reveal the fact that considerable tonnage moves from Hawaii to the Eastern Coast, and there ought to be good opportunities in building up return tonnage.

One more point of comparison might well be made in connection with these westbound totals. Before the Canal was, there existed the Panama Railroad and the Tehuantepec Route across the Isthmus. In the eight months preceding the opening of the Canal, these two routes together carried westbound tonnage worth, in the aggregate, $22,140,578. Naturally, all this tonnage went to the Canal. The rest of the westbound total, $24,649,411, was either new traffic created by the Canal or was taken from other carriers—ships that sailed around the Horn, or railroads that ran across the continent.

Eastbound, the value of tonnage was not quite so great, though it lacked diversity, naturally enough. The total was $43,213,796. The chief items were the following:

Fruit and nuts	$11,686,496
Sugar	9,148,295
Canned salmon	7,314,260
Wines	2,538,234
Fresh vegetables	1,733,252
Copper	1,512,601
Wool	1,261,201

Other items were small, ranging from barley to hops. A very curious fact about this analysis is that the biggest of all the Pacific Coast products, lumber, hardly figures in the showing at all. Only 50,000 odd feet of lumber had passed through the Panama Canal up to the end of February. Either the preliminary guesses concerning the possibilities of this traffic were all wrong or somebody has not yet got started.

The table of origins and destinations of eastbound tonnage presents a very curious contrast with that of westbound tonnage. This eastbound table follows, the figures in the table referring to the value of the commodities:

CUSTOMS DISTRICTS	
Shipped from—	
Hawaii	$10,726,446
Oregon	1,705,632
San Francisco	24,088,489
Southern California	30,723
Washington	6,662,506
Total,	$43,213,796
Shipped to—	
Delaware Breakwater	10,726,446
Maryland	124,443
Massachusetts	3,613,890
New York	24,107,133
Philadelphia	2,434,827
South Carolina	873,572
Virginia	638,452
Galveston	95,057
New Orleans	563,263
All other districts	36,713

Of course, Hawaii came to the front with its sugar and its pineapples; but the same question remains, namely, what the ships carried back when they came from Hawaii with all that rich tonnage. It is a little difficult to imagine that ships taking more than $10,000,000 worth of freight out of Hawaii can get only $5,000 worth to take back. Something seems to need fixing. Perhaps it is the Government's figures.

The study of the foreign traffic through the Panama Canal to and from the American ports is only slightly helped by the figures available. Such as they are, here they are:

COUNTRIES	
Westbound from Atlantic and Gulf coasts to—	
Canada	$ 108,830
Central American States—	
Costa Rica	463,073
Guatemala	324,199
Honduras	529,289
Nicaragua	203,660
Panama	1,250,832
Salvador	489,032
Mexico	29,812
South America—	
Bolivia	158,566
Chile	1,878,202
Colombia	417,884
Ecuador	1,102,866

Westbound from Atlantic and Gulf coasts to—(continued.)	
Peru	1,414,445
China	353,195
Hongkong	215,064
Japan	4,858,145
Russia in Asia	785,774
Australia and Tasmania	2,725,473
New Zealand	956,953
Philippine Islands	177,318
All other countries	22,451
Total	$18,465,003
Eastbound from Pacific Coast to—	
Europe—	
Belgium	$ 406,488
Denmark	1,877,461
France	327,055
Germany	45,328
Netherlands	1,061,963
Norway	429,961
Sweden	577,739
United Kingdom	20,381,351
West Indies	18,596
Africa	1,349,318
All other countries	23,407
Total	$26,498,667

It will be observed, not without interest, that Japan takes almost as much freight, measured in money value, as the whole West Coast of South America. It is also interesting that Australia, even in war time, should draw more tonnage from the Atlantic ports through the Canal than the Chilean markets demanded. Great Britain, of course, is always expected to be the biggest foreign customer of any American institution, so it is not surprising that its lead in this table is commanding. Perhaps, under other circumstances, Germany might have been better; but in tables one takes things as they are and not as they might have been.

In this table lie the germs of much commercial romance. Possibly the biggest trade opportunities of the future are to be found in the foreign trade through the Panama Canal. One hears of wonderful copper and iron deposits in Chile that are to be opened and transported by water to the Atlantic seaboard. Again, the old East India trade might very well, in some future generation, be in part diverted to the docks of the East River in New York City—if we ever get after it. It would seem as though the possibilities had been barely touched, as yet, in this direction. Possibly, in time, at least the rubber ships from the East Indian plantations will join the Panama procession.

Summarizing the tonnage of the Canal for the eight months these figures appear:

Westbound, domestic	$ 46,789,989
Eastbound, domestic	43,213,796
Westbound, foreign, out	18,465,003
Eastbound foreign, out	26,498,667
Total	$134,967,455

The total is not particularly impressive. If it made anything like the measure of what the Canal can do in normal times and when it once gets started it would be the most gigantic traffic failure in the world. That tonnage might well move over some small railroad in the Middle West. Of course, to measure tonnage by dollars and cents is all nonsense, anyway. One finds time to hope that in the course of time the Government will manage to record the tonnage by tons, so that actual movement may be gauged. No doubt that will be done in the course of time. In the meantime, one may work only with what tools he has and form incomplete conclusions from fragmentary data.

It will be observed in all these figures that the really big movements anticipated have not, as yet, shown any signs of materializing. For example, not a ton of citrus fruits had been transported up to March, naturally enough. That freight, refrigerated and highly profitable to the railroads, is expected to stay largely on the railroads under all circumstances; but efforts will be made presently to take at least a share of the New York supply away from the rails. It will be interesting to watch. Lumber from the Pacific Coast, coal from the Atlantic—both are missing from the lists. Here are stories not yet ready to tell.

It is fairly obvious, from the published data, that the Canal has not yet seriously injured the transcontinental railroad business. It is not by any means so obvious that it will not do so. After all, the real element of danger in the situation, from a railroad point of view, is the rate by rail

as against the rate by water. What that comparison shows is very aptly illustrated in a statement made recently by the president of a steamship company asking for money to build a steamship. The figures in the accompanying table are the rates for a carload lot of the commodities named, for transportation from coast to coast by the two rival routes.

WESTBOUND	CANAL	RAIL	EASTBOUND	CANAL	RAIL
Steel plates	$100	$ 320	Canned Salmon	$120	$ 340
Canned goods	200	360	Dried fruits	160	440
Dry goods	522	1,080	Wine	120	220

Perhaps with significance, this same steamship president remarks: "The railroads are not competing and probably never can compete with this service. Freights for the Pacific Coast are now coming to New York from points as far inland as St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, Minneapolis, and Chicago for reshipment via the Canal route to points a hundred miles inland from the Pacific Coast such as Yuma, Arizona, and Carson City, Nevada."

NO MYSTERY ABOUT FOREIGN TRADE

BY

WALTER F. WYMAN

The WORLD'S WORK *will publish every month an article dealing with the concrete problems of the increase in our export trade. The magazine is led to do this by the evident widespread interest shown all over the United States in the possibilities of export trade, and the specific interest in this subject shown by the readers of this magazine in the answers to a circular letter sent to a group of subscribers, most of whom are not directly connected with manufacturing or exporting, in all parts of the country.*—THE EDITORS.

A MANUFACTURER of toilet articles writes from Illinois: "During the last year our advertising and sales departments have been approached by nearly one hundred solicitors who have endeavored to interest us in exporting. We have never sold our products outside the United States except in Canada, although we know that a number of our leading competitors have quite a foreign trade.

"The great majority of the solicitors have represented selling schemes and advertising propositions of a nature unfamiliar to us in our regular work, although we do not doubt that the different conditions in foreign countries may make these very valuable if not absolutely necessary.

"Though we do not feel in a position to lay out for ourselves an export campaign, we are inclined to believe that it would be money wasted if we should attempt to develop a foreign business by any one of the schemes which have been suggested to us.

"We are anxious to know whether there is any established method of procedure in going out after foreign business."

It is very interesting to note how carefully the fact that export and domestic trade are fundamentally alike has been concealed from the average American business man. If these nearly one hundred schemes would not appeal to the manufacturer as fundamentally sound merchandising at home they should not appeal to him for export trade either. So long as there exists the opportunity to use the three merchandising forces (salesmen, correspondence, and advertising) which have won approval after centuries of use, it is certainly wise to eliminate other methods in foreign trade, unless the nature of these other methods in their relation to a particular

ess makes it just as expedient to use at home.

e first step in the case of the Illinois facturer does not involve the adapt- of toilet articles for exporting, for sful American campaigns have proved eyond a doubt. The test is, there- ne which is met daily in hundreds of towns, and hamlets here at home— e goods be sold in competition with American manufacturers?

m the inquirer's letter it is clear e has a Canadian office and factory, o fear of extending his selling bound- and is therefore willing to see the m of spending a little time and a com- vely small amount of money before ning a full fledged export campaign. lowing the modern business willing- o pay for usable acquired knowledge of , membership in both of the leading t institutions whose addresses can be n request should at once be obtained. 50 this gives the services of experts in phase of the export trade who can int members with the local regula- in every country. These latter, once d by clerks, are no more formidable similar regulations which exist in every in this country, and they are by no comparable with the rules concern- come and corporation tax returns.

m these export institutions lists of ective customers in every known mar- the world can be obtained, as well as reports on the leading firms, of such a that any good credit man would not te to pass in advance on their desira- as customers.

would be absurd for the inquirer to these thousands of prospective cus- s at one time, for just as he doubtless decided difference in the nature and bility of drug stores in the Middle and those of a certain type in the cities, similar differences exist in countries.

ugh foreign markets deserve, and l be given, careful study, this by no necessitates the physical presence presentative at the outset.

ddition to the information accessible gh the export institutions, and the of valuable data secured by Govern- ment market investigators and such institutions as the Pan American Union, one can draw on the experience of non-competing business acquaintances who can sometimes offer even greater assistance than any institution in the opening of business relations with foreign firms. It might be of interest to take as an example the experience of a manufacturer who withdrew from a company manufacturing small articles used in the construction of buildings and who was absolutely without knowledge of selling goods abroad. In order to determine whether the question of exporting should be given a positive or negative answer in the shortest possible time, he selected from the lists of dealers, the nature of whose goods suggested that they would be logical candidates for his products, those in such near-by countries as Cuba, Brazil, Venezuela, and Ecuador. Though this involved the use of Spanish and Portuguese in correspondence and advertising material he kept the expense down to a minimum by centering his attention on the product which he knew from domestic experience sold most readily, and at a small expense he had prepared a very attractive circular illustrating the advantages of this product.

Just as, when first launching his product in Chicago, he demonstrated the advantages which his product offered, so he explained these fully in his letters and enclosures to the foreign dealers to whom the use of his device was unfamiliar. In his letters he presented positive proof of his own reliability, of the satisfaction experienced by his customers, and of the economies his product offered in actual use, making these a matter of proof and not of mere statement.

Hammering away on a basis of testimonials and samples, he succeeded in securing trial orders from a substantial percentage of his selected prospective customers. By offering them the same forms of sales assistance as he originally used in Illinois to educate actual users in the merits of his leading product, it took less than six months to prove to his satisfaction that there was at least an equal future for his goods abroad as at home. As a result he enlarged his export efforts not only in number of countries, but also in bringing his complete list of products to the atten-

tion of firms which formed the original and experimental list.

So successful were his efforts by mail that for a time he felt inclined to eliminate the expense of personal solicitation, but he found that the firms secured by correspondence were slow to increase their purchases, particularly in buying additional specialties whose advantages were not as easily demonstrated as the first article.

Proceeding always along conservative lines, he had one of his Southern salesmen (who fortunately had a fair knowledge of conversational Spanish) make a six months' trip in the West Indies, and thus proved that it would more than pay him to have a foreign sales force, not only to interest dealers, but to do pioneer work with architects and builders. As a result he has added three men exclusively for foreign trade. One of these is in Havana, another handles his products with other builders' materials in Shanghai, and the third, with headquarters in Bombay, covers India, Siam, and Australasia.

His export plans included the addition of several more salesmen to cover Europe and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, but the selection and training of these have been postponed until conditions there make the effort more certain of success.

There is every reason for the inquirer to expect to create and maintain a profitable export trade, because the growth of his manufactures in a more highly competitive field in this country has demonstrated ability to make and sell articles of almost universal appeal, and the mere question of boundaries is not one which presents difficulties as great as he is accustomed to solve in his domestic business.

One of the fundamental principles of exporting which is most neglected—the use of knowledge acquired in domestic fields—is doubtless due to the ofttimes expressed belief that "exporting is different." Too much stress cannot be laid on the fact that the differences are surface differences. To illustrate this, a leaf from the experience book of a well-known machinery firm may be analyzed with profit.

When this company's machine was placed on the domestic market it revolutionized a certain phase of concrete construction, and the sales end of the business, after no little study, worked out an introductory plan which, with the expected improvements in practice, made the invention pay almost from the start.

Acting on the advice of a representative of a rather questionable export scheme, they decided to try foreign fields, and, despite the crudeness and weakness of their first effort abroad, sold several machines and made three really valuable connections. This caused them to throw caution and common sense to the winds and they appropriated a sum out of all proportion to possible returns for an enlarged export campaign. To any business man unblinded by the mystic word "export" the proposed method of introduction would have been seen to violate almost every known merchandising law. In practice it cost more to sell each machine than the list price, and the litigation on some of the consigned shipments will undoubtedly raise the losses to thousands of dollars.

The one good point of the whole experiment was the analysis which naturally followed the collapse of the much-vaunted "universal introductory campaign," for from this came the discovery that every failure was due to some weak point in the selling plan itself.

A third export effort based on merchandising principles of proved domestic soundness, guided by an outsider employed to see that shipments were properly handled and translations were adequate in every way, has now ended, by its dividend-swelling sales volume, any reign of fantastic methods in the endeavor to secure a profitable foreign business.

It is most interesting to know that this third campaign is identical, even to details of agencies and method of interesting contractors, with the carefully-built-up plan to which the firm's domestic successes were due, just as here at home they found that it was an easy matter to secure agents and orders for trial machines, and that personal, factory-trained representatives were absolutely essential to turn agents into efficient selling units.

Two plus two equals four the world over—sound selling tactics likewise are sound in Boston or Borneo!

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

TECTIVE WELDING HELMET

SIMPLE and effective protection for those engaged in welding has been devised in m of a helmet or hich may be fastened ead of the operator, both hands free k, and which can ly changed from rative to an inve position without moval from the the wearer.

elmet is made of m and weighs less enty-eight ounces. ned of two curved f aluminum riveted to- t the edge, where they from each other. This edge forms the front of the helmet, presenting a convex surface, the entire area of which faces in an angular position the heat rays of the welding or cutting flame. The rectangular opening, centrally located and withdrawn from the front edges of the helmet, is covered with three layers of glass. The first or outside layer is ordinary transparent window glass, while the second and third layers are composed of red and blue glasses of special density. The function of the ordinary window glass is to catch or obstruct all incandescent particles of iron and steel, thus protecting the more expensive colored glass, for the window glass can be replaced at

A MODERN KNIGHT IN ARMOR

Wearing *a new aluminum helmet* designed as a protection for metal welders

little cost. The combination of red and blue glass produces a reddish purple, which is the color best suited for electric welding.

Brackets pivotally connected to, and carried by, a light band adapted to encircle the head of the wearer, form a support for the helmet. This band is in turn fastened to a light woolen skull cap.

POTATO SEED CUTTER

THE cutting of potatoes in great quantities for seed has always proved a difficult problem for the farmers to handle, especially in those sections of the country where potatoes are extensively grown. A farmer in Montana, who raises 50 acres of potatoes every year, designed the crude but effective machine shown in the accompanying illustration to cut the potatoes for planting.

MECHANICAL POTATO CUTTER
This machine is so simple that a child can operate it

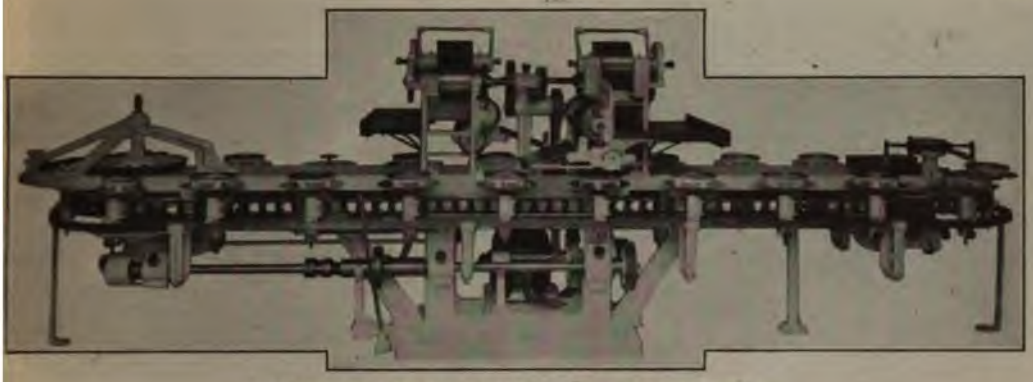
This machine divides the potatoes into halves, and then divides the halves into any other predetermined parts. No matter how large or small, the potatoes are automatically centred for the cutting knife. The device is so simple in construction that a child can operate it.

GIANT GEARED LOCOMOTIVE USED IN KANSAS CITY

THE locomotive shown here, which has no large drive wheels, common to most engines, is the largest of the geared type in the world and was recently constructed for the use of the Kansas City Southern Railroad in its new terminals in Kansas City.

The terminal tracks extend up a street which has a grade so excessive that the ordinary type of locomotive, which can surmount a 4 per cent. grade at the very most, could not be used. The geared locomotive will pull 200 tons up a 7 per cent. grade and go around 60 degree uncompensated curves (i. e., curves in which there is no pitch to offset the centrifugal force), which are, in this case, necessary to get into the various warehouses. One of the great advantages of the geared locomotive is that it is under absolute control, either in ascending or descending the steep grades. The engine weighs 160 tons and, unlike the ordinary type of locomotive, all this weight is on the drive wheels. Even the wheels of the tender are drive

THE LARGEST GEARED LOCOMOTIVE
It will pull 200 tons up a 7 per cent. grade and take an uncompensated 60 degree curve



A MACHINE WHICH MAKES 1,800 PIES AN HOUR

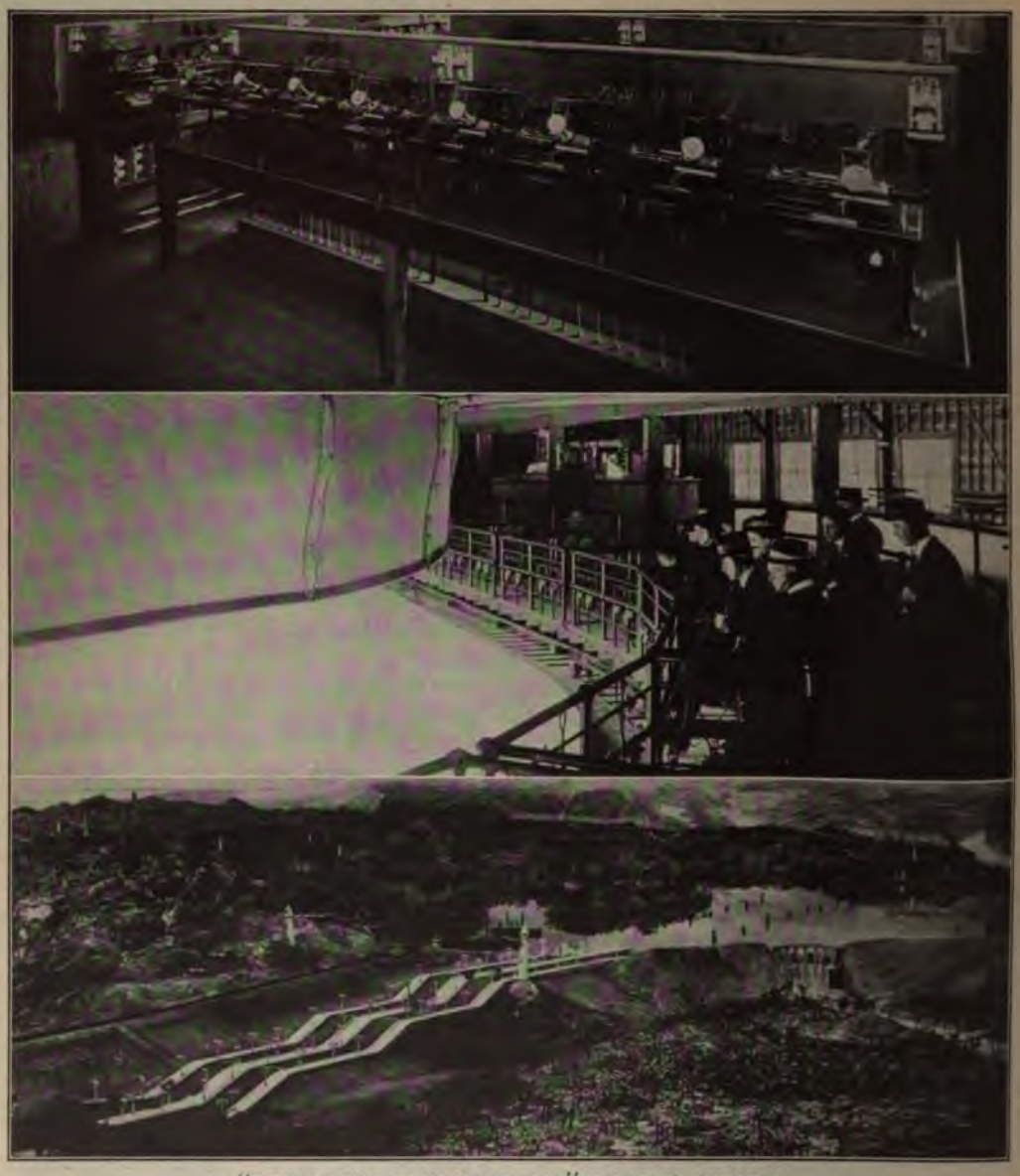
wheels. Fuel oil is used, thereby eliminating smoke, cinders, and sparks.

A MACHINE THAT MAKES PIES BY THE THOUSANDS

THE fastest machine devised for making pies is operated by a foreman and six assistants, and will turn out 1,800 pies an hour. The machine is provided with eighteen revolving pie holders which move around an oblong table or platform; two crust rollers, one for the lower and the other for the upper crust; a set of four automatic moistening brushes; and a pie-trimming wheel. The six operators of the machine place the crusts, fill the pies, and remove them from the table when the operation of moistening and trimming has been automatically completed.

A smaller machine, the working principle of which is similar, except that the table is round instead of oblong, will turn out 600 pies an hour when operated by three pie-makers.

A MECHANICAL PIE-MAKER FOR USE IN RESTAURANTS
Three operators are required to fill the pies and place the crusts



"SEEING THE PANAMA CANAL" BY PHONOGRAPH

The top picture shows the phonographs which "lecture" on the Canal; the second, the moving platform and spectators viewing the model and listening to the lecture, and the third, part of the model of the Canal

A MINIATURE PANAMA CANAL

ONE of the most interesting exhibits in "The Zone" at the Panama-Pacific Exposition is the reproduction in miniature of the Panama Canal. A moving, elliptical platform, divided into sections, each section containing seats for several persons, revolves slowly around the model of the Canal. Points of interest on the latter are numbered and in an adjoining room a number of phonographs deliver a lecture on these points as they come before the spectator, who hears the lecture by means of telephone receivers.

When the phonographic lecture on one section has been given, the moving platform automatically breaks the connection and at the same time sets up a new connection with the next phonograph, so that the description is always about the part of the model that is in front of the spectator.

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

CONTENTS FOR AUGUST, 1915

President Lowell of Harvard - - - - - - - - - - - *Frontispiece*

THE MARCH OF EVENTS—AN EDITORIAL INTERPRETATION - - 375

Mr. Robert Lansing
President Yuan Shih-Kai of China
Mr. Edward M. House
Mr. Irving T. Bush
Dr. Rupert Blue
Herr Karl Liebknecht
Mr. D. A. Thomas

One Year of the Great War
The Unsatisfactory German Answer
Peace Propaganda: Sentimental and Otherwise
What is an Export Trade Worth?
More Necessary Than Courage
Hunger in Mexico
The Socialist Protest in Germany
Great Reforms Proposed for New York State
The Pensions for Our Next War
The Gary School System Moves East
Widows' Pensions
A Small Debtors' Court
Fighting Hookworm in Public Schools

THE PAN AMERICAN FINANCIAL CONFERENCE W. G. McADOO 393
"GUARANTEED" INVESTMENTS - - - - - - - - - - - - - 396
ROBERT LANSING - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 398
CAN THE GERMAN SUBMARINES "STARVE ENGLAND OUT"? 402
THE WAR CHIEFS OF THE NAVY (Illustrated) - - - - - - - 409
THE WAR AGAINST DRINK IN FRANCE - - - - ARNO DOSCH 428
WHAT LLOYD-GEORGE ACCOMPLISHED AGAINST LIQUOR
HARRY JONES 433
PROHIBITION IN RUSSIA - - - - - - - - STEPHEN GRAHAM 438
AMERICAN TRADE IN WAR TIME - - - - JAMES MIDDLETON 441
THE COST OF CONGESTION - - - - - - - - - AGNES LAUT 446
A STATEMENT FROM HIS EXCELLENCY, YUAN SHIH-KAI - 452
THE WILD EAST OF EUROPE (Illustrated) - BURTON J. HENDRICK 453
THE GREAT RIVER (Illustrated) - - - - - - - GEORGE MARVIN 469
III. THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE MISSISSIPPI
RICHLAND CENTER AND THE SPIRIT OF THE MIDDLE WEST
WALTER A. DYER 485
COÖPERATION: A KEY TO FOREIGN TRADE WALTER F. WYMAN 490
MAN AND HIS MACHINES (Illustrated) - - - - - - - - - - 493
BUSINESS TALKS - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Advertising Section*

TERMS: $3.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents. For Foreign Postage add $1.00; Canada 60 cents
Published monthly. Copyright, 1915, by Doubleday, Page & Company.
All rights reserved. Entered at the Post Office at Garden City, N. Y., as second-class mail matter.
Unsolicited manuscripts are welcomed by the editors and are carefully read. They cannot, however, be returned unless they are accompanied by the proper amount of postage.

F. N. DOUBLEDAY, Pres. H. S. HOUSTON, Vice-Pres. S. A. EVERITT, Treas. RUSSELL DOUBLEDAY, Sec'y.

DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY

COUNTRY LIFE IN AMERICA THE GARDEN MAGAZINE — FARMING

CHICAGO: Peoples Gas Bldg. GARDEN CITY, N. Y. NEW YORK: 11-13 W. 32d Street

PRESIDENT LOWELL OF HARVARD

CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE, WHICH AIMS TO BIND THE GREAT NATIONS IN AN AGREEMENT TO CEASE TRADING WITH ANY NATION THAT BEGINS A WAR AND, IF THAT IS NOT EFFECTIVE, TO JOIN IN ARMS AGAINST THE OFFENDER

THE
WORLD'S WORK

AUGUST, 1915

ME XXX

NUMBER 4

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

IS the first anniversary of the beginning of the great war in Europe. A year of blood and destruction has made it horridly plain that we shall have much more blood and destruction before it is over.

first mad rush of the Germans across to make the war terrible but short and the German hopes of a repetition o vanished. As the Germans re- l to the Aisne the Allied papers of the high tide of Germany's offen- ing over and spoke of throwing the ns back across the Rhine and of the e of the Russian hordes on the East. any months of waiting and alterna- ccesses and reverses the Allies gave y hopes of a quick decision and rld settled down to a long war, with y skill and economic organization on le of the Germans and with num- oney, and the control of the sea, means access to the supplies of rld, on the side of the Allies.

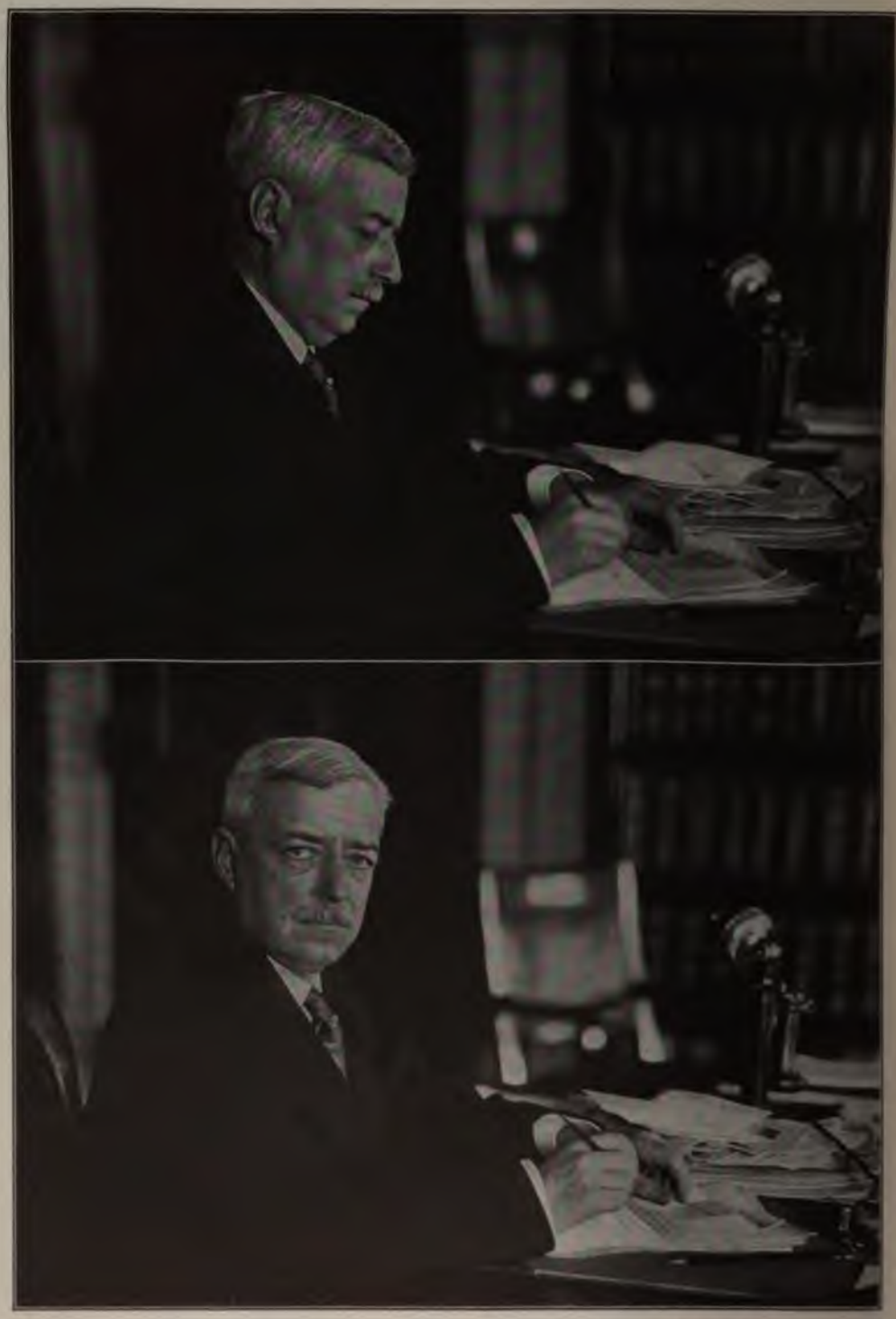
his situation there is little basis for until one side or the other is thor- defeated. France had so narrow an at the beginning of this war that it be flying in the face of Providence fighting now and let Germany prepare for another and perhaps more successful onslaught.

Russia's dreams of reaching the Mediterranean have never before had the sympathy of England with its dominating fleet. For Russia to stop now would be to lose this sympathy and with it all hope of Russian influence in the Slav states of the Balkans.

England cannot stop, for England, like France, fears for its life. If Germany wins the days of English and French power are over.

And on the other hand Germany cannot stop, for peace terms which include indemnities to Belgium, the loss of provinces to France, and colonies to England, are not terms a nation can accept that has consistently and successfully carried the war into the enemies' territory. Moreover, this war is the supreme test of the German theory of force, a test of the Hohenzollern rule and the military party. Too much hangs in the balance for it to be given up. The year of horror that Europe has just gone through calls for still more blood. The war has gotten down to the inhuman phase in which the ultimate outcome is decided in favor of the country that has the most men to send to death and money and munitions to bury with them.

Copyright, 1915, by Doubleday, Page & Co. All rights reserved.



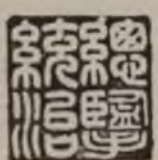
MR. ROBERT LANSING,

"THESE ARE CRITICAL DAYS FOR OUR COUNTRY. NEUTRAL NATIONS HAVE HAD TO MEET A
QUESTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW WHICH ARE ARISING DAILY. DIPLOMACY IS WRESTLING

SECRETARY OF STATE

S OF PROBLEMS THAT HAVE NEVER BEEN SOLVED. IT IS MY DUTY TO DEAL WITH THE NOVEL PROBLEMS TO WHICH IT MUST APPLY NATURAL JUSTICE AND COMMON SENSE"

See page 380



Official Seal
of the Republic
of China

Personal Seal
of the President
of China

袁世凱

Signature of
President
Yuan Shih-Kai

PRESIDENT YUAN SHIH-KAI OF CHINA

WHO DISCUSSES IN THIS NUMBER OF "THE WORLD'S WORK" THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS CONFRONTING CHINA AND HIS PLANS FOR SOLVING THEM [See page 491]

Copyright by Underwood & Underwood

MR. EDWARD M. HOUSE

THE FRIEND AND COUNSELOR OF THE PRESIDENT, WHO RECENTLY RETURNED FROM EUROPE

MR. IRVING T. BUSH

WHO EARLY SAW THE COST OF TRAFFIC CONGESTION AT NEW YORK AND THE NEED FOR GOOD TERMINAL FACILITIES, AND WHOSE SUCCESS WITH A SCIENTIFIC SYSTEM OF DOCKS, WAREHOUSES, AND RAILROAD CONNECTIONS POINTS THE WAY TO THE RELIEF OF AN UNECONOMIC *CONDITION IN ATLANTIC* PORTS

[See page 446]

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

DR. RUPERT BLUE

SURGEON-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, WHO WAS RECENTLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION AT ITS CONVENTION IN SAN FRANCISCO

HERR KARL LIEBKNECHT

THE LEADER OF THE GERMAN SOCIALIST PARTY IN THE REICHSTAG WHO WAS DRAFTED TO THE FRONT AFTER OPPOSING THE GOVERNMENT'S WAR POLICY

MR. D. A. THOMAS

THE BRITISH "COAL KING" SENT BY MR. LLOYD-GEORGE TO THE UNITED STATES "TO CO-OPERATE WITH MESSRS. J. P. MORGAN & COMPANY WITH A VIEW TO EXPEDITING SUPPLIES" AND MUNITIONS OF WAR

THE UNSATISFACTORY GERMAN ANSWER

THE German note published in this country on the tenth of July practically says that if the opportunity occurred Germany would sink, without warning, another ship like the *Lusitania* with Americans on board.

The note "justifies" the sinking of the *Lusitania* by saying that "if the commander of the German submarine which destroyed it had caused the crew and the passengers to take to the boats before firing a torpedo this would have meant the sure destruction of the German submarine."

Because the German submarines are not able to take such vessels as the *Lusitania* according to law, the German Government assumes the right to transgress the law and to destroy them without warning. On this theory the note says:

"The Imperial Government is unable to admit that American citizens can protect an enemy ship through the mere fact of their presence on board."

We have never contended for this. We have contended, and contended well within our rights, that if the Germans wished to sink a passenger vessel of a belligerent nation they should allow any American citizens who might be on board to get off the ship before she was sunk. Whether Germany dared send to sea any war vessels capable of capturing passenger ships lawfully was not our concern. If it did not dare to do so, that fact could not limit our rights. In our note to Germany of May 13th these rights were stated:

"This Government has already taken occasion to inform the Imperial German Government that it cannot admit the adoption of such measures or such a warning of danger [the newspaper notice inserted by the German Embassy] to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality; and it must hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for any infringement of those rights, intentional or incidental."

Germany still claims the privilege of killing Americans without warning if they travel on belligerent ships, and the United States has not renounced its intention to hold Germany to a strict accountability if it does so. The death of the Americans on the *Lusitania* has not been atoned for. We have a settlement for that case to make and to prevent its recurrence.

Though the German reply was entirely unsatisfactory concerning the safety of American lives on belligerent vessels it was more satisfactory in other respects.

II

"American ships will not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping."

But this fair-sounding proposal is largely vitiated by the fact that it is hinged upon our compliance with a set of regulations entirely unknown to international law. Germany proposes that we shall enjoy the right to send our ships to sea in safety only if we mark them in a special way and notify Germany in advance of their sailing dates. Moreover, "the Imperial Government confidently hopes" that we will guarantee that our ships carry no contraband. It even suggests that we may have four enemy passenger steamers ply between the United States and England under the same rules and regulations.

This proposal is tantamount to relinquishing our rights at sea, for if we agreed to such limitations of our rights we should hardly have any legitimate reason for refusing to agree to any other limitations which Germany might devise. It would be interesting, too, to see what counter rules and regulations England and France would propose for our shipping if we accepted this German code.

Altogether the note is not a step forward in relieving the strain in the relations between the two countries. Though the tone of it is friendly, it refuses all our essential demands and, like one of its predecessors, contains proposals which one Great Power ought not to address to another. In a previous note Germany suggested that we violate our neutrality in Germany's favor by placing an embargo on arms. In this case it is suggested that we place part of our shipping under extra-legal limitations for Germany's benefit.

PEACE PROPAGANDA, SENTIMENTAL AND OTHERWISE

THE comprehending desire for peace which is all but universal in this country has led to an endless variety of peace propaganda. There are such efforts as the trip of Miss Jane Addams and the other women delegates to the Hague "to try to save Europe from committing suicide," a trip in a most worthy cause and as sentimental as it was futile. There are the befuddled gropings of Mr. Bryan toward the great end, peace, gropings which have lent some aid to the German propaganda in this country to make the United States Government violate its neutrality in Germany's behalf. This same German propaganda goes forth as a peace movement, too. Its main purpose is to stop the shipment of arms to the Allies. This peace movement has such adherents as the man Holt who, armed with a stick of dynamite and two revolvers, endeavored to restore peace by trying to assassinate Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.

There are leagues to limit armaments and leagues to increase them, arbitration societies, and numberless other organizations all in the name of peace. They are dead bent upon restoring or maintaining peace by an infinite number of, and often contradictory, methods.

We are urged to go to a military training camp on the one hand and to vote against Army and Navy appropriations on the other. There is a never-ending flow of speeches, pamphlets, tracts, and other appeals for peace.

Partly despite all this and partly because of it most of us have become convinced that you cannot talk a nation out of a war, especially across three thousand miles of water. We are pretty well convinced that it takes two sides to maintain peace as well as it does to make a quarrel. We all want to live in peace. But there are other things we want even more than that. Recent history has convinced most of us that even the best intentions may not suffice to keep us out of war. With this possibility before us we feel that we should be sufficiently prepared to have a chance in the fighting if a war does come on us.

Despite hectic jingoism on one side and flabby sentimentality on the other, the public seems still to have enough balance and common sense to be willing to keep out of war unless it is plain that there is something to fight about that is worth more than peace. And the gospel of softness has not permeated the body politic sufficiently to take away the red blood and courage necessary to meet a war situation if it should arise.

Most Americans believe in striving for peace as a nation by treating other nations courteously, justly, even generously, for it is the spirit of a nation's dealings, not the size of its army and navy, that affects peace or war. We believe in being patient in times of stress because we have sufficient confidence in ourselves not to be frightened into a fight.

And if justice and patience fail us most of us would prefer to subscribe to an international police, if an effective force of this kind could be devised, rather than have to stop our other activities and fight for ourselves. But until such a force has been devised most of us believe in strengthening the Army and Navy.

II

Better understanding between nations, the machinery for arbitration, and wise statesmanship can obviate the causes of wars between nations that do not want to fight. The bigger nations have sometimes by threat of force kept smaller nations from fighting each other. Carrying this idea a step further, the League to Enforce Peace proposes a treaty between the Great Powers, or a sufficient number of them, in which they agree that if any one nation forces a war all the rest will band against the offender and make sure that it is defeated in the war it brought on. The League, adopting a resolution of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, also suggests the use of economic pressure against the offending nation.

England has in some measure formed a league of this kind to enforce peace by economic pressure and by arms. It has been Germany's aim and desire to be self-contained and self-sufficient in agriculture, finance, industry, and in arms—if possible,

to be beyond the reach of either economic pressure or arms.

England, on the other hand, is admittedly and gladly dependent on the rest of the world for food and arms, for its very existence. For a century it has encouraged this dependence. The result is that, being inextricably bound to the rest of the world in finance and commerce, the rest of the world is compelled to be more or less allies of England in order to preserve their commerce by which they live in ministering to British needs. The League to Enforce Peace wishes to take this idea of economic dependence and embody it in formal treaties among all the nations.

The proposals set forth by the league, through its Committee on Resolutions, of which President Lowell of Harvard was chairman, were these:

That the United States should join the proposed League to Enforce Peace, which should undertake to set up

(1) An international court to try all justiciable questions.

(2) A council of conciliation for the consideration of non-justiciable questions.

(3) The use of joint economic pressure and military force against a signatory Power beginning hostilities contrary to the terms of the alliance.

(4) The formulation and adoption of a code of international law.

These suggestions are not only constructive but definite and seemingly possible of accomplishment.

It would be a large task to persuade the different nations to enter such a league, but it is as worth while a task as it is large, for it differs from most peace plans completely by providing the willingness and means to enforce its doctrines.

The most obvious difficulty that immediately confronts the plan is the traditional attitude of the United States against entangling alliances abroad—a tradition that has much to recommend it besides its age. Great Britain, too, would be loath to see any combination of nations formed which would control a navy greater than hers. Similarly Germany has tried to build up an army big enough to face the rest of the world.

Whether the plan could be worked out so as to obviate these objections, or whether its value might appear to override them, it seems to be the most practical and red-blooded peace proposal that has come to light, for it does provide a way of insuring that starting a war would be a losing venture, and it does not ask each nation to rid itself of its defenses against aggression.

WHAT IS AN EXPORT TRADE WORTH?

IN DISCUSSING foreign trade before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, an officer of one of our largest banks illustrated his ideas of the best methods to follow in encouraging it partly as follows:

The best example of national achievement resulting from intelligent coördination of efforts is that of Germany. . . . The Government, keenly alive to the fact that commercial supremacy means national power and greatness, shaped its export policies along broad and constructive lines. Export trade needed encouragement; consequently drawbacks and export bounties were provided. The merchant marine needed to be built up; subsidies were voted. Manufacturing towns distant from the ports were at a disadvantage in the matter of railroad rates; the rates were forthwith adjusted so as to encourage manufacturing for export. Foreign trade had to be financed. Branch banks, under liberal banking laws, were established and became active agencies for promoting trade in foreign countries. In order to safeguard the domestic market, a protective tariff was instituted. To assist the German manufacturer to compete with others efficiency methods became the subject of careful study, and when it was demonstrated that combination meant lessened waste, greater concentration of effort, and more effective production, combination was encouraged. Price agreements, to avoid wasteful competition at home and abroad, were recognized as necessary and made legal. If, in order to meet the competition of other nations in foreign markets, it was necessary to sell below the price prevailing in the domestic market, a public opinion was created which applauded such a course as entirely patriotic, in that the greater the sale of German products abroad the nearer would German manufacturing establishments approach capacity production, and capacity production was early realized by German efficiency experts as the best means of reducing economic waste in production and lowering the unit cost of the products.

interesting to dissect this scheme of
ıating foreign trade activities. In
rst place, drawbacks and export
es were paid. This meant that a
ı sum of tax money was given ex-
; to encourage them. Next came
ies to the steamship lines—another
tax money for the encouragement of
amship lines. Then discriminating
ɔn the state railroads were granted
ır of export goods. Then, to protect
me market, a high tariff was laid on
s. This tariff was one means of
the money for subsidies and boun-
Beyond that it was a scheme arti-
to increase prices to the people who
ıe other taxes. To make the tariff
ffective in maintaining prices, price
ients were made legal. And lastly
ɔlic opinion was created which ap-
d" the selling of German goods
cheaper than at home.

ı word, the German Government
:he public in various ways and used
ıney to give artificial stimulus to the
trade. It would be just as good
ıics and morals for the Government
industry and commerce and give
armer a subsidy of a cent a pound on
ton and ten cents a bushel on wheat.
ɔuy an export trade with the public
ney may appeal to those people who
: recipients of the Government's aid
arity, but most of the rest of the
would prefer to keep the tax money
without the export trade. Nor do
ıt a trade forced on a foreign con-
down the length of a gun barrel, as a
eal of foreign trade in China is now
ɔd. We want an export trade that
on its own feet and succeeds be-
t furnishes better products, or gives
r prices, or better services in mer-
ɜing. We do not want a foreign
urnished forth with public taxes or
ed up by threats of field guns and
hips.

ıout these artificial aids we may not
le as fast as some other nations have
ɔut we can get trade at less expense
ey or risk of war and a trade that will
:ause of its more solid foundations.
e who seek foreign trade would be
afer to seek it without expectation of
Government charity, for the chance to build a foreign trade on a solid foundation is too good to risk building on a subsidized basis that public opinion will not maintain even if it will begin it.

MORE NECESSARY THAN COURAGE

THE sober and sensible people of Georgia have reason to be satisfied with ex-Governor Slaton for his intelligent and courageous action in commuting the death penalty of Leo Frank to life imprisonment in the face of the mob's desire that Frank be hanged. There is less cause for satisfaction, however, in the fact that a mob should arise to demand a man's death in a case like this.

Leo Frank was charged with killing a young working girl. He was judged guilty by the jury and sentenced to death by the judge of the trial court. The rulings of the judge were passed upon by the Supreme Court of Georgia and the Supreme Court of the United States was asked to decide whether there were grounds for taking the case to the Federal Courts, but the facts of the case were not reviewed by any higher tribunal than the original trial court.

The judge of this court, after sentencing Frank to death, wrote to Governor Slaton asking that he commute the sentence to life imprisonment. When the governor did this he had to be protected from a mob by the militia.

This is not a pleasant thing for the citizens of Georgia to contemplate. There is something wrong in the citizenship of a community that so quickly thinks of taking the law into its own hands. The mob idea may come from previous lynchings or from other causes. In some places it is one thing, in others another, for Georgia is not the worst offender against law and order, merely the last one. But whatever it comes from, it shows a rotten spot in the citizenship of the community which should be stamped out. The special presentment of the Grand Jury in Atlanta, declaring it the duty of the courts "to be active and unrelenting against the offenders and punish them to the limit," if it be carried out, is an even better sign for Georgia than the governor's courage. Without disparage-

ment to Governor Slaton, it is true that there were men courageous even in politics long before there was a decent respect for law and order.

The real test is whether the members of the mob are punished and even more fundamental whether something is done to rid all the people of Atlanta of the riot and mob idea.

If either, or both, of these things is accomplished there are many other places in the United States which can profitably follow Atlanta's example.

HUNGER IN MEXICO

A SHIP laden with beans was sent out of the harbor of Vera Cruz while the people of that city were clamoring for food. It sailed to an American port, where the cargo was sold for the benefit of the Carranza Government, which presumably used the purchase money to buy ammunition. The beans were bought by an American company with extensive interests in Mexico and sent back to that country again to help prevent starvation.

A dealer in Chihuahua offered carloads of beans for sale in the United States to be shipped to Belgium while the people of Chihuahua were in want.

The dealer could get real money for his beans in the United States. He could get only depreciated paper money down in Chihuahua.

A Red Cross report from Durango recently said that the local association formed to conserve the food supply for the benefit of destitute non-combatants had abandoned its efforts "on account of the failure of the civil and military authorities to lend any aid." The report said:

> The governor is powerless to do anything. Beans and corn have been shipped out of the city within the past two weeks. Outside buyers are paying $12 per hectolitre (one hectolitre equals 2.84 bushels), whereas the association formed to help the destitute is compelled to sell at $6 to $8 per hectolitre.
>
> When this section is cleaned out there will be no longer any section from which supplies can be had for this city. Therefore my earlier estimates that the city of Durango might last until August 1st must be materially cut down for the reasons stated; and it would not be surprising if within ten days a serious shortage would be felt here in this city. How far and to what extent any quantity that may be hidden or stored within the city will last cannot be estimated.
>
> The Government and many others still seem to hold to the belief that there is a great deal of corn within the state, although no one is able to point out its location or give any figures. So when the day of shortage comes it will come unexpectedly and without warning.

There is a varying condition of want almost all over the Republic. It is caused primarily by a real shortage of food and accentuated by the breakdown in communications and the collapse of the currency under the flood of paper money printed by the various rebel leaders. Zapata is credited with issuing a metal two-peso piece, but the other chiefs confine themselves chiefly to printing paper money.

Under these conditions it is not enough merely to send food to Mexico. It must be distributed under American auspices as it was in Belgium. If any of it falls into the hands of any of the warring factions it will merely be an added resource for them.

If it is possible that this peaceful penetration of Mexico can be achieved, some constructive measures toward restoring order might follow peacefully. If not, it is not conceivable that the peaceful population in Mexico shall be allowed to starve because the various leaders so much prefer their own petty advantages to the good of their country.

We have given Mexico every opportunity to settle its difficulties. We have demonstrated our disinterestedness beyond all doubt. We have put up with much destruction of property, the loss of many lives, quite a number of them American lives. The President's last note to the Mexican leaders marked a change that it would be well for them to heed, for wholesale hunger cannot be allowed.

THE SOCIALIST PROTEST IN GERMANY

THE German Socialists printed a full page appeal in their paper, the *Vorwärts*, in which they demanded "that as soon as guarantees of national safety are secured and the enemy shows an inclination to make peace, the war be

it to an end on conditions admitting
ndly relations with neighboring na-

The protest continued: "We pro-
ain with all possible emphasis against
orts looking to the annexation of
territory and the oppression of
peoples—measures now demanded
great business organizations and
tial political leaders. The people
no conquest of land, they want

Liebknecht, perhaps the ablest
st in the Reichstag, had already
rafted to the front for service for his
ar utterances.
manifesto led to the suppression of
rwärts.
se events, though interesting indica-
f the German Socialists' feeling, have
effect on the conduct of the war.
n the war there is little else for Ger-
to do but to see it through to the
end, for despite the German suc-
the Allies are not showing "an in-
on to make peace." Moreover, the
vorable terms to Germans which the
would be willing to consider would
too severe for contemplation by a
ny holding advanced lines in Russian
and in northern France, and in all
tire possession of Belgium.
though the Socialists are not likely to
ie war they might have a very im-
t rôle to play were the Allies to win
ely. The Allied war is not directed
the ruin of Germany as an industrial
mercial power, it is not aimed at
n land except for the not altogether
nized provinces of Alsace and Lor-

Their efforts are directed primarily
the combination of a war and in-
l machine which they believed was
on attaining world domination. It
same combination of "great busi-
ganizations and influential political
"—the war machine—which the
sts oppose.
870 the Prussian victors refused to
eace with the French Government
had been defending Paris, and in-
that the French people freely elect
nal Assembly to make the terms of

If Germany were defeated in this
d such a plan were followed, the
Social Democrats would be the logical party for the Allies to make peace with. If the Allies could thus give to Germany the democracy which Germany forced on France the German Empire would naturally lose its Hohenzollern Middle-Ages aspect which has kept it apart and out of sympathy with its neighbors. Toward such a Germany the world could look with all former friendship.

GREAT REFORMS PROPOSED FOR NEW YORK STATE

THE constitutional convention in New York has developed the normal line of cleavage between the conservative and progressive elements. This fact is not surprising. But the leadership of these respective groups does contain elements of surprise. Mr. Elihu Root and Mr. George W. Wickersham are the radical leaders in this convention. On the other hand, several men who have distinguished themselves in recent years as champions of insurgency—notably Mr. Edgar T. Brackett of Saratoga Springs—have turned "standpatters" overnight. The conservatives have turned radical and the radicals have turned conservative. Mr. Root, Mr. Wickersham, aided by ex-President Taft—not as a member of the convention, but as an influential adviser—are seeking to destroy the century-old machinery of government in New York State, while Mr. Brackett and his abettors are expending all their energies in an attempt to preserve the constitution of the fathers.

Mr. Root and Mr. Wickersham are fighting for the short ballot, or at least a much shorter ballot than that which now exists. Ex-Secretary of War Stimson is leading the fight for a complementary reform—the budget system. These reforms are not details; they are changes that absolutely transform the prevailing system of government. New York, like most American states, elects nearly all its important state officers. The people choose by ballot not only the governor and the lieutenant-governor, but the secretary of state, the comptroller, the attorney-general, and the state engineer and surveyor. New

Yorkers do not go quite so far as the citizens of certain other states, who elect state printers, prison wardens, insurance superintendents, and public utility commissioners, but they choose enough to destroy that principle of centred responsibility which is essential to efficient administration.

The State of New York has now several executive heads, all responsible, not to the governor, but to the people. The National Government is organized on an entirely different basis. There is only one executive, the President, who selects practically all the departmental heads, who thus become part of the Presidential office. The Federal Government, unscientific and cumbersome as it is in many respects, works better than that of New York and other states, and this centralization of authority is the reason. If the American people elected their Secretary of State, their Secretary of War, and the other Cabinet officers, does any one believe that the President could conduct an effective administration? Were that the case, Mr. Bryan need not have resigned from the Cabinet because he disagreed with the President on foreign policy, for he would not have been responsible to Mr. Wilson but to the electorate. He would simply have conducted negotiations with Germany according to his own individual ideas, with no regard to the head of the Government.

The other change, that calling for a budget system, which means a financial programme drawn up by the executive and presented to the legislature, is a logical step beyond the short ballot. The short ballot creates a centralized executive head; the budget system gives that head power to conduct the administration and makes him directly responsible therefor. The Federal Government has the Short Ballot, but it does not have the budget, therefore it is only half responsible. Our state governments have neither the short ballot nor the budget, therefore they are disorganized and feeble in all possible directions. The United States will not be efficiently governed, in either the Federal or the state systems, until these two ideas control the fundamental law.

THE PENSIONS FOR OUR NEXT WAR

SECRETARY LANE recently called attention to the fact that the United States, the one great non-military nation in the world, now spends $147,000,000 a year upon its Navy, $125,000,000 a year upon its Army, and $165,000,000 a year upon pensions for ex-soldiers, ex-sailors, and their dependents. The significance of these figures is that the cost of the by-gone soldiers and sailors is greater than the cost of the Army or the Navy, including the ships, guns, and ammunition. The pension system is a thoroughly ingrained American habit. There is an impression that Civil War pensions are things apart. In reality we passed even more "liberal" laws for the veterans of the Revolution than we have for the survivors of '61. Veterans of the Civil War draw only one pension; there were veterans of the Revolution who could draw more than one. Unquestionably politics ruled the situation in the 'twenties and 'thirties, precisely as it has in recent years. The alacrity with which the veterans of the Spanish War sprang to the pension bait and the large amounts already paid out—up to date they have received half as much as the veterans of the Revolution and more than the veterans of the Mexican War—shows that, in the minds of many Americans, serving one's country and drawing a pension are practically interchangeable terms.

The amount of the pensions growing out of our wars has a rather definite relation to the lack of preparedness in which we entered conflict. As things stand now, if this generation should get into a war our sons and grandsons, and even great-grandsons, would pay pensions for the conflict. If the war were on a large enough scale to enrol a large percentage of the voters and the present system of granting pensions were in vogue a powerful pension-getting machine would inevitably arise among the veterans to draw millions from the Federal treasury for fifty or sixty years. Among the other aspects of the agitation for a decent preparedness against the possibilities of war, a reform of the present pension system should be included.

THE GARY SCHOOL SYSTEM MOVES EAST

ABOUT eight years ago a young man, hitherto unknown to educational experts, became superintendent of the public schools of Gary, Ind. He had the unusual opportunity to start an educational system with a clean slate. When Mr. William Wirt took charge of the Gary school system the town itself existed mainly in the form of surveyors' blue prints and architects' plans. Mr. Wirt, therefore, did not have to undo any mistakes of the past; his school system, architecturally and educationally, was all in the making; he had the rare opportunity to do something new. Stories that presently issued from Gary showed that he was making use of this virgin soil. In Gary the school became the great community centre, where children spent practically the whole day, where they not only gained an education but played, worked, learned trades, engaged in athletic contests, listened to lectures, danced, went in swimming, and indulged in other things indispensable to a well-rounded citizen. The new school building itself portrayed this new educational idea. It was a huge structure, sheltering under one roof kindergarten, grammar grades, high school, and the first two years of college. It taught blacksmithing and printing as well as arithmetic, French, Greek, and chemistry; it was, indeed, a great trade school, hardly any department of useful mechanics being omitted. The building itself was only part of the institution. It rested in the midst of a great park, surrounded by swimming pools, small playgrounds for little children, tennis courts, track field, baseball diamonds, football grounds, besides a general sauntering place for band concerts. The building contained two gymnasiums, one for girls and one for boys—both accessible to the general public in the evenings—and a hall that could be used for lectures, dances, or theatrical performances. Children went to this school in the morning and stayed all day. They had a period in the schoolroom, then a period in the playground, then another in the schoolroom, and so on. Gary children did not leave their school at three in the afternoon and adjourn to the back alleys, where they could initiate themselves in urban vices; they found endless diversions on the school premises. The school was open six days a week and fifty-two weeks a year; it was a case of complete utilization of plant with no leakages from wasted time.

The novel Gary system is spreading. Mr. Wirt has spent part of the last year in New York City, developing certain of his ideas in the New York public school system. He will try out the Gary plan in considerable detail next year in eleven schools in the Borough of the Bronx. Physical conditions in New York are apparently not so favorable as in Gary; nevertheless this young educator believes that the essentials of the Gary plan can be adapted to a large city, and he has the support of the mayor and the Board of Estimate, which in New York controls the purse strings. Mr. Wirt's trial in New York has more than a local significance. If he is successful under metropolitan conditions as well as under the peculiar conditions existing at Gary, his system will probably spread to other cities.

WIDOWS' PENSIONS

MANY of our states spend millions a year for the support of orphan children in state institutions. Fathers die, leaving large dependent families; in some cases the mothers struggle along making ineffectual attempts to act both as breadwinners and parents; in many other cases they place their children in orphan asylums. On an average these institutional children cost the communities probably two dollars a week; in some cases they are excellently managed; in others they are inefficient or worse; even at the best they offer a poor substitute for the decent homes out of which the children frequently come.

Certain communities that have no asylums board such children out in families, a system not only expensive but one sometimes leading to abuse. Many states, recognizing that, in any event, such children are public charges, have found a

more satisfactory solution. Instead of boarding the children out in asylums or private families they board them out in their own mothers' homes. That is, the state pays to indigent mothers the stipends which it had formerly paid for the children's upkeep in strange places. So long as Society recognizes the support of such children as one of its obligations, this plan has decided advantages over those to which we are more accustomed. It is hardly necessary to insist that the care of a decent, conscientious mother is likely to produce better results than that of the best institution in the world. And, properly managed, such care costs the state no more, perhaps not as much, so that Society ought to score a positive gain. Abuses are possible, of course, but their correction is a matter of administrative detail. New York is the latest state to adopt this reform, which will probably become a general one in a few years.

A SMALL DEBTORS' COURT

A COURT of summary justice for poor people who cannot collect money that is due them was provided by the legislature of Kansas in 1913. Such Small Debtors' Courts, as they are called, were soon erected in several cities and they have been successful in correcting a long-standing abuse. The old retort of a prosperous debtor, "Go ahead and sue," is no longer a safe answer to a demand for the payment of a just bill, due to the laundress, the day laborer, or the odd-jobs mechanic.

The law provides that no lawyer shall be permitted in the court; that no fee shall be charged for bringing suit; that the judge shall make his decision on the basis of common sense and common justice, disregarding all niceties of legal quibbling. No case may be handled which involves more than $20. The complainant must be, legally, a poor person, and the defendant must live within the jurisdiction of the court. A telephone call from the judge is a legal summons to any witness who may be required. Most cases are settled in half an hour, and when the creditor wins his suit the debtor usually settles on the spot, though the judge sometimes has to arrange for payment in instalments.

This reform was instigated by Mr. John S. Dawson, then attorney-general of Kansas. In a letter to a friend he tells why he undertook to bring it about:

"It is perhaps two or three years ago that a poor woman in Lansing, Kans., told me one Sunday that a man, who had just ridden by in an automobile, owed her three or four dollars for laundry and that she had tried in vain to get her pay. Now a lawyer who is a philanthropist might have brought a suit in a Justice Court for her for nothing and she might have filed a poverty affidavit, but she would have had to attend court several times, for the fellow could have taken an adjournment for one reason or another, and she did not have time to attend court. She had to wash every day to make that day's living for herself and her children. With all our boasted free institutions, I found, on reflection, that there was absolutely no justice for that poor woman.

"And I determined that this lack of a system of simple justice to correct the wrongs of the poor was a fundamental weakness in our system of jurisprudence, and that this was developing and increasing the discontent of poor people toward our institutions.

"As nobody else was working on this particular line I thought I would do it myself. I recommended it in my last biennial report and solicited the support of Cecil Howes of the Kansas City *Star*, Ernest Tucker of the Topeka *Capital*, W. R. Kercher of the Kansas City *Journal*, and Z. G. Hopkins, who represents a syndicate of out-of-town newspapers. With their help I was able to get public interest aroused in the matter and the Small Debtors' Court, which is such a brilliant success in Kansas City, Leavenworth, Topeka, and some other Kansan towns, is the result. There is no court, however, where the character of the judge is so important as in the Small Debtors' Court, for lawyers are forbidden to meddle with it, and lawyers are not wholly bad. Indeed, they commonly help materially in the administration of justice. The friends of this court do not pretend that it is a

system of justice than prevails in courts, but we do insist that it is a ntial form of justice in behalf of who didn't receive justice of any efore the enactment of this law."

HTING THE HOOKWORM IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

)R years the country schools in the South disseminated a little learning and much ill health. In ılar they were contaminating centres e hookworm disease, against which Southern states are now so tly contending. In the rural schools ildren caught the offending parasite)ther children, and not only fell ill elves but spread the complaint in wn homes. But now these schools anging from centres of disease to ; which spread the gospel of health. ural school has become the chief nent for fighting the hookworm. work is both theoretical and prac- In a sense the hookworm has be- the basic fact in public education. tain communities school boys and ebate, not on immigration, popular n of Senators, the initiative and dum, but on such topics as this: lved, that the hookworm is a greater han the typhoid fly." The public ; of Alcorn County, Miss., argued articular subject at length last . "I have never spent a more enjoyable time," says one listener, "and was never so surprised as when the children brought out the ideas so clearly and with such accuracy."

The school teachers not only lecture to the children but also to their parents; they are organizing mothers' clubs to fight the disease and even visit the homes in the same cause. A part of the regular teaching in the rural schools is an elaborate catechism which tells all about the hookworm as well as other diseases, and constitutes a liberal education in bacteriology and sanitation. Frequently the teachers take the children in a body to the dispensaries, established everywhere in the South by the Rockefeller Commission. Here their charges look through microscopes, see the worms and the eggs, and occasionally catch the larvæ emerging. There are also elaborate photographs of patients, before and after taking the thymol treatment, which, most carefully followed, works a perfect cure. Sanitary measures, as well as education, are doing their part. Schools are being reconstructed everywhere; from being test tubes for the propagation of the disease, these rural schools, in many sections, have been transformed into centres of good health.

Neither the hookworm, nor any other contagious disease, can long maintain its supremacy under an intelligent campaign of this sort. It may take years to eradicate the disease, but ultimately it must disappear.

THE PAN AMERICAN FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

BY

W. G. McADOO

(SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY)

"CONTINENTAL solidarity" through effective coöperation of all the nations of the Western Hemisphere has been the dream of statesmen for almost ıry. During all this time there has nly a vague and indefinite idea regarding how this could or should be accomplished. Political coöperation based upon mere declarations of friendly policy seems to have been the dominant idea. But political coöperation of this sort has definite limitations, so definite in fact that comparatively little progress has been

made because the underlying basis for effective political coöperation, namely, commercial interests mutually beneficial to the countries concerned, has been wanting. The surest foundation for effective political coöperation is a mutuality of material interests growing out of friendly, well established, and profitable trade relationships. These are the primary and indispensable foundation for any sort of cohesive continental solidarity, and with these safely laid essential political coöperation will follow. The political and territorial integrity of the nations of the Western Hemisphere will be safeguarded immeasurably when this kind of continental solidarity is achieved. Then a powerful agency for world peace will be established, because these nations, acting in common, will be able to prevent aggressions upon their own interests and may be able to exercise a persuasive power of irresistible force upon other nations of the world in the settlement of international disputes. This might result not alone from the political and physical power which a solid American continent would possess, but also from the economic resources it would command and the benefits it could deny to any nations of the world which refused to listen to the voice of reason and peace. The Pan American Financial Conference was called for the purpose of beginning the work of laying this noble foundation. The tragic developments of the last year in Europe make this the duty of the hour, not alone for self-interest, but for the welfare of humanity and the progress of civilization. The conference has made a beginning. It may be small, but it is practical and it is secure; and because it is secure it can be made to grow. All this may sound visionary, and may seem hopelessly altruistic; yet the noblest altruism fructifies best when it has the practical and secure foundation of a wholesome materialism. In the Pan American Financial Conference we cut loose from discussions of the Monroe Doctrine and all nebulous theories of political policy and got down to the consideration of those practical measures which will strengthen the commercial and financial relations between the nations of the Western Hemisphere; measures that will assure their rapid development, build up their trade, and produce the highest degree of prosperity for their people.

It is not possible to measure accurately the results of such a conference; it is not possible that these results shall in every respect be tangible or concrete, but many concrete results were achieved even in the brief space of the conference itself. Financial arrangements, for instance, were made for several of the countries represented, and without doubt the way has been opened for similar accommodations to other countries that may be in need of them. It would not be reasonable to expect these things to be accomplished too quickly. Patient negotiation will be necessary in many instances, but the ultimate result is not in doubt. Too frequently conferences of this character end with their adjournment. Whatever good comes from them is usually a mere survival of the views and ideas expressed at the time. The reason for this is that no machinery is provided for carrying on the work of the conference after it adjourns, and things become largely quiescent until some one has the enterprise and initiative to call another conference and start the work over again.

It is not the purpose to permit the work so auspiciously begun by the Pan American Financial Conference to die or even to sleep. We intend to push it forward and to translate into realities the aims and objects of that notable gathering.

I believe that this can be accomplished by holding an annual Pan American Financial Conference in the City of Washington, making this a part of the permanent policy of all the nations of the Western Hemisphere. The Ministers of Finance of every country should attend these conferences, not alone because their presence will add dignity and strength to the discussions, but also because financial questions of great moment must be discussed and the interchange of views between these responsible ministers in an annual conference of this character will produce results of the most beneficial sort. Financial problems are always inherently vital to the progress of government, especially in developing nations. The Ministers of Finance ought to get together and discuss them. In addi-

tion to the Ministers of Finance, each country should be represented by some of its distinguished statesmen and bankers, as in the case of the recent conference. Because the Pan American Union has a splendid edifice in Washington, which is exceedingly appropriate and admirably adapted for meetings of this sort, and because it is possible to secure in Washington the attendance and interest of a larger number of the able and enterprising financiers and business men of the United States than if the meetings are held elsewhere, I believe that the City of Washington is the most available place for such meetings, and, therefore, I suggest it. I have made this recommendation to all the governments represented, and earnestly hope that it may be adopted.

At the recent conference a committee on uniformity of laws was appointed. It submitted a very valuable report relating to such matters as uniform consular invoices, bills of exchange, warehouse receipts, customs regulations, licenses for commercial travelers, trade marks, patent rights, etc. These subjects have often been discussed in times past, but discussion alone seems to have been the result. A vigorous effort should be made to secure uniformity of laws on these subjects, because trade and commerce and financial intercourse between the various nations concerned will be tremendously facilitated thereby. It was suggested that the Finance Ministers of each country appoint nine members of an International High Commission. Already I have appointed such a commission for the United States, and I have, as Secretary of the Treasury, accepted the chairmanship of the United States commission. I earnestly hope that the Finance Minister of each South and Central American country will promptly appoint a similar commission. I have suggested that a meeting of the International High Commission be held at Buenos Aires on the 1st of November next; that the commissions appointed by the various countries study the subject of uniform laws in the meantime, and attend that convention prepared to indicate, as far as possible, the extent to which their governments are disposed to approve uniformity of laws. I shall send to the various commissions, as soon as they are appointed, as complete information as possible bearing upon these subjects, so that they may be studied in the meantime and discussed intelligently at the proposed meeting in Buenos Aires on November 1, 1915. It may not be desirable for each country to send nine representatives to the proposed Buenos Aires conference, but I earnestly hope that each nation will be represented to such extent as it deems best, in order that progress may be made in this vitally important matter.

The Buenos Aires conference ought to be able to agree upon the substantial measures that each country ought to adopt, and then the International High Commission should devote themselves energetically to having their respective governments promptly enact these measures into law. This will be a tangible and practical result and, to secure it, an earnest, intelligent, and combined effort is needed.

I have appointed eighteen committees, each composed of five prominent bankers and business men of the United States, and have assigned one to each country of South and Central America, in order to make permanent, until the next Pan American Financial Conference, the group committees which worked so happily at the recent conference in Washington. These group committees will keep in touch, as far as practicable, with the delegates from each of the countries represented in the recent conference, and endeavor to promote the interests of all the countries concerned. I hope that the delegates of the various countries may be continued by their respective governments as group committees for their respective countries until the next financial conference, because this will result in maintaining an organization for each country through which substantial and practical work may be done.

Upon motion of the Uruguayan delegation, a resolution was adopted by the delegates of the Central and South American countries inviting a return visit from bankers and business men of the United States. I am sure that this invitation will be responded to with great pleasure and enthusiasm by my countrymen. I have appointed a committee of representative

men of the United States to arrange for this visit.

The question of steamship facilities was one of the most important discussed by the conference. There is no doubt that improved steamship service between the leading ports of South America and the United States is imperative as well as essential to the growth of trade and the promotion of friendly intercourse. As one of the delegates to the conference exclaimed, "How can we trade with one another unless we can communicate with one another!"

It is simply economic folly for the nations of the Western Hemisphere longer to allow themselves to be dependent upon flags of European nations for the security, the transportation, and the promotion of their commerce. Certainly the nations of the Western Hemisphere are strong enough, if they will only be intelligent enough, to remedy this very serious defect in their international and economic relations.

At the last session of our Congress the subject of increased ocean transportation facilities between the United States and South America was discussed at great length. Unfortunately the bill proposed by the Administration for establishing the needed steamship lines through a corporation to which our Government was to furnish the capital was not passed, because a large number of Republican Senators successfully organized a "filibuster" and prevented a vote on the bill. This was a most unhappy mistake, because we have lost much valuable time and trade which can never be reclaimed, and are bound to lose a great deal more before the remedy can be supplied. It is to be hoped that at the next session of our Congress in December, 1915, a measure may be promptly enacted through which a splendid steamship service, operated under regular and reliable schedules, and supplying passenger accommodations and cargo space at reasonable rates, will be quickly established. Such a service is a prerequisite to trade and intercourse. Cooperation on the part of those governments of South America most interested in this problem will be exceedingly helpful.

The first Pan American Financial Conference, in addition to the things I have mentioned, was most happily fruitful of a bigger, broader, and more sympathetic understanding between the delegates, and cleared up some unfortunate misconceptions of the United States. They were made to feel the force and significance of President Wilson's memorable declaration at Mobile in October, 1913: "I want to take this occasion to say that the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest."

I believe that all our distinguished guests left for their homes with a feeling of satisfaction that they had been participants in a very notable gathering, and that they had been instrumental in laying the foundation for future relations of the most beneficial and enduring character between the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

"GUARANTEED" INVESTMENTS

ONE of the worst mistakes an investor can make is to become possessed of the idea that the name or external "trappings" of a security can safely be taken as an indication of its quality. A correspondent who sought the advice of the Financial Department of this magazine a few weeks ago related in his letter an experience which illustrates this point.

His first venture in placing any capital outside his own business, he explained, had been made a number of years ago in the form of an investment in the preferred stock of a small industrial company. The stock had been brought to his attention by a lawyer with whom he had occasionally consulted on matters pertaining to his business, and had been represented to him as "better than a first mortgage," as being "redeemable" in ten years, and—most important of all—as "guaranteeing" to pay dividends meanwhile at the rate of 7 per cent. a year.

For three years after the purchase of the stock, he said, the dividends had come along

ly. Then suddenly they dropped to 1 per cent. quarterly; and finally, ntinuing a little more than a year lower rate, they ceased altogether. e circumstances, the assurances of yer began naturally to be accepted thing less than their face value, but only after a careful, first-hand in- tion, conducted with much diffi- nd at no little expense, that the in- became acquainted with the true ns. This is what he learned:

, through the mismanagement of ipany's affairs by a perfectly honest r-ambitious executive who had been charge two years previously, the s had become hopelessly involved, uld have to be liquidated.

outcome of the venture, as the in- lescribed it, was that he made two first, the loss of nearly half of his l capital, and, second, the loss of his "trusted attorney," who, he , had received a commission of 10 t. for making the sale of the stock; e gain, namely, the gain of the lge that the kind of guarantee ie had allowed unwittingly to lure ney away was "very much like a aranteeing that he will lift himself wn boot-straps."

lt, of course, that he had paid rather o acquire this first insight into the of finance. Indeed, as he con- t was with a sense of chagrin that cted upon how readily the shallow nce of that guarantee, with the company itself playing the rôle of or, might have been revealed by applying to it the test of com- se. But he was not discouraged. e time he was ready for his second he had determined to turn to

It so happened that wide publicity n being given by some of the large houses to an issue of a newly con- Western railroad, reputed to have ny millions in excess of the amount rst mortgage bonds, and to be as- a large earning power in the not nt future. Interest payments on nds were guaranteed by one of the blished, and at that time reason- osperous, railroads. These bonds appealed to him, the correspondent said, largely because he believed he had discovered in them the logical and proper use of a genuine guarantee, and he invested in them to the extent of about $3,000.

To this investment he gave his own supervision, and though he was more or less dismayed to find after a year or two that the new road was not meeting expectations, it did not at first occur to him that real danger might be impending. Even when the guarantor railroad, still later on, was compelled to go to the length of omitting all dividends on its outstanding stocks, admittedly to make it possible for it to meet its guarantee, the investor was prone to accept the situation rather as justifying the faith he had in his own judgment.

But things went on from bad to worse, until finally a few months ago the guarantor road repudiated its obligation to continue interest on the bonds, with the result that the new line was put in the hands of receivers, there to remain until the financial doctors shall have determined the kind of operation necessary to insure its proper development.

When this investor wrote to the WORLD'S WORK to ask what to do with his bonds, then quoted in the market at about thirty cents on the dollar, he was full of resentment. He had concluded, he said, that there was far more sham about investment than most people realized. And he wanted to know how successful investors, who he felt sure must be in the minority, were able to avoid it.

There is, of course, no general rule for achieving investment success, unless it be found in the one word "investigate." It is by investigation that successful investors find honest and trust-inspiring banking authorities with whom to establish relationship; and it is by investigation that they acquire the knowledge necessary rightly to temper the advice of such authorities.

The investment experience that is recounted here points to one unfortunate result of a long-prevalent tendency to neglect to investigate, which is not frequently referred to, namely, the degrading of the word "guarantee"— in its real sense one of richer significance than almost any other

in the vocabulary of investment. It seems timely, therefore, in view of the many uncertain phases of the present investment period, to suggest in this article that, in striking contrast to that class of stocks or bonds to which the term "guaranteed" is applied in loose fashion, or in which expediency is apt to dictate repudiation, there is an extensive class in which the genuine worth of the guarantee is attested, year in and year out, by unusual stability of value.

To illustrate concretely, examples might be drawn from the category of both bonds and real estate mortgages, but there are no more noteworthy examples than in the category of the guaranteed stocks, to which the formation of the big railroad systems of the country on the lease principle gave rise. It will at once appear obvious here that the worth of the guarantees must depend upon two things—the financial strength of the "parent" companies that do the guaranteeing and the value to them of the smaller companies.

One typical case will suffice to show how both of these elements frequently combine to make an exceptionally fine form of investment. Take the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago "original" 7 per cent. stock, with its dividends guaranteed by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. The Pennsylvania's credit is high, as few investors need to be told. Its own outstanding stock, whose claim on earnings is subordinate to the claim of the Fort Wayne stock, is appraised in the open market at almost $534,000,000. And the fact that the Fort Wayne is a double-track road with a total of 470 miles, forming the Pennsylvania's main line from Pittsburg to Chicago, tells the story of its value to the guarantor company, which operates it under lease for 999 years from 1869.

This guaranteed stock has lately been quoted at about $160 a share, paying the purchaser at that price more than 4¼ per cent., which is about the average yield on the pick of investments of this type, and high enough to satisfy the demands of many conservative investors, especially in view of the general exemption of such stocks from the normal Federal income tax and from the personal property tax in New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.

It is, of course, true, as the reputable market specialists will be found ready to admit, that the values of some of the stocks in the guaranteed category are influenced to practically the same extent as other classes of securities by general conditions, and fluctuate accordingly. So that, notwithstanding their stability and high rating as a class, they call none the less for intelligent discrimination in their selection.

ROBERT LANSING

THE NEW SECRETARY OF STATE—THE WISE COUNSELOR WHO STOOD BY HIS CAPTAIN AND STEERED THE NATIONAL SHIP THROUGH STORMY WEATHER

MR. LANSING is gray—gray hair, gray eyes, gray suit. Sometimes, like any other man, he wears black clothes; sometimes white. But he is pitched in the key of gray. And grayly he comes and goes.

Nearly every one of these hot summer days in Washington, precisely at the hour of one, a quiet figure emerges from the southwest entrance of the State Department and lays a leisurely course up Seventeenth Street to a certain club, two blocks away. Lo! an hiatus in the Nation's foreign affairs while the Secretary has his mid-day meal, for he is one of those men who can do seven days' work better in six than in seven and who persist in a healthy diurnal regularity, no matter how busy they may be.

Inside the club, he follows an invariable and characteristic formula; hangs up his hat—he never carries a cane—and strolls into the office, where he writes out his luncheon order. Then, when his written choice of food has been shot aloft through

ieumatic tube to the dining room
sfore his luncheon is announced, he
off to the reading room and always
New York paper.
ing the course of these operations
ets many men who know him and
l whom he knows. He is accosted
sides with varying degrees of fami-
from "Good morning, Sir," to
), Counselor!" And every time there
iet nod, a peaceful smile in response
ly any conversation. Mr. Lansing
seems to get involved in talk, beyond
change of civilities. He is never
a group standing or sitting about
things to drink and smoke. One
e engagement he has always to keep
ntime and that is with his newspaper.
)ward that engagement he keeps on
g serenely.
etimes he takes luncheon with As-
-Secretary William Phillips, of the
Department; sometimes with Mr.
ler Anderson, Assistant-Counselor,
as Counselor of the State Depart-
under Secretary Knox. When all
ire sometimes gathered together you
at one table the fibre of the
Department. You practically never
r. Lansing with any one else at
me, but always with his newspaper.
man who took Mr. Bryan's place on
)th has no anecdotes or stories in
There are very few about him. He
)t offer much: he takes in everything.
ill his ready smile and open glance;
ll the clear presence produced by a
digestion and healthy habit of
it and life, Mr. Lansing is not a
sive personality. He gives nothing.
; trait of personality he is a striking
st to the man who is now occupying
esponding position in England, the
Secretary for Foreign Affairs.
:n a visitor comes into Sir Edward
room on Downing Street, he finds
variably standing with his back to
antel. In cold weather there is
a fire burning in the grate and two
airs are drawn up before it. With-
e least effusion, Sir Edward at once
his visitor feel welcome. The
ew starts with a friendly predis-
n. The purpose of the visit is
stated and a brief reply is politely given. "I have asked you to come to see me," says Sir Edward, as though acknowledging a favor, "because I wanted to know what so and so really meant—what your Government would like to have me do," etc.

Behind a screen in the corner of the room, so placed as to withdraw a stenographer from the group, but with no sense of secrecy, the conversation in every such interview is faithfully taken down for the records. But the business of the interview once concluded, the visitor generally feels, as he sits talking in an informal, friendly fashion, that the Secretary has somehow established a meeting of minds, and he always leaves the room, when his visit is concluded, with an impression of warm personal response.

A READY LISTENER

Mr. Lansing looks up from his desk with an odd but pleasant smile. Sometimes, when the caller is important enough, he stands and shakes him cordially by the hand. But then he always leaves the burden of proof on the invader. Nine out of ten such invaders come from the interview with the impression that they have done all the talking. Mr. Lansing is a prodigious listener. He listens in several languages. If you could look over his shoulder at such times you would probably find him sketching on the office pad some fanciful head or a skyline of mountains and trees. Although one does not take away any feeling of responsiveness, there is never on the contrary any sense of evasion. Mr. Lansing's answers are always ready, always clear, but brief. When he can, he tells you exactly what you want to know in a way which makes you remember it, and when he cannot, he simply tells you so.

When Mr. Fairbanks was Vice-president of the United States, one of the humorous weeklies printed clear across one page a series of identical drawings of his face. Underneath each facsimile was printed, one after the other, the various human emotions: joy, anger, grief, anticipation, regret, etc. There are a few men in Washington now who are endowed with protective faces behind which whatever

emotions they may experience pass without leaving a trace. The whole face of China is inscrutable to a European. Mr. Lansing was for several years counselor for the Chinese Legation in Washington. Possibly his experience in that time, grafted on to his native temperament and naturally great gifts of poise and self-control, has given him an inscrutability almost Chinese. It is at all events a splendid working equipment, for it is not in the least repellant or defensive; simply non-communicative.

HIS RELATIONS WITH NEWSPAPER MEN

For a man of this reserve to enjoy, as he does enjoy, the confidence and loyalty of all the newspaper men in Washington is a great compliment to both sides. Mr. Bryan had a much more free and easy way with all callers, and especially with correspondents. He called them "the boys," slapped them on their backs, and was alternately distant and familiar with them. A newspaper man himself, he seemed always, in the Department as well as in his public appearances, mindful of the policy of keeping persona grata with the press and its representatives.

But a very nearly unanimous vote of the Washington correspondents would fall in favor of Mr. Lansing's lack of method rather than for Mr. Bryan's more conciliatory ways. One of the very first things he did on assuming the Secretary's office was to cramp the correspondents' stride to the extent of requesting them not to interview diplomats in the Department on their way to or from official conferences. He could have forbidden this custom. But he did not have to forbid it.

One of those truths that are slow to establish but, once discovered, are convincing, is that the busiest men—those who accomplish most—are generally those who seem least busy. The Secretary belongs to that category. The amount of work he accomplishes every day is enormous: first, because there is an enormous amount of work to be done nowadays in the Department of State; secondly, because there are not in the Department of State many men who are fit to do the work; thirdly, because Mr. Lansing is a glutton for work. When nearly all the rest of the State, War, and Navy Building is dark at night, you can see the Secretary's windows glowing across the White Lot. During the Mexican crisis a year ago those beacons were burning every night, and so they were during May and June when a gray-headed man, with a companionable briar-pipe in his mouth, was working tirelessly behind those windows to help the President steer us off the rocks of war with Germany.

In the first of the two notes dealing with the *Lusitania* outrage the Counselor's contribution was small. That was the President's message in thought and word, corrected and shortened by the Counselor, and signed by the then Secretary of State. The second note—that of June 9th—was the monument built by the joint efforts of the President and the man whose signature sent the note to Germany, put Mr. Bryan out into private life, and created the signer "Secretary of State ad Interim." The long letter to Senator Stone, written on January 20th and published in the newspapers of January 25th, defining for the first time with crystal clearness to Congress and the Nation at large just what our neutrality involved and signified, was from beginning to end the work of Robert Lansing.

INDUSTRIOUS, HEALTHY, SOCIABLE

These are only conspicuous evidences of his industry, his preparedness, and his ability to fill the office he holds. Day after day he is providing his subordinates and the President with further evidence. His industry is unending, but he finds time for a game of golf, finds time to keep up his sketching and painting, time with a good cigar to watch the Nationals play visiting teams at American League Park, to write verses, to go fishing, to be healthy, and to keep a healthy social contact with Washington life. Mr. Lansing actually likes to dine out in the evening—as he and Mrs. Lansing very often do; he says it rests him—an almost unprecedented admission for a Cabinet officer to make.

Not long ago he was invited on the same Thursday, evening to dine with a member of the Cabinet and with a foreign Ambassador—two invitations. To each his re-

se was the same—his inability to
id because that was his night at
:h. The Ambassador was incredu-
but his colleague remembered that
und Presbyterian had always kept
engagement and, as a matter of course,
always attended church once, and
times twice, on Sundays.

hen Mr. Lansing finally closes his
and calls his day's work done he
s into a private life that is singularly
ite and fine. The serenity of his
ier in public is a faithful evidence of
unperplexed background.

the walls of his room at home hang
capes he has painted, rough outline
ings of figures he has sketched. The
s in his library show evidences of
ng and re-reading—not exhibits but
ls. His Bible might be the illuminated
of a monastic breviary, so filled are
iargins from beginning to end with
ly written annotations.

HIS INTERNATIONAL SERVICES

fore Robert Lansing was appointed
arch 27, 1914, to take the place vacated
hn Bassett Moore, thirty years of the
and practice of international law
prepared him for what came to be, in
st, the unprecedented responsibilities
at office. Those who know the De-
nent know that Mr. Lansing has been
ing it since August, 1914. Before his
intment he had represented the United
s in more international arbitrations
any other living American; appeared
frequently before international tri-
ls than any other living lawyer. In
as associate counsel for the United
s in the fur-seal arbitration, he
ded the sessions of the International
inal held in Paris. After two inter-
ig years as counsel for the Mexican
Chinese legations in Washington,
tary of State Olney appointed him
el for the Government before the
ig Sea Claims Commission. In 1898
899 he appeared before the Canadian
High Commission, and in 1903 was
el for the Government before the
an Boundary Tribunal. Sandwiched
etween these public functions were
national services for China, Mexico,
and Venezuela. Again, in 1908, he represented the United States in the Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration and helped settle that vexatious question at The Hague in 1910. From The Hague he came straight to Washington as delegate in the Fur Seal Conference, and the following year was chief counsel for this country in the arbitration of all outstanding claims between the United States Government and Great Britain. This last commission Mr. Lansing held at the time of his appointment as Counselor of the State Department last year.

In view of all this public service, it is surprising that every one wanted to know in April of last year who Mr. Lansing was. That ignorance was characteristically American, for it is only in the last few months that any general American interest has been aroused in foreign affairs. Even after his appointment there was a surprising ignorance, even in Washington, concerning whether the Counselor had shown any real ability in his position or possessed qualifications that would keep him there. That was because his work was done so quietly. The Department soon found out there were "more brains behind Mr. Bryan." The Mexican crisis tested him; the European war made him. Everybody knows who Mr. Lansing is now.

A CONGENIAL TEAM-MATE OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Lansing has discharged the duties of the Secretary's office during a year in which he has won public confidence and the confidence of the Chief Executive. The great strength of perfect teamwork has established the relations between a President, who in a great measure is, and has been, his own Secretary of State, and his chief subordinate. One outward and visible evidence of this teamwork is the way their official language fits together. On the instrument of written speech each has the touch of a skilled musician.

The keynote to the temper in which he has so faithfully fulfilled his duties is clearly struck in the address which he made to the alumni of his college. Those clear sentences make a safe sailing chart for the troubled waters through which we as a nation have not yet safely navigated.

"These are critical days for our country," he said, "how critical, only those who are in intimate touch with affairs can realize. It is a time for serious thought, a time for anxiety. . . . Rights of individuals and of nations are swept aside in this gigantic struggle that is devastating Europe. Neutrals as well as belligerents are bearing the burdens. The commercial and industrial life of the whole world is affected.

"The result is that neutral nations have had to meet a series of problems that have never been solved. The liability of error, the danger of unintentional partiality, and the constant complaint of one or the other of the belligerents make the path of neutrality rough and dangerous. It is my duty to deal with the questions of international law and usage which are arising every day in our relations with other countries. These questions are of absorbing interest and many of them are extremely complex, because this war in its magnitude and methods is different from all the wars that have gone before. One can look in vain for precedents in many cases.

"We have to abandon the time-honored refuge of jurists and diplomatists—precedent—and lay hold of the bedrock of principle. Diplomacy to-day is wrestling with novel problems to which it must apply natural justice and common sense."

CAN THE GERMAN SUBMARINES "STARVE ENGLAND OUT?"

JUST WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN A YEAR OF NAVAL WARFARE BY BOATS THAT SWIM AGAINST BOATS THAT FLOAT—THE LIMITATIONS OF SUBMARINES AND SOME EFFECTIVE METHODS OF FIGHTING THEM—BATTLESHIPS STILL THE DOMINANT POWER ON THE SEA

SEVERAL months before the outbreak of the present European conflict, Admiral Sir Percy Scott predicted that in a war between Germany and England the submarine would dominate the sea. He maintained that the "boats which swim" would drive from the seas the types which only "float," and that eventually the submarine would be the only kind of vessel that would be capable of conducting war effectively.

These predictions, coming from the man to whom above all others credit is due for the recent advance in sea gunnery, which tremendously increased the value of battleships, created world-wide discussion; and they have become of even greater general interest since Germany began her endeavors to "starve out" England by means of submarine warfare.

It is true that Sir John Jellicoe's fleet still roams the seas, and effectually prevents an invasion of England; but if it prove incapable of also safeguarding the transport of supplies into Great Britain, it will unquestionably fail in one of its principal missions.

The virtual blockade of German ports established by the British Government several months ago is not only distasteful to Germany but it undoubtedly cuts off much-needed supplies of food and munitions of war which would be most valuable. The only practicable means of retaliation on the sea is the submarine warfare now being conducted in accordance with the popularly termed "War Zone" proclamation, of February 4th, which aims so to terrorize, interrupt, and destroy British sea-borne commerce as to induce England to permit free passage of ships carrying foodstuffs and other non-contraband and "conditional" contraband articles in and out of German ports.

In addition these submarine operations are considered in Germany a valuable means of elevating the morale of the

German Navy, which needs a stimulating influence upon its spirits while necessarily chafing in idleness on account of the overwhelming preponderance of the floating forces of Great Britain. The submarine successes also serve to hearten the people of the nation by persuading them that Germany is far from helpless against the maritime efforts of the Mistress of the Seas.

One of the greatest military lessons of this great war is the pains which Germany has taken to ensure a high morale among both her fighting men and civilian population, and her success in so doing has proved the greatest of all the major sources of her military strength.

In view of the great moral and material aid given to the Fatherland by the submarine warfare, it is improbable that it will be discontinued for any reason short of the lifting of the British blockade against German commerce.

ENGLISH LOSSES INSIGNIFICANT

Whether or not England will consent to "calling it quits" can best be predicted after an examination of the actual damage being done to her shipping. According to an Admiralty statement the total number of overseas merchant vessels which entered and departed from the ports of Great Britain during the week ending May 5th, the eleventh week of the submarine blockade, was 1,604. Of this number, only 5 British ships were sunk by submarines. This does not include 16 fishing vessels similarly sunk. For the entire period of eleven weeks there were 16,190 arrivals and departures of overseas vessels, and 42 British seagoing vessels and 28 British fishing vessels were sunk by torpedoes from German submarines.

Such relatively insignificant losses cannot be expected to produce a willingness on the part of the British Government to consider favorably the nullifying of one of the principal advantages that accrue to it from its preponderating sea power. Consequently the probability is very strong that the German submarine blockade will continue so long as the war lasts; ameliorated somewhat, perhaps, through respect for neutral rights and feelings, but substantially unaltered from its present form in so far as British commerce is concerned.

It is therefore interesting to speculate upon the possibility of Germany succeeding in "starving out" England from a material standpoint.

THE NUMBER OF GERMAN SUBMARINES

At the beginning of the war Germany is supposed to have had thirty submarines already built, with a few additional boats under construction. Since that time it is reported that a large number have been laid down and that they are being completed at the rate of about one a week. At present the total number must be approximately one hundred.

What can be accomplished with a force of this size?

First let us consider the characteristics and capabilities of the submarine.

Comparative invisibility when submerged, coupled with immunity from gunfire while in that condition, are well known to be its salient advantages. Furthermore, it carries a weapon against which no adequate protection has been found. In addition, it presents a small and difficult target when itself assailed by torpedo attack—although this advantage would be considerably reduced should the type submarine be enlarged to the dimensions advocated by some enthusiasts, who desire a boat more than 300 feet long as compared with present lengths of about 125 feet, and one of 2,000 tons displacement in place of the present 500-ton type. Other elements in its favor are low cost, handiness, seaworthiness in rough weather, comparative immunity from floating mines as well as those laid in very deep water, and the possibilities of use as a mine layer.

Some later German and British types carry a battery of small naval guns which, while the vessel is submerged, are housed in a watertight well under the deck. The guns are capable of high elevation for use against air craft.

LIMITATIONS OF SUBMARINES

On the other hand the submarine is handicapped by many disadvantages and limitations. Its radius of action is small, usually less than 2,000 miles on the surface

and 50 miles submerged, and though these limits may be greatly extended by an increase in size, this involves unhandiness, increased cost, and greater vulnerability to the gun and torpedo, Its speed is low (about 14 knots on the surface, and 10 knots submerged) and can be materially bettered only by enlarging the size; but even then the surface and submerged speeds cannot both be brought up to a satisfactory standard—stream lines favorable to high surface speed are unfavorable to submerged speed and vice versa. It is reported that the new German boats can make 18 knots on the surface; the recently designed American submarine giant is expected to make 21 knots on the surface and 11 submerged. Submerged work is difficult in less than forty feet of water.

The periscope is useless during darkness, and to operate at that time the vessels must therefore come to the surface, thus rendering themselves very vulnerable to the attacks of surface craft. Once the submarine's hull is damaged, by gunfire, ramming, or otherwise, it is no longer able to submerge, and its usefulness as a war vessel is ended until repairs can be made. Even by day the periscope does not furnish a satisfactory means of vision, because in the first place the distance from any object is very difficult to estimate, and secondly, owing principally to the small height above water, the range of visibility is limited to five miles under the best conditions, and in rough water or hazy atmosphere it is much less.

When flying at an elevation of less than a thousand feet, air craft can usually see submarines operating near the surface. This is particularly true when the water is smooth, and also in such localities as the Mediterranean and the tropics, where the water is clear.

SUBMARINES CAUGHT IN NETS

Passage through channels of ordinary depth may be denied to submarines by means of mines, nets, and obstructions properly defended by surface craft. In restricted waters "sweeping" will seriously interfere with their operations, and may result in their ready destruction by entangling their propellers or by forcing them to come to the surface. The British have been successful in capturing a number of German submarines by employing trawlers for sweeping with enormous nets of large mesh, resembling the ordinary fish net. So soon as the pull upon the trawling lines indicates a "catch," the lines are let go and the submarine is then helpless to extricate itself from the entanglement and must eventually come to the surface, where it is readily captured. Some success has also been attained with similar nets anchored to the ground and supported on their upper sides with floats; these are visited from time to time by small armed vessels and inspected to determine the size of the "haul."

Another serious handicap to submarine success is that torpedo fire against rapidly moving targets is very difficult. Nearly every vessel torpedoed during the present war has been steaming at about 10 knots or less. The *Lusitania* is the most notable exception; it was making 18 knots when torpedoed.

It should not be overlooked that some kind of weapon, effective against submarines while below the surface, is likely to be developed for use by small craft and aeroplanes. It is impossible to foretell whether this will take the form of a high explosive shell set to explode after reaching a shallow depth, a small submarine torpedo which can be fired in flocks after the manner of a shot gun, a submarine gun, or a high explosive arrow. Several such devices have been proposed, but, so far as is known, none of them has evolved out of the experimental stage.

THE SERVICE HARD ON THE CREWS

Service on board submarines while cruising at sea is extremely trying for the men, and manifestly during war the strain is greatly heightened. One of the submarine captains who was captured, Commander Hansen of the *U*-16, gave out the following interview concerning war service which has been published in the British press:

> It is fearfully trying on the nerves. Every man does not stand it. When running under sea there is deathlike stillness in the boats, as the electrical machinery is noiseless. . . .

As the air heats it gets poor and mixed with the odor of oil from the machinery. The atmosphere becomes fearful. An overpowering sleepiness often attacks new men and one requires the utmost will power to remain awake. I have had men who did not want to eat during the first three days out because they did not want to lose that amount of time from sleep. Day after day spent in such cramped quarters, where there is hardly room to stretch your legs, and constantly on the alert, is a tremendous strain on the nerves.

Finally, the submarine is well fitted only to operate singly because of deficiencies in those characteristics which are most essential to the success of operations involving a numerous naval force. Chief among such defects is the indifferent means of communication, which prevents submarines from readily obtaining information, the life blood of military operations, after having once separated from its base. It is true that radio sets are provided. But these are necessarily of very small radius (about 50 miles) and efficiency, both on account of the dearth of space and weight which can be allotted to such apparatus and because of the small height which can be obtained for the "aërial" wire. In addition it is necessary to unrig the masts and the aërial before submerging, thus rendering the installation in the nature of an improvisation. While submerged, intercommunication between boats is possible only by means of the submarine bell, which is slow and uncertain and usually carries less than a distance of five miles.

DANGERS ON THE SURFACE

For long trips these vessels must cruise on the surface in order that air may be supplied for combustion. Submerged cruising is done with electric power derived from storage batteries, the capacity of which is sufficient to propel the craft for only three or four hours at maximum speed. The batteries may be recharged only while on the surface, and this process requires six or eight hours.

Upon the near approach of hostile armed surface craft, submarines, on account of their great vulnerability to gunfire, must submerge and remain under water until their enemy is evaded or is sunk by means of the torpedoes.

If hostile craft cannot be either evaded or sunk, submarines may remain under water for about twenty-four hours, even though the propulsive power for submerged work (the electric batteries) becomes exhausted. When it becomes impossible to escape an enemy during daylight these boats frequently lie on the bottom, where the depth is less than 100 feet, and come to the surface only when darkness will cover their movements.

The greatest enemy of the submarine is the small, swift, surface vessel—particularly when the latter is present in numbers. The British are reported to be building a great fleet of large armed launches for use against German submarines.

Such craft are difficult to hit with a torpedo, and, in addition, are hardly worth the expenditure of so expensive and scarce a weapon as the submersible torpedo, of which only about eight (costing approximately $5,000 apiece) can be conveniently carried by each submarine. The torpedo is intended for big game—preferably dreadnaughts, and will be wasted upon small vessels with great reluctance and only when imperatively necessary in self-defense.

THE JOB OF BLOCKADING ENGLAND

It is with this type of vessel that Germany has undertaken to throttle her insular enemy. Many believe that the fierce Teutonic "drives" through Flanders, toward the English Channel, had for their principal object the acquisition of naval bases which would further the present submarine campaign.

Assuming that the Germans are based at Zeebrugge, the average time required for the passage to and from blockading stations off the ports of Great Britain would be about four days. The average time necessary for overhauling at the base between trips may be estimated at six days, and the time which may be spent at sea between visits to the base cannot well exceed twenty days. Consequently it would be impracticable to maintain more than about half of the total force, or about fifty boats, on blockading stations.

There are forty-nine ports on the coasts of England, Scotland, and Wales which it would be necessary to blockade if all sup-

plies are to be cut off. It is true that many of these, more especially those on the west coast of Scotland, have poor facilities for discharging vessels, and indifferent communication to the industrial centres; but in an extremity these difficulties could be reasonably well met by improvisations.

An effective blockade of any port could scarcely be maintained in the face of defensive operations, which must be expected, with less than three submarines, and double that number would be none too many. If the minimum number of three boats be allowed for each port, the Germans would require at least 147 constantly on station to close all the ports of Great Britain; that is, allowing for the necessary passage time to and from the base and the essential overhauling period, the total force should be 294 submarines.

It may be argued that as soon as merchant vessels are sunk off a port, that place will be avoided by shipping for a considerable time, and that, therefore, it would be unnecessary to watch all ports simultaneously; but on the other hand it is likely that at some places more boats than the assumed number of three would be essential to an effective blockade; and furthermore, some losses must be expected. Hence the estimate of 294 is believed to be conservative.

HOW ENGLAND CAN NULLIFY A BLOCKADE

Now let us consider what the British forces could accomplish in opposition to such operations by the Germans, assuming that the latter might in some way obtain the requisite increase to their under-water flotilla.

In the first place an active patrol by small vessels could be maintained in the Channel and the North Sea to hamper the progress of submarines to and from their station, and to prevent auxiliary vessels from establishing sea bases near the scene of the blockade.

Aeroplanes could frequently scout the coasts, and, when submarines are located, small vessels could patrol the vicinity night and day to force the enemy to remain under water by day, and to attack him with ram, gun, or torpedo night or day if he came near the surface.

Ports could be made submarine-proof by mines, nets, etc., and their approaches constantly patrolled by small craft; particularly at night, when the under-water boats must come to the surface in order to see and to recharge storage batteries.

Mines could be laid in places that were found to be frequented by the warships of the enemy.

Merchant shipping could be forbidden to approach port without a mine pilot or in any case during daylight, but directed to await sunset at some point well off shore less than the distance which can be steamed before dawn. After sunset these vessels could proceed toward port without lights and at maximum speed. Had the *Lusitania* taken this simple and obviously desirable precaution, the chances are 100 to 1 that she would have reached port safely. Similarly ships outward bound could leave after dark and steam with lights extinguished at best speed until daylight. The *Nebraskan* would doubtless have escaped harm had she adopted this method. The greatly increased difficulty of intercepting ships and of accurately firing torpedoes in the dark is manifest; but it should also be noted that, by the utilization of darkness by the freight and passenger carriers in this manner, the submarines would be enabled to keep watch and to accomplish their mission only while cruising on the surface, which for them is a condition of great vulnerability to the attacks of surface craft of the enemy.

FENCING THE STRAITS OF DOVER

The traps which the English have recently used with some success for catching submarines are patterned after the numerous types of fish traps in common use, with dimensions increased to conform to the size of the new species of "shark." It is reported that they are employed chiefly in the Straits of Dover—the narrow passage between Dover and Calais—which suggests the advisability of blocking this strait more effectually against the passage of all types of vessels. For such purpose an obstruction, consisting of wire rope entanglements, nets supported by floating booms, and thickly strewn anchored mines in numerous lines and set at various depths,

might prevent all submarines from getting through. The practical difficulties that would have to be overcome in such an undertaking are great, but certainly not insurmountable in these days of great engineering accomplishment. The tidal currents in that vicinity are strong, but, more important still, the depth of water in some places is as great as 170 feet. The latter difficulty could, however, be much reduced by running the obstructions in a crooked line instead of straight across the passage; in this manner the line would extend for 35 miles instead of 20 miles, but would run over a maximum depth of 100 feet instead of 170 feet.

If the Straits of Dover could be made submarine proof the advantage gained for England would be invaluable. The freedom of the English Channel, its main artery of imports as well as of the supply of its army in France, would be assured. Under such circumstances German submarines would have to travel 1,200 miles, instead of only 360 miles, to intercept vessels entering the Channel. This would mean a round trip of 2,400 miles, which is more of a cruise than any German submarine, with the possible exception of a few of the very latest ones, could make; and even these would have to turn back almost as soon as they reached blockading station in order to be assured of having sufficient fuel to return home.

To conduct an effective blockade of the English Channel entrance, while Dover Strait was barred, it would be necessary to maintain at least fifty submarines on station at all times. Making proper allowance for the time consumed in proceeding from and returning to base, and for repairs at the base, a total force of 200 vessels would be required, of a type capable of cruising at least 3,000 miles. It is improbable that Germany could build such a flotilla in less than three years from the present time.

SMALL CRAFT THAT FIGHT SUBMARINES

But even though the Straits of Dover be not blocked, and even should Germany build submarines at a much faster rate than has been assumed herein, the trade of Great Britain and the supply of her army in France cannot be seriously impaired if vessels in the danger zone be protected by a swarm of small craft. The effectiveness of this means of defense against the underwater menace has been demonstrated by the success of the British in transporting more than a million men to France, and in keeping them constantly supplied. Furthermore, British battleships have been employed in bombarding German troops along the coast of Belgium, without coming to harm while so defended.

When large vessels are guarded in this manner by a sufficient number of small vessels arranged in a number of lines, the submarines cannot approach except at the grave risk of destruction by the small craft through ramming, gunfire, torpedoes, mines, or traps.

Of course it would ordinarily be impracticable for England to convoy singly every merchant vessel with a large swarm of protecting small craft. The number of these small vessels that would be necessary would reach enormous figures. But arrangements could be readily made for the trading ships to rendezvous in large groups at places well beyond the danger zone, and from there to be met and convoyed into port by the protecting force. Similarly, ships could be directed to leave harbor only in large assemblages, and be guarded until far enough off the coast to be out of danger.

As the German submarine menace becomes more and more troublesome, the British may be expected to adopt defensive measures along the lines which have been indicated. There is every reason to believe that such means will be sufficient to ensure the continuance of the trade of Great Britain as well as the reinforcement and supply of her army on the continent; and in addition the loss of many German submarines must follow from the use of these measures.

It is natural that the successes which have been attained in this war by the heretofore-untried type of war vessel should receive much attention; and undoubtedly they have been sufficient to justify careful consideration of their possible influence upon future naval warfare of the normal kind and upon other types of fighting ships.

Not without good reason many people

including professional men of high standing, now maintain that previous conceptions must be materially altered; and, as might have been expected, others have gone to the extreme of asserting that the submarine is destined to put all the present-day navies out of date and to render other types valueless for fighting purposes. Such opinions are not sufficiently well supported by the facts so far brought out by the war; particularly when it is remembered that the conditions under which the naval warfare in the North Sea and English Channel is being conducted are abnormal and do not justify application to the broader field of war on the sea in general—such as, for example, hostilities between the United States and an overseas enemy in either the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean.

WHY BATTLESHIPS WILL ALWAYS BE NEEDED

Considering all their limitations, it is hardly likely that submarines will ever play the dominant rôle in naval warfare. They are an auxiliary means of conducting war at sea, a valuable but nevertheless a secondary asset to a fleet, and not much more likely to replace the battleship, merely because they are capable under special circumstances of inflicting serious damage upon the latter, than is the destroyer likely to replace the battleship because it is able under special circumstances to place the battleship at a disadvantage.

For the sake of illustrating the permanent necessity for battleships, let it be supposed that a nation had the temerity to equip its navy only with submarines for the fighting line, and that, on the outbreak of war, its enemy opposed such a force with submarines and numerous small surface craft. Manifestly the latter force would have a positive advantage; the surface vessels would be able to drive the hostile submarines under water during the day, and at night force them to choose between inactivity below the surface or probable annihilation above it, and thus secure the freedom of the seas to their own forces. It is more than probable that in consequence of such an experience the first nation would afterward provide itself not only with small surface craft to attack the opposing submarines, but also with large surface vessels to drive off the above-water craft of the enemy. The line of development is obvious; eventually the battleship must make its appearance on the scene.

The testimony of the commander of the American submarine flotilla before the Congressional committee last winter to the effect that only a few of his vessels were fit for service, and the showing of our submarines during the recent fleet manœuvres following the annual mobilization at New York, when almost 50 per cent. of the force broke down or were otherwise incapacitated, have naturally caused our press to comment unfavorably upon the efficiency of this branch of the Navy.

Notwithstanding the contentions of Mr. Daniels to the contrary, American submarines are probably not up to the German standards. There are a number of reasons for this unsatisfactory condition. Due to lobbying and other political activities of the submarine builders, the control of the design, as well as the general development of the type for the Navy, was not permitted to fall into the hands of naval officers for a number of years. The builders were not so much interested in producing a type which would meet the grilling test of war as in producing a type capable only of fulfilling more academic standards, the manufacture of which would assure them greater profits. This condition is fortunately now much improved, and the Navy is not only designing and writing specifications for its own boats, but is also building some of them. Another reason for the unreliability of our submarines is that the "heavy oil" engine has been adopted for their propulsion on the surface. Though possessing many theoretical advantages over any other kind of engine for the purpose, in practice the heavy oil engine has been very disappointing—not alone when installed in submarines, but in every other kind of ship in which it has been tried. As in all mechanical developments, the original troubles are being gradually eradicated. Most other foreign navies use the same kind of engines in their submarines, and no doubt have experienced the same difficulties. The German submarines, however, have a different system of surface propulsion; what it is has been successfully

led as a secret, but many suspect that form of steam engine is used by them. nother important cause for American iency in this sphere is the lack of a l General Staff, or other similar or- ation, which has the knowledge and y and the adequate authority to de- ıpon the general line of advance, and to require all the numerous bureaus esser offices, which go to make up our iently organized Navy Department, ördinate their efforts to accomplish esired end. Largely due to this de- ı organization (primarily the absence thinking department" with power to its deductions into effect) the sub- ıe service has, until very recently, allowed to drift on in its own way, the supervision of only very young s, unguided and unencouraged by of riper judgment and broader vision. th the brilliant example of Germany e us, combined with the recent action ngress in creating a Chief of Naval ıtions—the first step toward a General Staff—the submarine service may be expected to take a new lease on life very soon, and to acquire the capacity for doing all that this particular type of war vessel is inherently able to do.

But the surface ship will probably always be the dominant force in naval war. The occasional successes of submarines across the water should not be permitted to induce the fallacious belief that they are in control of the situation. It is Sir John Jellicoe's floating ships which securely guard England from invasion, ensure the supply and reinforcement of the British army in France, permit the operations against the Dardanelles, bottle up the main German fleet, tie up all German merchant shipping in friendly or neutral ports, cut off the oversea supply of food and munitions to Germany, and, despite all that the German submarines will be able to do, will probably continue to keep uninterrupted the British sea-borne trade—to Britain the source of wealth, power, and life itself.

THE WAR CHIEFS OF THE NAVY

MEN IN CHARGE OF THE NATION'S FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE WHO, THOUGH ISCURE IN PEACE, WOULD BECOME NATIONAL CHARACTERS IN TIME OF WAR—THE ACHIEVEMENTS THAT WON THEM LEADERSHIP—THE SPECIAL TALENT OF EACH MAN AND THE ADAPTATION OF HIS CAPACITIES TO THE SOLUTION OF OUR PROBLEMS OF SEA POWER

HE men who take charge of our naval defense are pictured here. Their photographs illustrate this article. Their faces, with few exceptions, are unfamiliar. ampsons, Schleys, and Wainwrights Spanish War have passed on now. are dead or retired. Admiral Dewey of those famous figures of our last war ns in a complimentary office given y Congress as a reward of valor. The who are admirals and rear-admirals were commanders and lieutenants in anish War. Admiral Fletcher, rank- ficer in the Navy to-day, was then a ; lieutenant on ordnance duty ashore. Admiral Benson, now Chief of Staff, was also a lieutenant on the old cruiser *New York*. Rear-Admiral Fiske was navigator on the little *Petrel*, which steamed last in line behind Dewey's flagship into the battle of Manila Bay. During those seventeen intervening years these men and others of their naval vintage have grown and qualified into commanding positions, quietly and inconspicuously.

When the British battle fleet disappeared just a year ago it faded into obscurity under command of a certain Sir John Jellicoe. And no one outside of his friends and the British navy knew who Sir John was. "Who is Jellicoe?" people were asking.

What was true of the British navy a year ago is even more true of our own navy now.

The striking thing about these men who happen to be in charge of our fleet is their inconspicuousness. The impressive thing about their records is their uniformity. Here and there you will find a Victor Blue who has "carried a message to Garcia"; a David Taylor who has broken all records for scholarship at Annapolis and in foreign naval schools; or an inventive genius like Fiske. But as a rule striking details are lacking from biographies which record only the faithful performance of duty.

All these men are the result of an unsparing selection begun at the Naval Academy and continuing ever since. They have all been educated and trained in a prescriptive system which our civil institutions know nothing of. There is no selection, little of election, no privilege. They represent the survival of the super-fit. For every one of them who has prevailed and come through, ten or twenty have lagged behind, halted, or gone down.

So, without the discriminating effect of war, we find the Navy in peace times stratified, and where the grade of survival is so high it is naturally difficult, if not impossible, to determine that Officer A is better than Officer B, C, or D in general, although it is often necessary for the Navy Department to select from Officers A, B, C, and D the man best suited to a particular task.

ADMIRALS COMMANDING THE FLEETS

On the 10th of March the President, empowered by an Act of Congress, designated to the rank of admiral Rear-Admirals Fletcher, Howard, and Cowles, commanders-in-chief respectively of the Atlantic, Pacific, and Asiatic fleets. These three men are the ranking officers of the Navy with the exception of George Dewey, who holds the grade of Admiral of the Navy. His title is merely such, and not a grade in the service. It ceases to exist with the retirement or death of Admiral Dewey. Similarly, it must be understood that the grade of admiral, which Congress has always been most reluctant to confer, is, in the three instances specified, the title of a position rather than of a grade. For example, Admiral Cowles relinquished that title when he gave up his station in June, becoming again rear-admiral for the few intervening weeks before his retirement, and his successor, Rear-Admiral Winterhalter, already appointed by the President, as soon as he had raised his flag on the *Saratoga* at Olongapo, P. I., became automatically a full admiral. Fletcher and Howard are admirals only so long as they retain their present commands.

FLETCHER OF VERA CRUZ

Vera Cruz made Frank Friday Fletcher. The materials were all there before, but the incident was needed to develop them. According to seniority in service the ranking officer in the American navy stands only thirteenth in order. In his present position he ranks Admiral Howard and Rear-Admirals Cowles, Knight, Badger, Fiske, and Winslow, and all of them are senior to him on the Navy register. His selection is nevertheless approved by people in and out of the service.

The kind of man Fletcher is appeared under the test of Vera Cruz. He had been in Mexican waters several months and the precision with which he acted when the time came showed that those had not been idle months. Fletcher knew exactly what to do and exactly how to do it. In the taking of the city, and, moreover, in its administration afterward, he showed himself a man of the highest ability. Rear-Admiral Badger, his senior officer, who arrived on the scene the day following the first landing, recognized that ability with a fine sense of loyalty to the service, giving his junior unqualified control ashore. The President, when presenting diplomas to the graduating class at Annapolis last year, took the opportunity to say ". . . that gallant gentleman who has so long borne the heats and perplexities and distresses of the situation in Vera Cruz—Admiral Fletcher. . . . I have tested his discretion, I have tested his temper, I know that he is a man with a touch of statesmanship about him, and he has grown bigger in my eyes each day as I have read his dispatches, for he has sought always to serve the thing that he was trying to do in the temper that we all recognize and love to believe is typically American."

To deserve praise like that from the Nation's Chief Executive is a career. Fletcher began his at the Naval Academy in 1875.

-Admirals Badger and Winslow, who ated with him in Mexican waters, were ie Academy at the same time. In his r service there was nothing extraor- ry. He was simply an average efficient ig officer, but within a period of seven s after his promotion to a lieutenancy ecame one of the recognized ordnance orities of the service. During the iish War he was on duty in the Ordnance artment at Washington, inconspic- ly, efficiently. In 1908 he became a ain, a rear-admiral in 1911. A year he went to sea as a division com- der of the Atlantic fleet, and in Febru- 1914, two months before the insult to flag at Tampico, he was ordered to ican waters.

iysically the ranking admiral is not a inating figure. He is of medium height slightly built, silent, abrupt, keen; the of man who impresses nervous people iving a chronic grouch. The following ent, however, will slow how false a eption nervous people are apt to form: i the day when the American flag was ed on the Terminal Hotel at Vera Cruz at crowd had gathered to witness the ry-making ceremony. About half of i were Mexican women and little ren. Excited and cramped for room, crowd kept surging forward to the of the Marine Guards, who were told eep clear a space reserved for Rear- irals Badger and Fletcher and their s. The marines were worried and hot. r talked to the crowd in urgent English. crowd, not understanding a word, kept ushing, whereupon the exasperated nes began to shove them back with the s of their rifles. Admiral Fletcher, an aculate figure in the white uniform by naval officers in the tropics, turned spoke to Captain Huse, his chief of

Huse stepped forward and gave a id command to the Marine Guards. gentle to those people," he called. gentle. Don't hurt one of them."

was characteristic of Fletcher that at a time he should think a good deal of the bewildered Mexicans packed id his marines than of the ceremony iich he was so important a part.

Imiral Fletcher succeeded as command- er-in-chief of the Atlantic fleet Rear-Admiral Charles J. Badger, who, with less than a year more to serve before reaching the retiring age, was, in September, 1914, detailed for duty as a member of the General Naval Board at Washington. The whole Navy hated to see him relinquish active command, for Badger was one of the best-loved officers in the service. His record shows very little important shore duty, although he was in 1907 superintendent of the Naval Academy. His place was primarily on the deck of a battleship, where he is very much at home. War would bring him from an office desk back to the deck of a dreadnaught again.

BENSON, CHIEF OF OPERATIONS

What the Chief of Staff is to the Army the Chief of Naval Operations is to the Navy. In the Army the General Staff has long been a recognized institution; in the Navy the same leadership was instituted only on the 11th of May. Rear-Admiral William S. Benson—a captain until his appointment gave him the requisite rank—is the new Chief of Naval Operations who is now to the Navy what General Wood was, and General Scott now is, to the Army. For two weeks after his appointment every one was asking, "Who is Benson?"

The regulations governing the newly created office make a civilian wonder why there is any further necessity for a Navy Department. Practically every one of the functions of the Department come under the new chief's jurisdiction either in his executive or advisory capacity. Primarily he is "charged with the operations of the fleet and with the preparation and readiness of plans for its use in war." That job includes jurisdiction of the Naval War College, the office of Naval Intelligence, target practice, engineering, operation of all systems of communication, direction of all strategic and tactical matters, and manœuvres. He is even charged with the "preparation, revision, and record of regulations for the government of the Navy."

Congress has now made it possible for the civilian head of the Navy to function throughout his entire department in professional terms. For a long time the Navy has needed such a coördinating administra-

tive head as the Chief of Operations but it is too soon to determine just how the new arrangement is functioning. The chief of such a board, to be most effective, should be head also of the General Navy Board. Otherwise there is a division of authority, an overlapping of jurisdictions, with the consequent lost motion and duplicating.

The new Chief of Operations is one of the senior captains in the Navy and in the ordinary course of events would have reached his present grade in November. He was graduated from the Naval Academy two years after Admiral Fletcher, and during a sea service since that time of twenty-two years has cruised practically all over the world. On one cruise he circumnavigated the entire coast of Africa. In 1883 he was part of the Greeley Relief Expedition which brought back seven survivors from the Arctic. Primarily he is a sea-faring sailor, although at different periods he has had seven years of instruction duty at Annapolis, a year at the Washington Navy Yard, and a short tour of what is really a kind of social service on board the Secretary's yacht *Dolphin*. He was one of the original dreadnaught commanders in the Navy, having charge of the *Utah* in the first division of the Atlantic fleet. In recent years he has served as chief of staff of the Pacific fleet and he relinquished an assignment as commandant of the Navy Yard at Philadelphia in order to take his present appointment.

It is an open secret that the Secretary's choice for this position was originally Admiral Fletcher, who would not take it. Rear-Admiral Winslow was also prominently mentioned. Said the Secretary of the Navy of his final selection:

"Captain Benson comes to the position from a ripe experience of varied character and of comparatively recent acquirement, namely, the command of one of the greatest and most modern battleships, the command of a division of the Atlantic fleet, and finally the command of one of the greatest and most important navy yards at a time when it was rapidly developing and fitting out to do shipbuilding on a large scale and where he proved himself an administrator of the highest type."

Benson's outstanding quality is quiet efficiency. He looks it. An example of this trait occurred recently in Washington. The Secretary of the Navy called up the Chief of Operations to ask him to detail an officer to bid on some naval materials which were being sold at auction. In exactly three minutes from the time the telephone bell rang the proper officer was on his way to the auction rooms in a motor car. There was no noise, no disturbance in the chief's office; merely a quiet reply over the telephone to the Secretary's request and retreating footfalls echoing on the marble corridor outside.

Rear-Admiral Benson chooses his own staff, three members by regulation. They must be primarily workers.

Captain Volney Chase, senior aide, is known as one of the most efficient ordnance officers in the Navy. He has had three terms of service in the Bureau of Ordnance and a short term in the naval gun factory at the Washington Navy Yard. He is also distinguished as an expert in tactical and strategical elements of naval warfare, his qualities in these respects having been successfully demonstrated while he was a student and later as a member of the staff at the Naval War College in Newport. He was Rear-Admiral Winslow's chief of staff in Mexican waters last year and he comes to his present post from command of the U. S. S. *Virginia*.

Lieutenant McCandless has established his reputation as a turret and gunnery officer on board the U. S. S. *Maine* and also has a record at the naval gun factory at Washington. He was Rear-Admiral Badger's flag lieutenant until that officer relinquished command of the fleet in 1914. He is known as a tireless worker.

Lieutenant Brown has been an instructor in the department of electrical engineering at the Naval Academy and has had sea service on board the U. S. S. *Connecticut* and the *Montana*.

With Rear-Admiral Benson as a guiding intelligence on the bridge at Washington and Admiral Fletcher at the wheel in the Atlantic, two other officers of full admiral grade come now under consideration.

National attention for several months has been so concentrated on the Atlantic and on its European shores that our Pacific

THE GUIDING INTELLIGENCE OF THE NAVY

ral Benson, chief of the newly established Bureau of Naval Operations, and his staff, Captain Volney Chase and Lieutenants Byron McCandless and Wilson Brown

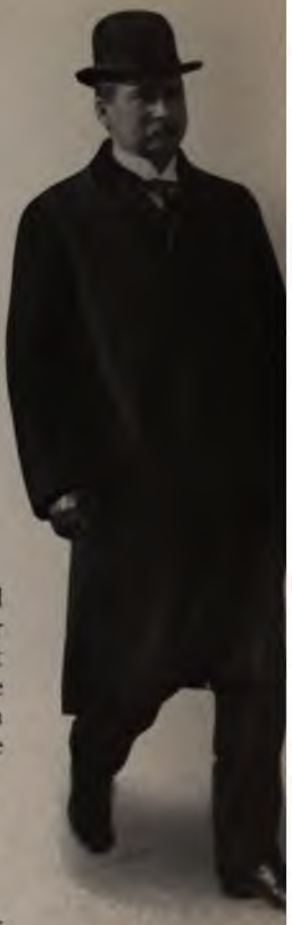
al, with its responsibilities and ers, has gone comparatively unnoticed. And yet, even during the last three months, the Pacific Coast has been a naval territory of equal or of even greater importance to us than the Atlantic. In command of the thirty-four ships which make up our Pacific fleet—cruisers, gunboats, destroyers, and submarines—is Admiral T. B. Howard. On March 10th he assumed the rank of full admiral and hoisted his flag on board the *Colorado*. He is the senior ranking rear-admiral in the service, although Rear-Admirals Cowles, Knight, and Badger were classmates of his at Annapolis.

SON'S OUT-
DING QUAL-
IS QUIET
IENCY"

The most conspicuous thing that "Tommy" Howard has had the misfortune to be connected with in his recent service was the dinner at Washington in December, 1913, of the Carabao Society, an association of Army and Navy veterans of the Philippine campaigns. On that occasion Admiral Howard was presiding when the wartime song, "Damn, damn, damn the Filipinos," was sung as part of the humor of the evening by all present, some of the others including assistant secretaries of both the Navy and the War Departments, staff officers of both services, and responsible members of the civil Government. This dinner called forth an official rebuke from

MR. DANIELS, THE CIVILIAN HEAD OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY

WHERE MODELS OF NAVAL VESSELS ARE TESTED
The towing tank, designed and built by Chief Constructor Taylor



CHIEF NAVAL CONSTRUCTOR
Captain David W. Tayl who is recognized at home a abroad as the leading desig of the world for large, hi power ships

the President, and Admiral Howard, who knew nothing of the evening's programme beforehand, had to bear the brunt of the reproof.

In 1893, Lieutenant Howard crossed the Atlantic on the caravel *Pinta* from Barcelona to Havana when that dread-everything, a facsimile of Columbus's ship, was sent to the Chicago Exposition. On the 1st of May, 1898, he sailed with Dewey into Manila Bay and was afterward present at the surrender of the city. During the insurrection he took part in the battles of Manila and Caloocan and in the bombardment of Cebú, and in 1900 preceded the present Rear-Admiral Fiske in command of the old monitor *Monadnock*, on the Philippine station. He has served four terms at various times at Annapolis and has commanded in order the *Olympia*, *Tennessee*, *Ohio*, and *Georgia*. He has also had a special detail at the War College, has served on the General Naval Board at Washington, and was detached from duty as president of the Naval Examining Board in 1914 to take command of the Pacific fleet. He commanded the expedition last June to protect Americans in Mexico from the Yaqui Indians.

Inasmuch as we are now considering only those men in the Navy who are in actual active command, Admiral Cowles, retired in August, must give place to his successor, Rear-Admiral A. G. Winterhalter, the newly appointed admiral of the Asiatic fleet.

Of Admiral Winterhalter they say that with one eye he sees more than most men see with two. The other eye was lost in the year of his graduation from Annapolis by an accident in archery. In spite of that physical defect he is known throughout the service as a man of superb health who now, at fifty-nine, has the activity o lieutenant-commander. His long service h comprised duty on every type of craft in t Navy from a sailing ship to a dreadnaug As a young officer he made a trip from S Francisco to Newport, around the Hor on the frigate *Jamestown*, 112 days at se sailing on Friday, arriving on Friday, a crossing the Line on Friday.

Like Fiske, Knight, and Knapp, Winte halter belongs to the scientific, scholar type of naval officer. He has specializ in astronomical work while stationed at t Naval Observatory in Washington. In t Hydrographic Office many changes in t

ADMIRAL VICTOR BLUE
f the Bureau of Navi-
ho, at the risk of
"spotted" Cervera's
Santiago Harbor in

MAKING 14-INCH GUNS FOR OUR NEW DREADNAUGHTS
In the Government shops at Washington, D. C.

naval charts and sailing directions as well as the organization of that office are due to him. Among his other accomplishments he speaks or reads eleven languages. As flag lieutenant to Rear-Admiral J. M. Miller, he personally directed the hoisting of the Ameri-

over the Hawaiian Islands on August
. He goes to his present post from
a member of the General Board in
gton and Aid for Material.
e Navy were upon a war footing,
the commanders of battleship di-
of the Atlantic fleet under Admiral
would be Rear-Admirals Boush,
n, and McLean, commanding re-
ly the second, third, and fourth di-

In charge of all battleship opera-
ould be Vice-Admiral Henry T.
commanding the first division and
d to his present unique rank on
th of this year.

Just as Fletcher will always be associated with Vera Cruz, Admiral Mayo—the first Vice-Admiral appointed in our service since Rowan in 1870—is identified with the Mexican crisis of 1914 as the admiral who at Tampico so emphatically resented the insult to our flag flying at the stern of one of his cutters. What Fletcher so well carried out at Vera Cruz was begun by Mayo at Tampico, and in the working out of the scene of that thrilling chapter in our recent Mexican relations the following incident may appropriately bring under consideration another conspicuous figure in the Navy.

The telegram from Mexico, announcing the failure of the Huerta Government to apologize for the insult to the flag before the expiration of the time limit set, arrived at the Navy Department at midnight on April 19, 1914. Secretary Daniels took it in his own hands across the street to the White House. The President immediately called by telephone Secretary Garrison and General Wood from the War Department and from the Navy Department Rear-Admirals Fiske and Blue. Among these six men it was thereupon decided that the United States should go into Mexico. The question was, "Where?" The Army was for Tampico because, in case extended operations should become necessary, that city was easier to take and hold than any other Gulf port and an advance thence on Mexico City was far easier than from Vera

ADMIRAL FLETCHER, COMMANDING THE ATLANTIC FLEET, AND HIS STAFF
"The gallant gentleman who bore the heats, perplexities, and distresses of the situation in Vera Cruz"

Cruz. It was also appropriate that the retaliatory act of the United States should take place where the offense had occurred.

Against this position Rear-Admiral Fiske strongly objected. He explained that Tampico was fifteen miles or so up a shallow river and that, moreover, the entrance to the river was reachable only by small boats because of the position of a bar at some distance off shore. It would have been difficult, therefore, for the big guns of the ships to cover a landing in force and impossible for them to cover the attack on the city of Tampico. With this position, eloquently maintained by Fiske and supported by Blue and Mr. Daniels, the others eventually agreed. Since it was the Navy's party, the first landing and holding of a port until the Army could arrive, the Navy was allowed to have its way, Fiske's way. Accordingly, Fletcher was ordered to take Vera Cruz.

Vice-Admiral Mayo, who in the performance of his duty almost got us into war with Mexico, is by general consent one of the very best men now in the active service. And yet it would be very difficult indeed to pick out any specific reason for saying so. With the exception of Tampico, one searches his record in vain for conspicuous performances. He has just made good on every assignment. Most of these assignments have been sea duty, in the Atlantic, Pacific, or on the Asiatic station. He has had very little shore duty, one or two short terms in the Navy Yard and a brief tour in 1913 at the Naval War College at Newport. At the time of the Tampico incident he was in command of the fourth division of the Atlantic fleet on board the *Connecticut*. Since then he has commanded the *Minnesota*, the *Kansas*, the *Vermont*, the *Arkansas* and the *New York*. When it comes to handling big ships in and out of action there is not a better man in the service

FRANK FRIDAY FLETCHER

First Officer of the Navy afloat, whom President Wilson has called a typical American

WORKING OUT THE FAR EASTERN QUESTION
Ex-Secretary of State Bryan, Ambassador (to Japan) Guthrie, and Admiral Winterhalter, of the Asiatic fleet

than Mayo. Cool, executive, and natively courageous, he loves command, he relishes seamanship more than strategy.

With Fletcher in command of fleet operations in the Atlantic, and Mayo in charge of the battleship divisions, Mayo's three lieutenants commanding the other three divisions would be, as previously stated, Rear-Admirals Boush, Coffman, and McLean, all of whom entered the service in the same year, 1872. All three of these rear-admirals have had more than twenty years of sea duty and all three have had command of battleships or of navy yards for the last six or seven years. A careful search of their records makes it plain that it would be difficult if not impossible to find three officers in the service of more uniform and unobtrusive qualifications for the high positions of command they now hold.

So much for battleships. But the present war has demonstrated thus far that battleships are not so formidable—or, at least in the kind of naval warfare now being waged, not so destructively useful—as are submarines. One of the first signs of a disposition on the part of the present administration of the Navy Department to profit by the many military examples, provided by the European war was the appointment on May 27th of Captain Albert Weston Grant to organize and command a submarine division of the Atlantic fleet.

ADMIRAL ALBERT G. WINTERHALTER
Who, with Admirals Fletcher and Howard, holds the highest regular rank in the United States Navy

Captain Grant is just the kind of man he looks. He was stroke of the crew at the Naval Academy and is a splendid type now of the robust, active-bodied sailor man. Like Mayo and Badger, his place is on board ship rather than in council chambers or on other billets ashore. During the Spanish War he was on the *Massachusetts* and was executive officer on the *Oregon* in China. He is the author of "The School of the Ship," the standard work in our

EX-ADMIRAL W. C. COWLES
Who became again a rear-admiral when Admiral Winterhalter hoisted his flag at Olongapo, P I.

Navy on the handling of vessels singly or in groups at sea. For his present duties it is only fair to say that he has had no particular experience or training, but he is the kind of man who may be counted upon to put his department into a state of complete efficiency as soon as possible. Grant gets results. He has got them above water for several years and the Navy expects him now to get them under water.

The work that is being done by the screening fleet of the British Navy in the North Sea has been hitherto productive of more action than any operations by the battle fleet. In our Navy the corresponding activities are now in charge of Captain William S. Sims, who has been put in command of all destroyers and scouting ships.

Sims is famous in the Navy for two widely divergent performances. He made a speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet in London, and he improved the practical target practice of the entire United States Navy about four hundred per cent. His speech was made on the occasion of the coronation of George V in June, 1911. Captain Sims stood up in his place at the table that night and said, according to the London *Telegraph*:

"If the time ever comes when the British Empire is seriously menaced by an external enemy it is my opinion that you can count upon every man, every dollar, and every drop of blood of your kindred across the sea."

Sim's sincerity outran his judgment and his tact on that occasion, and drew from the President an official rebuke.

But Sims was one of the few men in our Navy who five years ago realized clearly that what was then only a menace would soon become an actual fact. In 1902, when this ardent captain was on the staff of the commander of the Asiatic fleet on the China station, he met an equally ardent British officer, Sir Percy Scott, more recently famous for his advocacy of the submarine vs. the battleship. Both men were enthusiastic on target practice, and the Englishman convinced the American of the practical benefits of the system then and still followed in his own service. Sims came home from China full of his new ideas and by his very insistence and perseverance got the new ideas adopted. Up to that time target practice in the United States Navy had been carried out only under best weather conditions. Sims got the Navy to fire their big guns in a seaway, to tackle all kinds of weather conditions as they might occur in battle. Also, he ad-

ted practice at
ased ranges with
er elevations.
e than that, he in-
uced "ping pong,"
ıtrivance by which
all 22-calibre rifle
so fixed to the big
as to be fired by
regular big gun
ıanism. In this
turret captains
pointers could be
tantly trained
out the prohibi-
expense of actual
ce charges. Sims
advocated the
of rapidity of fire
heavy ordnance,
object being to
entrate the great-
ossible weight of
ct in a given area
he shortest pos-
time. In short,
hardly too much
ıy that he is the
f personal in-
ent in the pres-
high efficiency
ur battle fleets'
t shooting.

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

ADMIRAL T. B. HOWARD

Who is in command of the group of thirty-four ships which make up our Pacific fleet

ptain Sims's record well paints the
. He is ruddy, alert, joyous, carries
iction with him, and because of that
a high degree of team-work out of his
rdinates.

ith the destroyers and scouts all under
's command, there would remain the
ly scattered cruisers of the Atlantic
oard stations, which have been under
ommand of Rear-Admiral William B.
erton.

lmiral Caperton's bad health and the
hausted commanding qualities of
-Admiral Cameron McR. Winslow
t lead to the latter's return to fleet
nand. "Cam" Winslow, cool, soft-
en, stocky, now commandant of the
port Naval Station, has only a year
of service according to naval law.
rding to physical law he has at least
nore years of usefulness in him. He gets out on the springboard at Newport and makes just as good dives and turns as clean somersaults as his children do, the richest children in the Navy, for their mother was a Havemeyer. On a peace basis the Navy can get along without Winslow. War would bring him back. He first distinguished himself for cable-cutting under fire in the Spanish War, the next most daring performance in the Cuban blockade to Hobson's and Blue's. In all kinds of emergencies he has always proved equal to his task. He reaches out for responsibility and, in spite of all his service as aide to President Roosevelt at the White House, semi-social duty on the *Mayflower*, and a good deal of other shore duty, he is very popular in the fighting, sea-going Navy as well as out. His recent commands have been of the third division of the Atlantic fleet on board the *New Jersey* and the *Virginia*, and of the first division on board the

REAR-ADMIRAL WALTER McLEAN
Who, under Admiral Fletcher, commands the fourth battleship division of the Atlantic fleet

Utah and *Florida*, four of the finest ships in the Navy.

Under either his or Rear-Admiral Caperton's command the cruiser division would not be kept in its present heterogeneous form and scattered alignment. The armored cruisers would be brought together with the light cruisers and all of them cleared away from the present association with gunboats and destroyers in so far as commanding fleet movements is concerned.

Our consideration, then, has now covered all the activities of the fleets at sea, with the single exception of the naval auxiliaries—colliers, tank ships, repair and supply ships, etc.—and this very necessary but not very glorious argosy would probably be placed under the direction of Commander U. T. Holmes, a young officer who has particularly distinguished himself in the kind of duty which he would in this capacity have to perform.

The work of the Navy proper would, under war conditions, be supplemented by auxiliary fleets of converted yachts, motor boats, and other vessels which would be commandeered and rerigged for war purposes, such as the patrol of the coasts and rivers and scouting duty supplementary to the destroyer and cruiser fleets. Such a fleet on its formation would very probably be placed in charge of Captain A. F. Fechteler, who happens to have been born in Prussia. Moreover, he possesses two characteristics of a Prussian: tenacity and system. He is a silent, hard taskmaster with an exceptional record.

When, in April of last year, intervention in Mexico seemed imminent, correspondents in Washington were surprised to find no unusual activity at the War Department. In 1898 those same halls had been the scene of riot, but in 1914 they were tranquil, because all the plans down to the last detail for a possible invasion of Mexico had long before been drawn in the Army War College on the Potomac and in the offices of the General Staff.

The same condition will be found in the Navy should another war come. Plans for all operations in the Atlantic and the Pacific have long been formulated and all the strategic eventualities have been thought out, and worked out, and fought over. Most of this work is done at the Naval War College at Newport, under the command and direction of Rear-Admiral Austin M. Knight. With Fiske, Knapp, Oliver, and Captain W. L. Rodgers, now of the General Board,

who preceded him as president of the War College, Rear-Admiral Knight represents in a high degree the scholarly side of the Navy. His is one of the most brilliant intellects in the service, logical, clear, analytical. In a high degree he has survived whatever narrowing influences circumscribe a naval career. Next to Howard and Cowles, he is in point of service the senior officer of the rank of admiral, and that service has carried him all over the world. His book on "Modern Seamanship," published in 1901, is the standard work on the subject in this country and is extensively used and quoted abroad. In November, 1912, he commanded the special squadron consisting of the *Tennessee* and the *Montana*, despatched to the relief of Americans in Turkey during the Balkan war. At Smyrna he showed potentially, in his mastery of the situation and in his careful and thorough preparation for eventualities, the same abilities which made Fletcher famous in a similar situation at Vera Cruz.

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

VICE-ADMIRAL H. T. MAYO

"When it comes to handling big ships in action there is not a better man in the service than Vice-Admiral Mayo"

It is a pity to have to mosaic Bradley A. Fiske into an article of this kind because the story of his life is an article by itself. His service has always been picturesque and brilliant from the time he served on the *Yorktown* in "Fighting Bob" Evans's fleet during the critical days at Valparaiso, Chile, following the *Baltimore* incident twenty years ago, to his impassioned speech at the Naval Academy commencement in June on the unpreparedness of the Navy.

On that fateful May day at Manila in 1898 which made the United States a world-power, slung up in a coal basket above the smoke from the *Petrel's* funnels, he sang out accurate ranges to his gunners as he sighted on the Cavite forts through his own patent range finder. Later on in the battle he commanded a shore party which captured and brought off a lot of Spanish tugs and launches, and for that long day's work at the tail of Admiral Dewey's famous procession into Manila Bay he was reported by his captain and his admiral for "heroic conduct." Later on he was present at the taking of Manila and commanded the old flatiron *Monadnock* during the Philippine insurrection, taking her across the China Sea, under water most of the way, to Hong Kong. Fiske's book on the Battle of Manila Bay reads like a novel, and his work on electricity and electrical engineering is now in its fifteenth edition and still selling.

If he were not a rear-admiral, he would be a minor Edison or Westinghouse. Of

REAR-ADMIRAL B. A. FISKE
A first-class sailor, an inventor, an author, and a strategist

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

REAR-ADMIRAL C. J. BADGER
His father was a rear-admiral; his son is a lieutenant. He is one of the best loved officers in the Navy

his inventions there is no end: devices for lowering boats in a seaway; a naval telescope sight, electrical range finder, mechanism for gun turning, ammunition hoists, range communicator, battle order telegraph—these show the incessant inventive activity of a naval officer who has had, also, his full share of sea duty. All turrets built since 1896 and now building are turned by his adaptation of the Ward-Leonard system; the semaphores that flap up and down, sending signals from bridge to bridge on our battleships, are his invention; his telescope sight revolutionized long-range firing and helped the Japanese Navy beat Russia.

Rear-Admiral Fiske resigned from duty at the Navy Department in Washington last spring because of inability to coöperate with the Secretary of the Navy. Since then he has been detailed to the Naval War College at Newport. There is no keener, better brain in the service.

REAR-ADMIRALS BADGER AND FISKE

His less conspicuous counterpart is Captain H. S. Knapp, a member of the General Naval Board. Knapp was the first man to point out that the spirit of our treaty with Great Britain required the fortification of the Panama Canal. His most important duty now is in serving with Captain James H. Oliver as the naval members of the Neutrality Commission.

Another man who might be placed with this group is Captain "Jack" Hood, re-

of the General Board and now in
nd of the *Texas*, a very able sea-
and commander of men, who is
d in the service as a man who will
to distinguish himself in emergen-
He has done conspicuously good
n three different appointments to the
War College and has found time
all his duties to write extensively.
nection with our present opinions in
untry about
ny's methods
varfare an ex-
of Captain
in the Span-
r may be here
riately men-
When in
nd of the con-
yacht *Hawke*,
ant Hood re-
y fired into
anish passen-
rying steamer
XII, eventu-
riving her
on the reefs
ariel, about 25
est of Havana.
, however, en-
ithin interna-
law in this
gly inhumane
as the *Alfonso*
rsistently re-
stop and, dis-
ng shots fired
er bow, made
for liberty.
mond Pearson
got so much
om his dramatic exploit at Santiago
rather overshadowed the equally
performances of Winslow and a
lieutenant on the *Suwanee*, named
Blue, who is now chief of the Bureau
igation at Washington and in that
y one of the Secretary's three chief
s. Hobson performed one exploit:
complished three similar exploits in
ion. He led off by taking an armed
crew across twenty miles of shoal
without reliable charts, to the Cu-
st, knocked out a couple of Spanish
patrol boats inside the keys, and got the news to General Gomez's insurgent forces of the relief at hand.

Nobody knew in those days whether Cervera was in Santiago harbor, but young Lieutenant Blue went ashore again, ten days later, at Asseraderos and disappeared into the bush for twenty-four hours. "I picked him up on the coast," writes his commanding officer, "on the morning of June 13th. And he had seen and located all the ships of Admiral Cervera's command." But on June 25th, Admiral Sampson again desiring information about the Spanish fleet, Blue for the third time went ashore on the Cuban coast and, with guides furnished by an insurgent colonel, again accurately reported the presence of the entire Spanish fleet and their positions in the harbor. His capture on any one of these occasions would have meant death.

Copyright by International News Service

THE NEW CHIEF OF SUBMARINES

"Captain Grant has made good above water; the Navy expects him to make good under water"

But Blue had other qualities, too. In the bombardment of Aguadores, when the signal to cease firing was hung up on the flagship, the *Suwanee* signalled back for permission to knock down the Spanish flag still flying from the parapet of the fort. The flagship answered that they might have three shots. "Then," writes the *Suwanee's* captain, "at a distance of thirteen hundred yards, using this range with a 4-inch gun, Lieutenant Blue sighted the gun and fired the three shots. The first rent the flag, the second struck near the base of the staff, inclining it about 20 degrees from the vertical; the third shot carried away both the flag and staff."

As a result of his performances in the

THE CHIEF OF THE NAVAL WAR COLLEGE

Rear-Admiral A. M. Knight [centre, bottom row], who, with his staff, has prepared strategic plans for operations in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans

Spanish War, Lieutenant Blue was, in February, 1901, advanced five numbers in rank "for extraordinary heroism." That is one reason why he holds now so high a rank at his age, barely fifty. He looks forty. In 1910 he was chief of staff of the Pacific fleet, has had 16 years of sea service, and has also served on shore at the Naval War College and on duty in connection with the General Board. His present appointment and rank of rear-admiral dates from March, 1913.

REAR-ADMIRAL W. B. CAPERTON

In charge of the Atlantic cruiser division

The men who fight the ships must have good ships to fight with, and Chief Constructor David W. Taylor is the expert shipbuilder in our Navy. Moreover, his record for scholarship at the Naval Academy has never been approached either before or since his time, and his achievements at the Royal Naval College at Greenwich, England, in competition with picked men from all parts of the world, are still unequalled. Taylor became chief constructor of the Navy on December 14th, last, when he relieved Richard M. Watt. In this position he holds the rank of rear-admiral, and his work for the last 28 years has made him a marked man in his own service and in foreign countries. For the last few years he had been charged with

REAR-ADMIRAL "CAM" WINSLOW
[illegible], soft-spoken, stocky," now commandant of the Newport Naval Station

REAR-ADMIRAL C. J. BOUSH
Until recently in command of the second battleship division of the Atlantic fleet

use of the experimental model basin ne Washington Navy Yard, which he elf designed, and his researches there resulted in extraordinary improve- ts in the design of hulls of large naval els. It may be recalled that when the stigation following the collision between *Olympia* and the British cruiser *Hawke* held his attendance was requested by British Admiralty.

Below the rank of captain there comes a group of young men in the Navy, holding commissions as commanders and lieutenant commanders, a group of men already marked for conspicuous services in peace times and sure to become famous under the tests of war. Such men are Commander Carl T. Vogelgesang, of the Naval War College Staff, who, with Commander R. R. Belknap, now commanding the *San Fran-*

COMMANDER R. R. BELKNAP
Who was decorated by the King of Italy for rescue work at Messina

CHIEF OF THE DESTROYERS AND SCOUTS
Captain William S. Sims has taught the big guns of the Navy how to shoot fast and straight

CAPTAIN "JACK" HOOD
A man of distinguished service in the Navy

cisco, represents the ablest of the younger strategists. Other men who will bear watching are Commander Urban T. Holmes, who has developed unusual ability in his work with naval auxiliaries, and Lieutenant Commander Dudley Wright Knox, in the Office of Naval Intelligence.

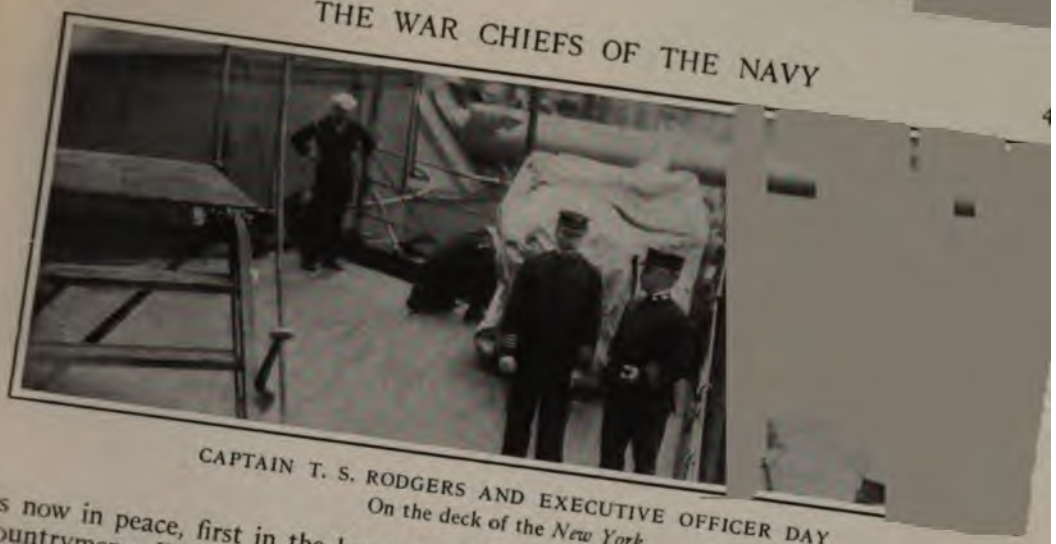
The chief of the Bureau of Naval Intelligence is Captain James H. Oliver, appointed to the position he now holds on the basis of his work on the Naval War College Staff and because of his exceptional qualities of judgment and integrity. Captain Oliver has commanded gunboats and battleships. He has been chief of staff and a member of naval boards. Through all his various duties he has carried the unvarying gift of inspiring loyalty and making friends. He is a fine type of naval officer; he is a fine type of Christian gentleman. Mention of him has been reserved until the last in order that this brief and necessarily incomplete review may be brought to a conclusion with his own words, written several years ago:

COMMANDER U. T. HOLMES
Who has distinguished himself in engineering

"The United States has never been beaten in war. Twice in its brief history the country has been engaged in war for very existence, twice it has emerged in triumph. Why?

"In a struggle of consequence so momentous it is imperative that the Nation's whole strength, to the very last limit of its power and resources, be thrown into the contest. It may be well to consider and endeavor to appraise that strength. What measures the strength of the Nation in arms?

"In our two long and wasting wars, the War for Independence and the great Civil War, is it not plain that deliverance came at last from great moral forces? In each case those triumphant forces were worthily personified in a leader of nature high and noble, patient and resolute, then in war,



CAPTAIN T. S. RODGERS AND EXECUTIVE OFFICER DAY
On the deck of the *New York*

as now in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen. We often and lightly estimate the war strength of this nation or that, assigning numerical values to ships and battalions, and so derive a total of ultimate strength, yet knowing well all the while that the old warning of history once more may be repeated—*Flavit Deus et dissipati sunt.* [God's will prevails.] For, although sea power is great and land power may be greater, yet greatest of all is the power that resides in the hearts of men. Whether articulate and loud, as in the battle cry of the Turks, or silently appealing, in all times and in all places men have confessed the Higher Powers as holding the battle in their hands.

"When Americans reflect upon their country's past; when they consider the sufferings, patience, and perseverance of Revolutionary and Civil War days—then, no matter how deeply immersed in material gains and pleasures their countrymen may seem, they will not doubt their response to the great call to arms in a just war whenever that war may come. Weaknesses and failings of whatever kind can never discredit that truth."

OMMANDER C. T. VOGELGESANG
Naval War College Staff. A progressive of the highest type in the Navy

CAPTAIN A. F. FECHTELER
The probable commander of an auxiliary patrol fleet was born in Prussia

THE WAR AGAINST DRINK IN FRANCE

THE END OF ABSINTHE ONLY THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR ON ALCOHOL—THE TEMPERANCE PROPAGANDA FOR WINE AND BEER

BY

ARNO DOSCH

AT THE Porte d'Orleans, just inside the walls of Paris, the opposite corners of the Avenue d'Orleans are occupied by long, solid rows of cafés and bars running in both directions. No city in the world offers at one of its entrances more complete possibilities for drinking, and the Porte d'Orleans is only a slight exaggeration of what is to be found in all Paris and most of France.

In these cafés a little beer and less wine are drunk. They make their money on aperitives. Even in the smallest bar there is always a collection of twenty or thirty varieties of aperitives and liqueurs. The demand is for the exotic drink, and, since the abrupt suppression of absinthe with the

"A MODERN POWER"

A striking sermon in marble on the evil effects of absinthe, exhibited at the Luxemburg Salon and used in the French campaign against drink

ing of the war, the sale of the other ves has increased. It is not at all il to see former absinthe drinkers v a whole tumbler of Amer Picon / sweetened with syrup.

temperance movement in France is : these aperitives and liqueurs. The e done by drink is easily traceable m. The most complete and most proved case was brought against ıe, and France was ready to suppress : before the war began. The war urried by a few months a law that rtain soon to be passed. It would, have been passed long before if the ıe and other liquor interests had not extinction with money. They had ıed for self-protection because the ı France has been for years not only : absinthe, but all distilled liquors. though they had spent their money n the last campaign, the temperance in the Assembly were returned with cing majorities. France was roused subject of drink.

leader of the fight against absinthe nce was a German-named deputy he hard drinking Vosges District, ichmidt. The liquor interests spent in his district even as it is spent However, many of the electors tly voted for him with the absinthe n their pockets. He was returned Assembly and introduced the bill ut an end to absinthe in France.

n I met M. Schmidt by appoint- t the Palais Bourbon he was in the n of an army officer. He is a type er quite familiar in France, tall, , serious. Although engrossed in tirs of war, he was able to put them and proceeded directly to tell me wanted to know.

u must understand at once," he that our struggle for temperance in is different from the struggle in d and the United States. We have ention of attempting prohibition. is nothing of Puritanism in our ent. We are not interested in ; the French people a race of tee- ;. It would not be possible, and ıld not care to accomplish it if it We have nothing against wine and light beers. I drink them, and so do the other members of the Assembly who are fighting alcoholism.

"There is another point in which our problem in France is different from yours. It is only about fifty years old. It began with the discovery of absinthe. Alcoholism is a comparatively new word in the French language. Until very recent years the French dictionaries referred to it as a disease of the cold countries. There was, then, practically no alcoholism in France. For France, up to the middle of the last century, was a nation of wine-drinkers. There was very little drunkenness and hardly any physical degeneration from drink, except in Normandy and Brittany, and they had not reached the desperate state to which they have now arrived.

STRONG DRINK IN NORTHERN FRANCE

"Our problem is also complicated in a way from which you are free. Alcoholic drinks are made freely in the country for family consumption! That phrase is going to lead to the most bitter fight we have to face. All Northern France makes alcoholic drinks from grain and fruit, which are drunk by all members of the family. Children become alcoholic, and boys, just ready to enter the Army, are frequently rejected on account of delirium tremens. Mothers in Normandy even put liquor in the babies' bottles to make them sleep well.

"They drink strong liquor in all this part of France as the Midi drinks wine. It is so cheap no one need go without a drink. Its cheapness is its danger. But every time the discussion arises as to whether it would not be better to prevent a home-distillation, all Northern France rises in protest and declares it a movement to sell the liberties of the people to the rich syndicates. Nevertheless, home-distillation must be controlled. It is really only the cover for an illicit traffic in liquor. It makes every farm a bar.

"Yet, except in a few restricted districts such as Normandy and the mouth of the Rhone, evident drunkenness is unusual in France. You rarely see drunken men on the street. I have never seen a drunken

man lying in the gutter. Among any class of people in France bestial drunkenness is unforgivable. But that does not mean that there is any less real drunkenness. In certain parts of France the workmen are never thoroughly sober. They rise in the morning to a stiff drink and they keep it up all day. In the contracts of farm-laborers in Normandy there is usually a stipulation for a certain amount of alcoholic drinks a day, and, as the drinks are cheap, the farmer gives more than he has contracted for. He keeps his farm laborers contented by keeping them drunk. They are not so drunk they cannot do their work, but they are always under the false stimulation of alcohol.

"The aperitive habit keeps the city populations in a similar state of alcoholic stimulation. We are really a temperate people so we do not drink much, but we have 'the aperitive hours' before luncheon and before dinner, the hour before dinner often stretching into two or three. This was the time formerly when you could enter a café anywhere in France and see a number of people drinking absinthe. Perhaps they drank only one or two glasses, but those who had been drinking it longest took strong doses. The same people now drink other aperitives, lacking in the essential oils, perhaps, which make absinthe so dangerous, but just as alcoholic.

FOR FEWER DRINKING PLACES

"Absinthe was the worst, so it went first. But the temperance fight in France has just begun. The accomplishments so far are the suppression of absinthe, and the refusal of permits to open any more drinking places. It is going to be difficult to reduce the number without doing individual injustice, and that is going to be another long fight, but we have at least stopped the increase, and that had not been interfered with since the days of the Empire. There is in Paris now a drinking place for every forty adults. In 1875 there was one for every 109. No large city in the world offers as many opportunities to drink as Paris. In comparison with the population Paris has eleven drinking places where San Francisco has eight, Chicago four, New York three, and London two. This number will have to be decreased, and it will be done by license. There we encounter questions of revenue and of individual right. It will take a long time to solve these problems, but we will end by controlling the sale of alcoholic drinks in France, just as we ended by forbidding the sale of absinthe. We shall not entirely forbid the drinking of aperitives or alcoholic drinks, but we shall make it much less frequent.

"If we were seeking to attain prohibition, we should fail. The spirit of the French people would not permit it. But we are only trying to turn France back to wine and beer, wine in the south and beer in the north. Those are the native drinks of the French people, and they have done the nation no harm."

In presenting to the Assembly the absinthe bill which is now a law, M. Schmidt quoted the following statistics:

In 1875 France consumed 409,754 gallons of absinthe. In 1913 it consumed 6,322,588 gallons—15 times as much per inhabitant.

INCREASED INSANITY FROM DRINK

During this time insanity has been strikingly on the increase. The number of insane people has more than doubled. Twenty per cent. of the inmates of lunatic asylums in France to-day became insane from drinking absinthe. Where one beer drinker and four wine drinkers have gone insane, 246 absinthe drinkers have lost their minds. During this period of time the number of insane women has been even more remarkably on the increase. Between 1867 and 1906 the proportion of women insane from alcohol increased from 4 per cent. to 17 per cent. For most of this increase absinthe was responsible, but other distilled alcoholic drinks also played their part.

The period of absinthe was the period of growth of the taste for strong alcoholic drinks in all France. While almost all other countries have been gradually decreasing the amount of strong drink, France has been drinking more and more. From less than half a gallon of alcohol per head in the days before absinthe the amount of alcohol consumed yearly in France was increased until at the end of the period of

he it was three and three quarters
s. From drinking one third to one
ı of what the more northern races
drinking, it increased until it was
ng two or three times as much.
see alcohol at its worst in France one
go to the ancient city of Rouen, now
lustrial centre. It is in Normandy,
: is also a city of workmen. It has
ombination of cheap drink and a
ation most easily affected. Investi-
ı in a factory there revealed that
5 out of 200 workmen were not stim-
l by alcohol. Going to and coming
work they progress by easy stages
ɔne drinking place to another. They
for work drunk in the morning, and
ɔo home drunk at night. It has been
d that the male population of Rouen
; 3,000 glasses of strong alcoholic
a year per man. This does not, of
:, count the wine and beer consumed.
ans eight strong drinks a day for
nan; for the workmen, who do most
drinking, fifteen to twenty drinks a
They also drink wine and beer, of
:, with their meals.
ldren are frequently given alcoholic
; as part of their nourishment. At
ı a school-teacher with a class of
three pupils averaging from six to
years found, by questioning, that
y-four were in the habit of having
regular aperitives and liqueurs with
her members of their families. Their
ts thought nothing of it. Alcohol
ecome a part of the daily diet. The
n on the farms in Normandy go
urther and, before going out into the
to work, insure the sound sleep of
children by giving them brandy in
milk. The little babies, often not
than six months old, fall into a
en stupor and remain quiet for
ıl hours.

E MENACE OF FREE DISTILLATION

: root of this evil is free distillation.
law permits each family to distil
nd a quarter gallons of pure alcohol a
for home consumption. But there
surveillance, and they brew as much
y like. They pay no tax on it, and
almost as free as water. In Normandy, or anywhere in Northern France, one can buy at a farmhouse a drink of liquor for one cent which would cost ten to fifteen times as much at any bar in England or the United States. In the family it passes around freely, and the farm laborers drink without stint. Farmers from other localities passing through the country can feel sure of being able to stop at any farmhouse and get plenty to drink. The revenue of farms located at cross-roads is frequently more from their bars than from their fields.

Now that absinthe is out of the way, free distillation is the agitated temperance question in France. M. Joseph Reinach, who has been the leader of the temperance movement for twenty years, has been delivering well-attended lectures on the subject even in the midst of the war. I attended one in April in Paris in which he spoke on drunkenness among women, a new problem in France. I also had a talk with M. Reinach, in which he dwelt on the problem of free distillation.

"Cheap drink is the curse of France," he said. "The privilege that every man has of distilling for himself without being taxed makes alcohol cheaper than food. The pretext for permitting the manufacture of alcohol without securing a revenue from it is that every man has a right to provide his own household without being subject to a tax. But that is a mere pretext. Very few who take the trouble to distil alcohol do it for themselves alone. Forty years ago there were 300,000 who had the privilege. Now, despite the concentration of manufacture, there are more than a million, and their known product is 7,920,000 gallons of pure alcohol, or, consider it as distilled, 19,800,000 gallons of strong liquor. And yet they pretend they manufacture that enormous amount of liquor for the consumption of their families and friends. That is a monstrous statement. 'Family' consumption is a flimsy pretext. The object is business, money, fraud.

THE RESTRAINING EFFECT OF TAXATION

"We have in our fight against this condition one strong point in our favor, a point which is usually against a temperance

movement. By the control of distillation we shall put money into the Treasury. Licenses and taxes add greatly to the revenues of both England and the United States. We lose a large share of this legitimate revenue in France. These free distillers alone cheat the State out of 2 million dollars a year. If it were all taxed it would add much more yet, and at the same time would remove the fatal cheapness.

"It is a question of method. A move has already been made in the right direction by the establishment of communal distilleries. If this were made general, and free home distillation punished severely, some sort of gauge could be kept on the consumption of alcohol; also, a proper revenue received from it.

"In the limiting of the number of drinking places we shall also have the financial problem on our side, the only reasonable method of reducing them being a high license. As it is, there are half a million drinking places in France, in Paris one to every third house. Most of them could not remain in existence under an adequate license. We are considering a minimum tax of $100, keeping it sufficiently low so the poor man will not be discriminated against, this tax to be graduated upward to, perhaps, $40,000. For, after all, we do not want to force the smaller, simpler establishments out of business so that the only drinking places that can exist will be owned by the distillers. We do not want any gin palaces in France. To encourage the drinking of wine and beer we can also make special low licenses for the houses which deal only in these comparatively harmless drinks.

"You can see by the fact that these problems have not yet been touched that the question of temperance in France is new. Most other countries have assisted in the temperance movement by high taxes and high licenses. The purpose has not always been to protect the nation against excess, but that has been its effect. Here in France, however, the drinking of wine and beer is as common as eating, and it has never been possible until now to impose a tax on drinking adequate to the consumption. The change from wine and beer drinking to the drinking of powerful alcohol in preparations has been gradual and difficult to determine. All are sold over the same counter, and, though wine is mostly drunk with meals, the wine merchants usually have restaurants attached and they serve aperitives before, and liqueurs after, dinner.

DRINKING AMONG MINORS

"Here is another point which shows how backward we have been in temperance legislation, backward because we have not long had the need. We have put no age limit on those who should be allowed to drink. We are contemplating a law forbidding the sale of liquor to youths under sixteen. The very fact that we have lacked in such laws shows we have not had a problem of drinking among youths. If they drank anything, it was wine or beer and that was with their meals.

"That is all changed. It has come about so gradually all of France does not yet realize it. But we must now have not only laws against minors drinking, we must close the places which are frequented by women for purposes of prostitution. There are 40,000 such places in France, some on the boulevards of Paris. Their character has also gradually changed. The cafés of France are its clubs. There people meet in friendly intercourse. People frequent the same cafés for their coffee, or aperitives, and to play their games of checkers and cards. But their openness offers the most convenient opportunity for prostitution and, by example, for the creating of prostitutes.

"A third condition we must correct is the sale of liquor on credit. It puts the workmen in debt to the café owner, and keeps him constantly poor. The simplest way to do that is to make debts for liquor no more legal than gambling debts. That will discourage the practice without necessarily limiting freedom.

"Here is a consideration that is not to be overlooked in considering the temperance movement in France. We cannot drive the French people. We can only hope to lead them. The spirit of France is one of liberty and tolerance. We refuse to submit our freedom of action in any respect to legislation. Prohibition

e impossible in France. We put o absinthe only because all France roughly convinced it had to be Every step forward will have to e in the same way. A day may me when France will be ready to all forms of alcoholic drinks. ill not permit of rapid legislation. our temperance group in the y we have no members so radical y wish to force the whole issue. e no one, for instance, so carried his zeal that he will not be con- th anything short of total pro- The idea of preventing the sale for instance, has never even come discussion. One might as well rance to prohibit eating, and the would be attended with about amount of success."

IE WAR HAS REDUCED DRINKING

war has already brought about a ion of drinking in the Army. The r of the war, demanding consistent sting weeks and months, has left rtunity for heavy drinking. The French army is also too intent on its task of getting the Germans off French soil to allow itself any relaxation. Along the French front, which I have been allowed to visit, you see only healthy physical activity, and the drinking places in the small towns are not much patronized by the soldiers stationed there. The favorite drink in the French army to-day is tea. There are many tea canteens along the front, where men can get hot cups of tea on entering and leaving the trenches: every one of these I have seen has been full, and single canteens sometimes serve 25,000 cups of tea a day.

The war also is responsible for the present success of the campaign against absinthe, and it has given the stimulus to the general temperance movement, as it has in Russia and England. It is really a campaign for efficiency through temperance. How fundamental and lasting the stimulus will be is hard to tell. In autocratic Russia a reform can be made by ukase. In the democracies of England and France a reform must have popular support to succeed, even in war times.

VHAT LLOYD-GEORGE ACCOMPLISHED AGAINST LIQUOR

)L OF THE SALE OF DRINK IN AREAS WHERE MUNITIONS OF WAR ARE IUFACTURED—HIS DEFEAT BY FINANCIAL INTERESTS IN HIS LARGER CAMPAIGN TO CURB THE EVILS OF INTEMPERANCE IN GREAT BRITAIN

BY

HARRY JONES

THE main campaign for temperance in England failed. It was a plan of Mr. Lloyd-George's to promote national efficiency. He put his programme before ent. A small part of it that body d and made into law. The larger it was defeated.

record of the British campaign the evils of alcohol in the United m is at once an inspiring and a oly story. Inspiring because of the splendid courage exhibited by Mr. Lloyd-George in the battle; melancholy because of the failure of the British Cabinet and the House of Commons to give him the support that was necessary to ensure a complete victory.

I saw Mr. Lloyd-George at the Treasury and asked him for a special message dealing with the problem of alcoholic drinking in relation to national efficiency, and especially with reference to the emergency of the present war. "I regret," he said,

"I cannot give you a special message. I have so sorry a tale to tell that I prefer for the time being to hold my peace."

Parliament gave him unlimited authority for regulating and restricting the liquor traffic in areas where armaments, warships, and munitions of war are manufactured and also in the great seaports whence the transports conveying troops and material of war are despatched to the British bases in France, Egypt, and the Mediterranean. But Lloyd-George wanted power to impose restrictions on the sale of drink, not merely in selected local areas, but nationally, so as to avoid the reproach of differential treatment and to bring home to the whole nation the necessity for sacrifice. This power Parliament so far has refused him. "Russia has abolished vodka," he said; "France has prohibited the sale of absinthe. Cannot we in this country renounce whisky?"

A WAR OF ARTILLERY SHELLS

Mr. Lloyd-George approached the liquor problem, not from the standpoint of a temperance zealot—though he has all his life been a temperance reformer—but as a statesman concerned, before all things, with the need for hastening the production of munitions of war. Germany, using her matchless powers of organization, had prepared for this war by accumulating immense war stores. Britain, on the other hand, possessed stores only on a very modest scale for land warfare. In the first five months of the war Germany had an overwhelming superiority over the French and British forces in heavy artillery, in field guns, and in the supplies of shells, high explosives, and small-arms ammunition. All through the winter months Great Britain was busily trying to remedy her deficiencies by speeding up the manufacture of big guns, field guns, rifles, and ammunition. Great as are the manufacturing resources of the country, the output was not equal to the need, and large orders were placed in the United States. It became increasingly clear, as the war progressed, that a vast and uninterrupted flow of shells and other ammunition was absolutely essential to success. This war's voracious appetite for shells and other munitions exceeded all anticipation, even that of the Germans. In one of his speeches Mr. Lloyd-George phrased it this way:

> This is an engineers' war and it will be won or lost owing to the efforts or shortcomings of engineers. We need men but we need arms more than men, and delay in producing them is full of peril for this country. We must appeal for the coöperation of employers, workmen, and the general public: the three must act and endure together, or we delay and, maybe, imperil victory. We ought to requisition the aid of every man who can handle metal.

EFFECTS OF DRINK ON SHELL-MAKING

It was in this speech that the Chancellor first warned his countrymen of the perils created by what he called the "lure of drink." Reports had for some weeks been reaching the Cabinet from employers of labor and the executive heads of the Navy and Army to the effect that in many shipyards, engineering works, and ammunition factories the output was suffering from the large amount of lost time caused by excessive drinking of alcoholic liquors. These reports were subsequently published in a White paper, and a damning indictment of alcohol they are. Here are some extracts from them:

> The captain-superintendent of the Clyde district considers that the one thing needed to get the full output of work is to prohibit the sale of all spirits.
>
> The captain-superintendent of the torpedo-boat destroyers building in various parts of the country earnestly presses for further restrictions on licensed houses in the vicinity of shipyards.
>
> "We believe that 80 per cent. of the present avoidable loss of time can be ascribed to no other cause than drink."—Employers' Federation.
>
> An officer on the northeast coast, overseeing the construction of war vessels, reports that whole gangs of men are unemployed some days owing to the absence of three or four hands. Short of martial law the only thing to stop this loss of time is to stop the sale of spirits.
>
> The manager of a works on the northeast coast, where large quantities of shell are manufactured, states that if the two public-houses just outside the works could be closed his output would be very largely increased.
>
> An Admiralty official stationed in Glasgow strongly advocates the total prohibition of the

spirits. "It is not that the men who are bad at heart or unpatriotic, but they ailed through weakness and opportunity."

Shipbuilding Employers' Federation total prohibition of spirits, wines, and as an emergency war measure. "Pro- n should apply not only to public-houses, private clubs and other licensed premises to operate equally for all classes of the nity."

Government investigator reported: "In of the yards is there any accommodation king meals. The better class workmen t that the drinking problem would be me by closing the public-houses outside ening canteens inside the yards."

in: "Some of the transport workers at ge ports are content to earn in three days which keeps them in drink for the rest week."

ny opinion measures are necessary to aw all licenses to sell intoxicating liquors hout the country.

ures submitted by the employers of nition factories showed that one of the workmen do less than a normal s work. With these facts staring him face, Lloyd-George—who has always ed great popularity among the work- asses—spoke out fearlessly on the evil and addressed to the men words roof and entreaty.

D-GEORGE'S RESTRICTIVE PROPOSALS

much for the evil. What about the ly? After studying the problem from angle of vision and consulting with rs, distillers, temperance reformers, iers, scientists, and employers, Lloyd- e arrived at the conclusion that the olution was to nationalize the drink . By this means private profit be eliminated; the publican would ger have any interest in pushing the f alcoholic liquors; the public-house be transformed from a drinking-shop true refreshment house; and political ould cease to be polluted by the ma- tions of the most unclean interest in ommonwealth. In his preliminary iations the Chancellor won over the rs, who were quite willing to be t out by the State, the arrangement that they were to receive 4 per cent. nment annuities in exchange for their proprietorial interests. The capital sum involved was estimated at $1,750,000,000. The value of alcoholic liquors consumed in the United Kingdom is $825,000,000 a year and taxation on these liquors contribute to the national revenue nearly $300,000,000.

Lloyd-George's bold plan of State purchase and control was never submitted to Parliament. He failed to carry his Ministerial colleagues with him, only a minority of the Cabinet supporting his daring proposals. It is only fair to say that some of the objections were substantial, for example: (1) State purchase would be imprudent because it would mean the acquisition of wasting assets, as breweries and the licensed trade are on the down-grade; (2) the proposals would create an acute domestic controversy at a time when the national energies ought all to be concentrated on the war; (3) the financial commitments would be too heavy for the State, having regard to the collossal waste of capital in the war. Some members of the Cabinet also share the view of the extreme teetotallers that the State ought not to defile itself by acquiring a proprietorial interest in a degrading traffic.

THE OPPOSITION OF FINANCIAL INTERESTS

The Chancellor was equally unable to persuade his colleagues that it would be good policy to stop the sale of whisky during the war and close the distilleries. Here, too, the stumbling-block was financial. Lloyd-George wished to have prohibition with compensation for interests adversely affected. Temperance men wanted prohibition without compensation, while many moderate men thought total prohibition too drastic a remedy for what was merely a local disease.

Baffled in his larger policies the Chancellor decided to seek sweeping powers from Parliament for drastic handling of the liquor evil in munition and transport areas, and, at the same time, the imposition of sweeping new duties on beer, spirits, and wines. Parliament gladly gave him the first; it refused him the second. Such an overwhelming case had been made out for drastic treatment of the drink evil in the munition areas that Parliament could not possibly resist the Government's ap-

peal. In a speech delivered in the House of Commons on April 29th, Lloyd-George showed that, though in the Government arsenals and dockyards the workmen put in a week's work far above the normal, the conditions in the private yards and engineering works were very different. In these private establishments a minority of the men worked splendidly. He cited the case of a shell factory where, out of 1,000 men, 358 work, on an average, more than 70 hours a week. "No words can convey what we really owe to men like these." But at the other end is a minority of almost equal dimensions which works less than 40 hours a week. Taking the statistics for engineering, munition, and shipbuilding works, he estimates that there is a loss of time amounting to 25 per cent., due entirely to drink. He said:

There are 900,000 men now engaged in the shipyards, building yards, steel and copper works, all engaged on Government work. There are 130,000 men in the shipbuilding yards which are not Royal yards, and 730,000 in other works. By stopping drink you would add the equivalent of scores of thousands of additional men. We are short of men. The Board of Trade is scraping everywhere, in its labor exchanges, feeling, searching, advertising everywhere, recruiting for labor. We get 4,000 in one month, 3,000 in another, and 700 another, for the work. But you can, by dealing with the drink evil, add what is the equivalent of at least 150,000 men to your yards, to your armament works, without spending a day in additional structure, without finding a single additional machine, or any new plant (which takes months to obtain), without adding to supervision, practically lessening it, and all by one act of sacrifice on the part of the nation in order to strengthen the race, and win through to the victory for our country.

Whatever you propose there will be some persons to say, "Try the other thing," and they are very often the persons who, if you had tried the other thing, would have said exactly the same thing. Whatever you propose involves a measure of surrender and of abnegation by those who are not to blame. Wars are now waged not by armies but by nations, and nations therefore must be under discipline like armies. I am not proposing anything to-day as a temperance reformer, as a method for the promotion of sobriety, as an advancement of any social reform. What I propose I propose as an act of discipline during the war and for the purpose of waging war efficiently. All discipline involves a surrender of liberty. There are 2,000,000 men in this country who voluntarily surrendered their liberty to serve their country; cherished liberties, liberties of the most elementary kind that no one would dream of interfering with, but they have done so because their country needs it. If it had not needed it such discipline, now voluntarily undergone, would be irksome and humiliating.

Why is it necessary to impose restraints? It is because you always get, in every rank of life, in every class and race, a body of men who cannot, through some inherent or acquired weakness, do without these restraints. The majority have got to endure the same restraints, because if these men fail the whole Army fails. But that is equally true of a nation in case of war. We invite the House of Commons to consider remedies which may affect everybody, and may affect communities against which there is no complaint. There are armament districts against which we have no complaint. We invite it for the sake of the nation.

THE OUTCRY AGAINST SURTAXES

This appeal, reinforced by these facts, was irresistible. "You shall have all the power you ask for to deal with the drink evil in areas where war work is done," said the House of Commons, "but we don't like your heavy, new surtaxes, which would mean a reeling blow at the liquor trade all over the country." Mr. Lloyd-George's object was avowedly by means of these taxes to hit liquor between the eyes by raising the price of alcoholic drinks in every part of the Kingdom. But Parliament would not let him. The Government's own allies, the Irish Party, sounded a loud note of remonstrance. Messrs. Guinness, a great firm of Dublin brewers, would have been hit with exceptional severity by the surtax on beer. Hence the vigorous hostility of the Irish Nationalists. English and Scotch brewers and distillers were also up in arms against the surtaxes; and in some quarters the Chancellor was reproached for an unfriendly act to France by proposing a surtax on French wines. Opposition from various directions converged in the House of Commons and there was no enthusiasm—there never is for taxation—to counteract it. Controversial measures are impossible under the conditions of political truce now prevailing in

England, and no proposals that excite opposition in the House of Commons have any chance of success. Consequently the surtaxes had to be abandoned. Only a miserable remnant of the national scheme, as distinguished from that relating to the munition areas, survived from the wreck. This was the Immature Spirits Bill, the object of which was to discourage the sale of whisky less than three years old, and so prevent the consumption of fiery raw spirit. Scotch distillers acquiesced, but an outcry arose from the Irish distillers, who said this bill would destroy their business. The Conservative leaders fought tenaciously for this wretched little Ulster interest. Mr. Lloyd-George commented with justifiable bitterness on the "pitiable spectacle" presented by the House of Commons which, in the agony of a great war, could get up all this feeling on the right to sell and drink raw whisky. In his speech he said:

It is very difficult in a state of war so to make your arrangements as not to inflict some hardship upon somebody. Now let us have the dimensions of this problem. There are two whisky firms that would be hit by this bill—just two. If it is true that it is desirable in the interest of the workers, and, what is still more important, of the work that they are now doing for the State, to stop the output of this raw, fiery whisky during the period of the war, I ask whether the interests of two firms ought to stand in the way altogether of that being done? . . .

I should have liked to have gone very much further with regard to spirits, because of the overwhelming evidence there is of the mischief done by whisky. I should have thought it would have been very much to the national interest to stop the drinking of spirits and to pay compensation. Then came the second proposal, that you should diminish the sale of spirits by the imposition of a stiff duty. I accepted the decision of the House of Commons on that subject. Now the third alternative is put to stop the sale of raw whisky. Are we to be driven from that position again? Are we really considering as paramount the interests of the country? Is there any doubt in the mind of any one that the sale of these cheap, raw, immature whiskies does interfere with the output of equipment of war? I do not suppose there is a doubt in the mind of any one. Really, if the interest of two or three, or even four, persons are to interfere with what is vital at the present moment, all I can say is the nation is not in a fit condition to carry through a great war. Other nations have made sacrifices. Russia gave up everything in the way of alcoholic liquor; France gave up absinthe. What happened in France when absinthe was given up? We had exactly the same process as we are having here. The manufacturers of absinthe fought it. The representatives of the absinthe districts protested in the Chamber of Deputies. What happened? The whole of the Chamber of Deputies, without exception, voted them down. An enquiry was made for us over there in connection with munitions of war, and wherever they went and investigated they found that the suppression of absinthe had had a most admirable effect in increasing the efficiency of the workmen. That was the official report given to the Munitions Committee the other day. It is a pitiful spectacle for the House of Commons; it is really pitiable that, every time we attempt to deal with the situation, there is always some difficulty with some interest or other.

This speech created a deep impression in the House, but it did not remove the opposition to the bill, and if the antagonism to its proposals continues, it will be impossible to carry it, the Government being unable during the war to do anything to which their political opponents strongly object. In that event all the anti-drink proposals will have been wrecked except the act for dealing with the drink evil in war-work areas.

Various vested interests have killed the larger plan of making the nation temperate and thereby increasing its efficiency. What Lloyd-George did obtain from Parliament was the complete power over the liquor traffic, wholesale and retail, in the munition and transport centres. The Board of Control he has established will be able in these areas to close public-houses, or manage them in the interest of the State, or transform them into decent refreshment houses. Not a gill of spirit or a glass of beer will be purchasable by clubs, railroad bars, hotels, public-houses, or private persons in these areas except from the State owner. The Board of Control is empowered also to establish canteens within the factories, or outside of them, for the provision of wholesome food and drink. There will be in these places object lessons in the principles of State ownership and disinterested management.

PROHIBITION IN RUSSIA

A NATION MADE TEMPERATE BY IMPERIAL DECREE—THE CZAR THE LEADING FIGURE IN THE CRUSADE AGAINST VODKA—THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TAVERN IN THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

BY

STEPHEN GRAHAM

THERE appears to be some misconception in the minds of some people with regard to the prohibition of vodka in Russia. It is thought to be a war measure only. Many people surmise that when once the danger of defeat in the field is averted the Russians will re-open the monopoly shops and all will be as before.

The devil was ill and the devil a saint would be,
The devil gets well and the devil a saint is he.

This is a mistake, no doubt natural to the minds of those incompletely informed of the circumstances of the prohibition. In reality, the Russian people greeted the prohibition with tremendous enthusiasm. The Russians are a young people on the threshold of their destiny. They have moral passion; things are worth while for them. Russia has to make herself. Russia's passion for sobriety was a real passion, not a fever born in the early days of the war; it was a national chorus of desire, and had only minor reference to the great war and to the increased efficiency which sobriety brings.

The whole of last year may be said to have been dedicated to the struggle for national sobriety. It was in February, 1914, that the question of temperance reform was raised in the *Gosudarstvennyi Sovyet*, the Russian House of Lords, and a very animated debate and political battle took place. Count Witte was in favor of a limitation of the sale of vodka; the Prime Minister, Kokovtseff, was opposed to it, and in being so found himself in opposition to the Czar also, and he had to resign, the present Prime Minister, M. Goremykin, being installed in his place. The Czar issued his now famous rescript to M. Bark, the Russian Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a bill of local option was introduced and passed.

In Russia there is much swifter political progress than in a democracy. The impulses of the Emperor are quickly realized. He gave the word and the whole of Russia took it up, Conservative, Liberal, Socialist. Whatever paper you picked up, and some of the Russian cheap newspapers run to a circulation of millions, you found staring you in the face columns of correspondence on the way local option was being taken up in the country. And the details of this struggle were most significant. Not only the sober people and those who suffered by the drunkenness of others, but the drunkards themselves, were enthusiastic to have the source of temptation removed. There were no anti-temperance riots, no songs such as the

> Permit to prevent you
> From having a glass of beer,

which was so popular when the Liberals tried to introduce local option in England about twenty years ago.

The activity of the Russian peasant women was one of the remarkable phenomena of the local-option struggle. Though people of no political training, they took upon themselves in several districts the organizing of temperance unanimity, and it was often almost through their efforts only that the movement was started that closed the vodka shops of a countryside. Thousands of vodka shops were closed in Russia before there was a hint of war.

It was abundantly clear that the Czar had due warrant for his ukase of complete prohibition. The war gave him the opportunity, and he came out and identified himself with the passion of the nation.

In the early days of the hostilities it was

a commonplace to thank God for the German declaration of war; it had closed as if by magic every spirit shop in Russia and Siberia. It had liberated town and countryside from the dreariness of drink.

Great days for the Tresveniki, a Russian sect that preaches nothing but temperance—it was founded by a simple Moscow man who gathered an enormous number of adherents, Orthodox as well as Russian Noncomformists. They drew up the great petition which after ten weeks of the war and of enforced sobriety was presented to the Czar, a petition for the prohibition of vodka forever.

It seemed preposterous to ask the Czar for complete prohibition in the face of Russia's tremendous war debts. The Czar had promised that no more vodka should be sold until the end of the war; and that promise had been greeted with great satisfaction. It had been taken as a maximum. The hope was that, even after the war, vodka would never be sold in the old easy way, at a moderate price in small bottles, to whoever asked for it.

But the impossible happened. The Czar not only received the petitioners, but answered them in the significant sentence:

"I had already decided on total prohibition before I read your petition."

So Russia was rejoiced by the Czar, by one of the most amazing personal acts in the modern history of civilization. The decision is really carried out. Vodka is not sold any more, except in the Caucasus and Central Asia, where the Government never had the liquor monopoly.

The situation in Russia to-day is briefly this: no spirits, beer restricted—only bottled beer sold, and that mainly in the half-German Baltic provinces, in Poland, and in the great cities—no wine except in the towns, and restricted there. The Government spirit shops have in some districts been sold, in others have been opened as schools. Great numbers of beer shops, wine shops, cabarets, and cabinet restaurants have been closed under police orders.

The *traktir* or Russian public-house remains—a place where even in the old vodka-drinking days more tea was drunk than anything else. There is no "bar". On the long, wooden counter are bottles and glasses and plates of sausage and ham. But you do not lounge there and gossip over your glass. The Russian public-house is all tables and chairs, like the accommodation for a smoking concert. You sit down; you are attended by a waiter. There is an army of waiters serving for about seven dollars a month and no tips. They are in white blouses, white trousers, and white aprons.

Throughout the whole tavern all day and almost all night is a clamor of talking and an animated scene. Almost all the small business of hawkers, stall-keepers, and little traders is accomplished over vodka or tea in the *traktir*, but, indeed, the successful peasant merchant—even the millionaire—will step without a ruffle of dignity into the most miserable tavern of the city, and not be too proud to answer the taunts or questions of ragamuffins. That is part of Russia's strength.

Then the home is not all-absorbing in Russia, and even the poorest people like the whole evening in the tavern, drinking tea, talking, talking. No one would reproach a Russian for lingering thus away from his wife and little ones. Not much money is spent, man for man. In three or four hours it often happens that a man spends no more than five kopecks (3 or 4 cents) and has purchased only a little teapot of tea and a big teapot of hot water, the tavern's substitute for the samovar.

THE TAVERN A SOCIAL CENTRE

So a tavern can be a popular theatre. There is great life in the Russian public-house. It would be possible to present as lively a portrait of religious life there. Many of the new Evangelical sects of Russia were born in the public-house, and in the days before the religious emancipation ukase of October, 1906, there were many informal meetings of Baptists and Tolstoyans and Stundists round the stained tables of the traktirs. Even now there remains a great deal of religious discussion in the public-houses. The most interesting philosophers and writers of the day repair to the tavern to discuss ideas.

And the public-house has not really been very much affected by the stopping of the sale of vodka. Tea is drunk the

more, that is all. Tea has all along been the more popular and social drink. The Russians love tea in a way we do not. That is possibly because we drink such bad tea. Even the poorest Russian drinks a tea that costs eighty-four cents a pound. He has it "weak" according to our idea of strength, and he abhors tea dust, sometimes taking the trouble to wash or sift the tea before putting it in the pot. What he makes is something truly delicious and cheering, and three or four cups of it is a common portion. To the Russian, the samovar means home. He has no domestic hearth, no fireplace with living flames and smoke, but the humming and steaming copper samovar is to him what the happy fireside is to us.

THE PEASANT BECOMES THRIFTY

Before 1914 there was comparatively little money in the pockets of the peasants. The money was all in the till of the vodka shop. There was such improvidence on the part of the peasants that they squandered their agricultural capital, less seed was sown, the land was falling out of cultivation. It is an astonishing fact that there is to-day more than twenty per cent. more land under forest than there was in 1860. And this has come about through improvidence. To-day there is a superfluity of money, and the tendency will be to sow more, to buy better cattle, better agricultural implements. The country is always poor and needs every penny that can be spared. So the prohibition of vodka means improvement in the harvests.

Vodka meant poverty in the home and the consequent starving of children. Better harvests mean stronger and more children on the countryside.

Vodka swallowed up the money that might have been spent on books, on education. It meant also the swallowing up of time. It meant more work for women than they should have to bear. The absence of vodka means first of all a blank in people's lives and a quantity of unspendable cash in their pockets, and then a questioning in the mind and a desire for something new.

Especially in the mining and spinning villages there is a noticeable blank and an ennui owing to absence of vodka. The latest reports show that the miners and spinners are doing more work simply because there is nothing else to do and not much other way of spending the time. Money is going into the State Savings Bank, which, by the way, pays 4 per cent. interest on deposits.

There are no shops in the villages, except little chandleries, *melotchni lavki*. There is nothing exposed for sale, no new frocks for the women, not even concertinas for the men. In order to obtain these it would be necessary to go several hundred, in some cases a few thousand, miles. The village, therefore, and especially the remote village, is calling for something on which to spend its extra money, and is wondering what it will find to do in its extra time.

After the war there must flow from the great cities of the West of Russia books, papers, dress materials, musical instruments, pictures, guns. And more schools must be established, more concert halls, lecture halls. There will be more schooling, reading, music, hunting. If the policy of the Russian Government with regard to drink remains unchanged for the next ten years, it is safe to predict a most extraordinary contrast between the condition of the country now and the condition of the country as it must be then.

The probability is that the policy will remain unchanged, though one cannot be certain. Only the future itself can answer the question.

A great deal depends on the Czar personally. He has this great reform at heart. For him it has not been so much a war measure as a national measure. In his casting about in his mind as to what was *the* thing for him to do for his people he lighted on the bold idea of prohibition. No representatives of the Government or the Army are likely to try to get the vodka shops reopened so long as the Czar wants them shut. Not even the German-Russian barons who represent the distilling interests are likely to bring pressure to bear on Ministers to get vodka sold again.

The elimination of spirits in Russia is likely to remain permanently associated with the person of the Czar.

AMERICAN TRADE IN WAR TIME

INSIGNIFICANT SHIPMENTS OF MUNITIONS OF WAR DURING THE FIRST YEAR THE EUROPEAN CONFLICT AND THE ENORMOUS QUANTITIES WE SHALL SOON BE SENDING ABROAD—AMERICA POTENTIALLY THE GREATEST AMMUNITION FACTORY IN THE WORLD—OUR TRADE IN COPPER, WHEAT, AND COTTON

BY

JAMES MIDDLETON

WHAT effect has the war in Europe had upon the commerce of the United States? What industries have been bene- y it; which have suffered loss? These ons have troubled many Americans; ne of them the most exaggerated and ding answers have been made by in- ed persons.

example, early this year several n-American societies organized in a ted movement to stop the shipment munition and war supplies from this y to the Allies. Such an embargo, it eved, was the supreme purpose of ission of Dr. Bernhard Dernburg. German agents filled the press with of German soldiers done to death erican ammunition, American shrap- merican cartridges; American ma- guns and field pieces were mowing the faithful sons of the Fatherland e thousands. Only the enormous ents of American munitions, we were were prolonging the war. Let these ents stop and the war would immedi- end.

ough the German spy system has al- won great laurels in the present t, its discovery of huge American ents of arms must be put down as its st achievement. The most expert icians, studying American official figures, cannot find them at all. have been affecting tales of dead n soldiers killed with bullets of can manufacture. In isolated cases as probably happened. American lges have enjoyed a high reputation, and millions have been sent to Europe in recent years. There are probably many more cases of Germans killed by German bullets, fired from German guns, as Russia, long before the war started, had bought mountains of ammunition in Germany. That, in a few months, if the war continues, Germans can truthfully make these statements about American ammunition is evident enough; there are no signs, however, that American munitions played any part in the war for the first eight or ten months.

A few cool statistics dispose of the whole illusion. For the first nine months of the fiscal year 1914–1915—that is, from July 1, 1914, to April 1, 1915—American manufacturers exported $21,980,371 worth of war munitions. These figures include $7,000,000 worth of firearms, $9,500,000 worth of cartridges, and $5,500,000 worth of articles known miscellaneously as explosives. This last item includes loaded shrapnel shells; the unloaded shrapnel are included under the general item "all other manufactures of iron and steel"—an item amounting, in the nine months, to $11,068,000. Let us suppose, what of course is not the fact, that this last classification consists of nothing but unloaded shrapnel. We should then have, for the nine months under consideration, exports of war munitions amounting to about $33,000,000. The corresponding statistics for the years 1913 and 1912 were $24,258,000 and $23,272,000. Thus, on the most liberal estimate, the European war, for the first nine months, did not draw more than $10,000,000 in munitions from this country.

What a slight matter this is, a few consid-

erations will show. Of our exports, about $9,000,000 was in cartridges. As American manufacturers get about $35 a thousand, this would imply exportations of 260,000,000 cartridges. Assume—what is certainly not true—that all these went to the English and French in the trenches and that there are about 3,000,000 so employed. This would give 87 cartridges per man. As an automatic rifle shoots twenty-five a minute, the French and English armies could dispose of the whole American nine months' supply in less than five minutes. Even at the more leisurely proceedings in the trenches, our quota of cartridges would not have lasted the Allies a day. Assuming that "all other manufactures of iron and steel" are shrapnel, and that each shell has an average value of $10, Americans have furnished about 1,000,000 engines of this kind. A modern field piece can throw forty shrapnel shells a minute. The six thousand English and French guns of this type could then handle 240,000 a minute or 14,000,000 an hour. Even modern armies do not shoot off ammunition at this rate, but these figures give an idea of their appetite for fire and powder. The French used 350,000 shells a day in the Battle of the Marne; the official figures for the recent fighting about Souchez said that their field pieces had used 250,000. Our 1,000,000 American shells, therefore, could not have cut much of a figure in nine months' operations on a grand scale. At the present moment England, according to expert opinion in this country, is making 400,000 shells a day and France 200,000—more than half as many as we have sent abroad in nine months. These figures show how ridiculous is the German assertion that American ammunition is prolonging the war. As I shall show, American ammunition will very soon become a determining element; but it has exercised little influence up to date.

OUR SHIFTING MARKETS

American trade as a whole, however, has played an important part. Nations fight battles with other things than shot and powder; and trade figures, even for the first nine months, strongly reflect the European disaster. Dull as trade statistics may be, these particular figures appeal strongly to the imaginative mind. They tell, as eloquently as the liveliest tales of sea battles or of Zeppelin raids, the whole story of the war. They reveal its strategy, its diplomacy, the military strength and weakness of all parties. They show the hardy blockade runner dodging submarines, the thrifty "neutral" shipping all kinds of precious cargoes across the border. Our trade figures, to those who can interpret them, contain the whole panorama of a gigantic conflict.

Take, for example, the general figures of American trade for the first nine months of the fiscal year 1914–15. They show that American trade has all but ceased with the following countries: Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Finland, Germany, Roumania, and Russia. In this same period last year we sent Austria goods valued at $18,000,000; this year we sent it goods valued at $1,200,000. In these nine months of 1914 we sent Germany exports to the extent of $290,000,000; this year the figures have dropped to $28,000,000. Belgium, instead of taking $48,000,000, took only $16,000,000. Only one thing explains these decreases: the old, familiar story of England's control of the seas. Belgium, with Antwerp in German hands, is, for war purposes, German territory, and is thus excluded by the Allies from the world's markets. The fact that trade with this nation steadily decreases month by month shows the success with which England is drawing this industrial ring around its enemies. In March, 1914, we sent $5,800,000 worth of cotton to Austria-Hungary; in March, 1915, we sent $30,000. We sent $10,000,000 to Belgium in March, 1914; this March we sent $167,000. In March, 1914, we sent cotton valued at $162,000,000 to Germany; in March of this year we sent goods valued at only $267,000.

The copper story, which has figured largely in diplomacy, pictures the situation even more clearly. Germany has been our largest customer for this indispensable material of war. In March, 1914, it purchased from us copper valued at $4,500,000; in March, 1915, according to the export figures, it didn't get a single ounce. Neither did Austria or Belgium obtain enough to make a single cartridge.

Of course, the average reader has an answer ready to his lips. The Dual Alliance, we have been told, does not get copper directly, but obtains it quietly through neutrals. Holland and Italy—in March Italy was still a neutral—have been regarded as the chief sources of supply. But let us look at the figures more closely. In March, 1914, Holland took copper to the extent of $2,477,000; in March, 1915, it took only $60,949. That is, the British blockade, so far as our official records show, has clearly succeeded in keeping our copper out of Holland. Italy this March took copper valued at $1,642,000 against $576,000 a year ago. Here, clearly, is a large increase. Inasmuch as Italy has been manufacturing ammunition at a tremendous rate, in expectation of entering the war, it is hardly likely that much of this increased supply went across the border. Italy's own necessities would clearly explain its larger imports. There remain the Scandinavian countries, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Are these peoples receiving American copper for re-export to Germany and Austria? The governmental reports do not list Norway, Denmark, and Sweden separately; they must be included in the general head of "other countries in Europe." These other countries, in March, 1914, imported from the United States copper to the extent of $257,588. For March, 1915, the figures are $1,383,202. Here, evidently, is a material increase; however, when we examine the figures more closely, the increase is not important. For, in March, 1914, Germany and Austria imported from the United States copper valued at more than $5,000,000. This was in times of peace, though probably in a period of active preparation for war; nevertheless, Germany's need of copper is much greater now than then. If all American copper sent to "other countries in Europe" were transshipped to Germany, it would represent only about one fourth of Germany's normal supply. If Germany depends upon the United States for copper, therefore, its situation must be embarrassing. How much it can produce itself; how much it can get at first hand from other neutrals, we do not know, though upon the answer to this question the duration of the war may largely depend.

Any one seeking an explanation for the Dardanelles expedition can find it in American trade statistics. The enormous exports of American wheat to countries that normally receive very little indicates the shutting off of the Russian supply. Our exports to Russia, for the first nine months of the fiscal year, have dropped off one half. Our exports direct to Finland and Roumania have practically ceased. That Russia still gets half as much as last year, but that Finland and Roumania get virtually nothing at all, can have but one explanation: Russia can get things by the Pacific and Siberian route, whereas Roumania is dependent on the Dardanelles, and Finland on the Baltic—both of which are closed tight to commerce. On the other hand, export trade to Greece, which has hitherto been negligible, has enormously increased. In 1914, for the period under consideration, we sent Greece exports valued at $747,337; this year the figures jumped to $19,978,705. Evidently Russia, Roumania, and other Balkan states are now getting considerable quantities by way of Greece. Our general export trade has also increased enormously with the Scandinavian countries. Denmark took $12,000,000 in 1914, and $63,000,000 in 1915; Norway, $6,900,000 in 1914 and $32,500,000 in 1915; Sweden, $11,026,000 in 1914 and $66,000,000 in 1915. Notwithstanding that trade has fallen off so greatly to the countries of the Dual Alliance, our export trade thus shows a great advance. For March, 1914, American exports amounted to $187,000,000; for March 1915, they had jumped to $296,000,000.

SOME CRIPPLED AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

These figures are the result of violent readjustments. Certain manufacturers have suffered severely. There has been a great dropping off in agricultural implements, sewing machines, steel rails, and most other steel products except wire, in typewriting machines, clocks, copper, cotton, furs, and other things in which America has for years done a thriving trade. War conditions explain the increases that have accumulated in this

grand total. Wheat and foodstuffs, as much war materials as copper and cartridges, largely explain the situation. For the nine months of 1914, we exported wheat to the value of $71,149,400; this year we sent $261,308,890. A more detailed examination reveals again the advantage of controlling the sea. France and England are taking enormous quantities; Germany is getting very little directly. However, the figures indicate that the Germanic allies are taking American wheat through neutral countries. In 1914 the Netherlands imported wheat to the value of $16,489,000 from this country; this year they took $22,000,000. Italy—a neutral for the period under consideration—got $1,400,000 in 1914; in 1915 the figures are $41,300,000. It is unlikely that the Netherlands and Italy used these enormous amounts themselves. Large quantities must have gone over the border into Germany. As Italy's entrance into the war will stop this business our exportations to Holland will probably increase.

The cotton figures explain the hostility of our Southern states to England's blockade policy. The war has hit this industry hard. Exports, for nine months of 1914-15, compared with the same period for 1913-14 dropped from $542,000,000 to $297,000,000. Clearly, this is a serious matter; however, the situation is improving. Thus, in March, 1915, we sent cotton worth $53,000,000 abroad, against $43,000,000 in 1914. If this increase goes on, the cotton trade will soon be solidly established once more. Germany and Austria are getting directly no cotton at all. Italy, however, has suddenly felt the need of more of this staple: it took $28,000,000 in 1914 and $40,000,000 this year.

OUR ABILITY TO MANUFACTURE SHELLS

I said, in the beginning of this article, that the United States had sent little ammunition to Europe. That, however, referred merely to the past. In a few weeks, American shells and other munitions will start in great quantities. The German statesmen and publicists made the mistake of antedating their grievances. *Probably by October and November American munitions* will play a tremendous part in deciding the issue. The war has revealed this country as the world's greatest potential headquarters of materials of warfare. We can manufacture not only more ammunition than any European country, but more than all European countries combined. England, at the present moment, is turning out 400,000 explosive shells a day and France 200,000. Experts say that the United States can turn out 1,000,000 a day without utilizing more than a small part of its resources. Our largest concerns, such as the United States Steel Corporation, have not entered the business on any appreciable scale. If this corporation should turn its factories into ammunition centres, there would be practically no limit to its products. It has the materials in enormous quantity, it has shops and mills almost without end, and it has the necessary number of workmen.

Our capacity has the utmost significance in the present situation. According to the experts, not the soldiers in the trenches, but the workmen in the factories, are now fighting the war. It is not now a question of turning flanks and enveloping armies; the time for military heroics has passed by. The Allies have a stupendous task—cleaning the Germans out of Belgium and France. The war will probably not be decided until this is done. Military men scout the suggestion that it is an impossible task. Modern engineering can blast its way through mountains of rock; similarly it can blast its way through the human impediments in Belgium and France. And, in all its hideousness, that is the aspect this twentieth century military situation presents. No force, even that of human beings, can withstand the shock of lyddite and melinite. It is only a question of hurling enough at the obstruction. Shrapnel shells, exploding in a fan-like mass of bullets over the trenches, produce little more permanent effect than the sprinkling of toilet powder; they kill men, indeed, but the great defenses, the trenches, are still there, and there are apparently new victims enough to fill the vacant places. But huge charges of high explosives, falling in or near the trenches, simply tear them to bits; concrete, earth,

ragments of human beings mingle
ıer in one horrible destruction. If
.llies can do on an enormous scale
the English did at Neuve Chapelle
ıe French at Souchez, they can liter-
ılow the Germans across the Rhine.
: Germans can utilize the same me-
against the Allies, they can win the
The issue depends upon which side
ıe lyddite to the greatest effect. This,
n, hangs upon which side can get the
t quantities. The countries that
o their armies at the front the largest
ities of explosive shells will probably
ıis war.

ıt is wherein American supplies as-
ı tremendous importance. Germany
ustria depend only upon themselves.
have heaped up large quantities in
pation of this war, they have been
ng it off at a prodigal rate in the last
ı months. When they have ex-
ɔd these supplies what are their fa-
ɔ to increase them? They have
manufacturing facilities; how ex-
e is their access to raw materials,
'er, is another matter. By occupy-
elgium, northern France, and Lux-
rg, they have acquired territories
in metal mines, which will cer-
strengthen their resources. But
ısition of the Allies is stronger. Eng-
ınd France can lay the whole world
tribute. Both countries had small
es of munitions when the war began.
were not able to get much ready-
from other parts of the world. But,
g as they can hold their present posi-
they can beat time until they have
ized a great and steady supply. They
lraw raw materials from a dozen
:s in other countries; they can set
ies going all over the world, especially
e United States. With England,
e, Russia, and Italy enlisting the
's mining and manufacturing re-
:s, and Germany and Austria depend-
pon themselves, the great military
ority of the Allies becomes apparent.
' man in the field, it is now figured,
at least one man in the workshop.
any and Austria have to keep millions
:ir finest men in the factories—men
who would otherwise go to the front. But the Allies can enlist huge armies of workmen in the United States—men who are really fighting their battles as immediately as though they were stationed in the trenches.

EVERY LATHE A SHELL-MAKER

The daily newspapers, describing great war orders received by American manufacturers, and the extensions which these same concerns are making to their plants, give some idea of this new American industry. All this has been a revelation. We had believed that the production of ammunition was a specialized industry; that only factories constructed for that purpose could do it. But practically any factory that has a lathe can turn out shells. As America has more such factories than any other country, we can turn out more ammunition. All kinds of shops are now manufacturing shrapnel shells. A list of subcontracts let by the Canadian Car & Foundry Company in the United States illustrates this point. Manufacturers of hardware, automobiles, recording and computing machines, drop forgings, locomotives, farm implements, bicycles, screws, steel cars, and a dozen other products are now turning their energies to producing shells. In Canada furniture factories are making ammunition; there is even a case of a manufacturer of undertakers' supplies who—most appropriately, it would seem—is turning out lead bullets for shrapnel. Up to the present time our factories have spent most of their time on shrapnel. The large orders for this munition placed in Canada and the United States evidently represented a great mistake made by the British Government. Probably not much will find its way into France; it will go to Russia, where shrapnel, in the open field fighting that is taking place, is highly useful. But the concerns that have been making shrapnel can make explosive shells also; indeed, these are less complicated and easier to make than shrapnel. And when our factories begin shipping, say, 1,000,000 of these shells a day, the situation on the battlefields in Europe may gradually change.

THE COST OF CONGESTION

THE CRYING NEED OF TERMINALS TO MEET OUR COMING BUSINESS OVERSEAS

BY

AGNES LAUT

THE Panama Canal points to a new era for our coast cities. Congestion blocks the way. Why does it cost so much to live in a city like New York?

When you have threshed round in your mind about high ground values and high rentals to pay for high ground values and skyscrapers to produce profits on the perpendicular instead of on the horizontal, you come back to an explanation so simple that you nearly stumble over it: There is too much business in too small an area. There is more traffic than space. In a word—congestion; and you pay for the congestion in such items as high rents, high priced food, high priced fuel.

Look a little deeper. Suppose you buy your flour from a mill located in Buffalo, about four hundred and fifty miles from New York. Suppose you buy lumber for finishing the inside of your house from Seattle, and coal from mines two hundred and fifty miles distant in Pennsylvania, and mattresses from factories located either in Lower Manhattan or up in Rochester, and apples and potatoes from some farm two hundred miles up-state.

Figure out what congestion means to the cost of living in each of these articles:

If your barrel of flour comes in a broken car lot, it is taken off the car—one handling. It is trucked to a warehouse—a second handling. If it comes in by the east or west side, where traffic is jammed in long lines of wagons at the waterfront for five and six hours at a time, your truckman's wages are at least $2 a day, and his waste of time will be assessed against your barrel in proportion. The flour is taken from the truck and placed in a warehouse—a third handling. From the warehouse it may go to the wholesaler or the retailer—a fourth handling. And to place the flour in your possession requires a fifth handling.

The handling of freight in large lots in New York averages from 45 to 50 cents a ton, and in small lots 3 to 5 cents a hundred pounds. This is the evidence given before the New York Terminal commission; on the mere detail of one barrel of flour for your kitchen commissariat congestion has cost you half as much in mere handling as the freight rate for 450 miles.

If there had been no congestion, the car with your flour would have been switched to a belt line railroad and on that it would be shunted direct to the warehouse, from which you would get it in one handling instead of five. In fact, it has been worked out in countless averages by such great authorities on transportation as Mr. Herbert Quick and Prof. Edward Jones Clapp that the handling expenses at terminals equal the railroad freight charges for 250 miles. That is what congestion means to you in flour.

In the case of your lumber, the expense of congestion is still more aggravated. Formerly, when lumber from the Pacific came across the continent by rail, the freight ran from $350 to $450 a car. To-day, the water rate through Panama is just one-fourth. The American-Hawaiian Steamship Company have brought unbroken cargoes of lumber from Seattle up the Hudson River at one fourth the rail rate. But your lumber has to be unloaded on docks either in Hoboken or Brooklyn—one handling. It is then lightered across to New York—two more handlings, loaded on the tug and unloaded again. Then it is hauled miles up the avenues of New York to you—with that same assessment against you for street delays—two more handlings, five handlings in all before you get it. The lumber sold on the Pacific Coast at $15 to $22 a thousand feet costs you $45 to $65. Take the results figured on averages by experts—the terminal charges on water

ents equal the carrying charges for miles. That is, you could ship that r to the west coast of Ireland for it costs you to bring it up from ship- o your house. That is what con- n means to you. Mr. Bernard N. of Baltimore testified that when he unning trans-Atlantic lines terminal o the ship always exceeded the cost of operations.

ewise it costs you more to bring the rom the car to your house than from 'ennsylvania mines to New York. rucking and storage on potatoes and will cost you more than the freight or 250 miles.

he case of manufactured goods, hand- iarges are still more appalling. Take esses. A low grade of cotton comes the South. From the time it reaches attan the expense of congestion be- It is taken off the ship—one hand- and lightered—two handlings—to a y. It is unloaded and placed in the y—two more handlings. On being factured, the mattresses are carted two more handlings before they reach tail buyer. Ideal conditions would that cotton straight from shipside to y—two handlings, instead of seven. ote a witness before the New York inal Commission, "The main factors ving away New York's grain trade not been differentials" in freight to New York, Philadelphia, etc. "but York's high handling charges and lack minals."

ry once in a while we are apt to vent h and mighty wrath on sweatshop tors and owners of poorly lighted, in- ry lofts; but when you spell out the ource of the evil it lies simply in that people are attempting the impossible y are trying to run factories in a costly, led retail centre where there is no for them—congestion again.

HE DEATH TOLL OF CONGESTON

o, every once in a while, we accuse York of being the unsafest in its street of any place in the world. In h, there were as many people killed in reets of New York as there were days month. Averaging year in and year out from 1898, as many people were killed by street accidents in New York as there were days in each year. Congestion again.

American harbors are just at the beginning of the greatest expansion known to the United States. Congestion now points to worse congestion later when New York's population is eight millions instead of four millions, and when Boston and Philadelphia and Baltimore have the present population of New York. If these harbors grow in the next twenty-five years as they have in the last twenty-five years, exactly such masses of population and industry and commerce will be packed, jammed, crowded into the main thoroughfares of these cities.

WILL EUROPE RECOVER ITS LOST TRADE?

Pessimists predict that when the war is over the great increase in the foreign trade of the United States will not continue; but not so does history teach. A lap lost in the race of national progress is lost forever. When Spain fell back after the Armada and the Netherlands forged ahead, the Netherlands stayed ahead; and when Cromwell crippled the Dutch a hundred years later and England forged ahead, England stayed ahead. If the United States does not keep the vantage ground gained during this war, it will be a new phenomenon in history.

The nations of the world must buy from us. The nations of the world must pour their gold into American banks as formerly American finance has yearly poured its gold in interest charges and ocean freight into European channels.

As President Farrell of the United States Steel Corporation says: "It is only since the war began that a truly national sentiment or a comprehensive foreign trade policy has been developed. The war teaches us national unity."

Already the nations that must send their gold to the United States—Sweden, Russia, France, Argentina, and others—have borrowed in amounts running from 25 million dollars to more than a hundred million dollars, and these sums are increasing all the time. Trade is said to follow the flag. Say, rather, it follows the borrower to the creditor nation.

In addition comes this other element, a

revival of water-borne commerce. When you can ship a ton of merchandise by the Barge Canal to New York from Buffalo for 25 cents, where the charge by rail is $1.96; when you can cut Pacific Coast rates to the Atlantic by way of Panama as 4 to 1, and Pacific Coast rates by way of Panama to Europe as 7 to 1—one does not need to predict a revival of water-carried commerce. It is here now, but before the United States can capture foreign trade it must have ships; and ships without terminals are like an electric current without a receiver.

Foreign trade is the prize. Ships are the sea lanes to that prize. But terminals are the door out to those sea lanes—the door to the prize.

The revival of water commerce in the United States implies an almost revolutionary shift of commercial centres.

THE MARCH OF THE CITIES COASTWARD

Local centres may oppose this change but they can no more prevent it than they could have prevented the building up of great centres by rail concentration in the last fifty years. What made Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis? Railroad concentration. The West is strewn with wrecks of "boom" cities that "might have been," left high and dry and desolate by the railroads passing on the other side. So of this new shift. If water rates are cheaper than land rates by 7 to 1 there is going to be a tremendous movement to waterfront. The movement has begun already. If you add up all that has been spent on improving terminals in preparation for Panama clear around the coast from Boston to Seattle, it totals more than 100 millions, most of it on the Pacific and in the South. These cities see what is coming and are preparing. At least half the wheat of the Northwest, especially in winter when lake traffic is closed, will go to Europe by the Gulf and Pacific ports instead of via the Atlantic ports. All bulk freight—lumber, coal, steel, ore, cement, and clay—will take to water transportation where that is possible.

Here lies the danger to Atlantic ports. Against this competition, with the handicap of the worst system of terminals that could have been devised, how are the Atlantic ports to retain their supremacy? In the West and on the Gulf, port development has been so recent and so consciously developed to attract commerce that San Francisco, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Galveston offer almost perfect terminal conditions. Shipside and railroad are alongside with no useless handling. In the East, ports have not been made—like Topsy, they have "just happened." In three harbors, the dead hand of old property deeds dating back to colonial days ties up waterfront in private control. In two great ports, the railroads own 90 per cent. of the waterfront; and this is no bill of complaint against the railroads. If they had not stepped in and bought a patch here and a patch there (the whole Atlantic waterfront is a piece of patchwork) Atlantic harbors might all have been like one famous public pier, which cost millions and has rotted for lack of ships. The railroads had at least to keep their waterfronts in shape to attract the big liners from which they drew their inbound freight. New York owns its waterfront but leases it out on long terms with a view rather to raising revenue than to developing commerce.

POLITICS VS. PORT DEVELOPMENT

Two malign influences have wrecked Atlantic port development: politics and patchwork.

No sooner have Boston and New York laid out a comprehensive plan of port development than the party in office changes. Out goes the planning head and guiding hand; and new schemes are begun all over again. Says Dock Commissioner Smith of New York: "There is danger to the commercial life of New York unless business interests awake. The usefulness of dock officials is nullified through the ceaseless bickering and delay." "One of the biggest obstacles to the expansion of the port of New York is lack of unity," said Professor P. B. Kennedy in a lecture on foreign trade. "In London you have a harbor trust. In Liverpool the same. The ports of Hamburg, Rotterdam, Antwerp are identified with the National Government."

Nor are the railroads able to remedy the patchwork policy that brings goods to one

nal for shipment from another ter-
ten miles away. Mr. Theodore
:s testified in Chicago that you could
ɔördinate the terminals in the United
; even if you paid more than the capi-
tion of all its railroads.

NEW YORK NOT BIG ENOUGH

ɪsider what would be necessary to
ly conditions in New York:
ɜre should be piers at least 1,500 feet
on both the east and the west side.
objection—there is no room in the
for such piers.
ɜre should be enormous ten- and
ɪ-acre fire-proof docks, so that one
not see the amazing spectacle of
ıable provisions standing in the open
ɜzling rain or broiling sun. Objection
econd—there is not room for such
, nor could the railroads afford to
he room.
rehouses for storage should be behind
locks, literally at shipside, so that
and miles of trucks would not jam the
s, waiting for hours their turn at the
. Objection the third—the wealth of
; could not afford space for such stor-
ı New York.
ıind the warehouses should be a belt-
ailroad to switch freight to two des-
ons—that for local use, to local fac-
ınd store room; that for inbound and
und points, to shipside and railside.
is—we will suppose a trainload of
from Niagara comes in on the New
Central. Several cars are for New
City; the rest is bound for England
ɜermany. The belt road in common
ehind the warehouses would switch
ɔcal cars to local cold storage; the
n shipments, to shipside of English
ɜerman vessels. Objection the fourth
; plan would bring New York's ter-
s on the west side back so far east
n the east side so far west that nearly
hirds of the entire width of Manhattan
l would thus be taken up.
en to these plans you add the crown-
ɔmplement of any terminals such as
ee at Hamburg, at Liverpool, at the
Terminals, Brooklyn—lofts for fac-
ınd sales purposes backed by rows of
tenements for the workers—it is
quite plain that adequate plans for termin-
als in a New York of 8,000,000 people would
absorb nearly all the business section of
the city, leaving only a narrow strip one
block wide down the centre for banking,
retail, and residence.

And the story of New York is practically
the story on a smaller scale of every im-
portant seaport on the Atlantic. Develop-
ments have entrenched so higgledy-pig-
gledy that it would take almost an earth-
quake to right the mistakes of cities that
have neglected their waterfront.

Liverpool, London, Hamburg, all have
had to dredge channels from the sea from
27 to 87 miles. Practically all the big At-
lantic ports are on tide water. They have
not had to build a sea wall like Galveston,
nor a crescent like Los Angeles. They
have not had to dredge and dyke like New
Orleans. They began with every natural
advantage. Yet they are entering on the
new era hopelessly handicapped by patch-
work politics and a century's neglect.

As export trade grows, countless factories
must seek waterfront. With these handi-
caps, how can Atlantic ports woo them
down to the sea? Many now located in-
land ship raw material a thousand miles
from seafront and ship back the finished
product a thousand miles from the interior
to seafront—a useless haul of 2,000 miles.
If you want examples of this, you will find
them in the trade in coffee, leather goods,
tobacco, cotton, motor goods. Goods bear-
ing the expense of an unnecessary haul go
into export trade handicapped. Detroit
has doubled population in ten years because
she wooed and secured manufactures. The
same story could be told of dozens of inland
points. How are Atlantic ports to attain
the same end?

THE PLAN OF MR. IRVING T. BUSH

Mr. Irving T. Bush had a vision of
the likeliest way when he built his ter-
minals in Brooklyn. He was born with
money and had experienced no difficulties
in life, or probably he never could have en-
tertained his dream. When he confided
it to business men, they hooted and told
him to go and play with his yacht. He was
also very young when he had the vision, or
he would hardly have dared to carry it out.

for the only encouragement he got was that a fool and his money would soon part. When he was between twenty-one and twenty-six years old—that is about the time Hamburg was planning the most perfect port in the world, and just when Manchester and Liverpool were proving that terminals create traffic just as surely as traffic creates terminals—young Mr. Bush saw coming, or thought he saw, exactly what is now happening—such enormous commercial expansion that sooner or later there would have to be drawn a sharp line in city development. There would have to be the express section and the freight section. In one section would be retail business, banking, residence. On waterfront, so that shipside could touch railside, must be the wholesale, manufacturing, industrial, and shipping section. Behind this industrial section must be a model city of model houses for workers. At one sweep his vision brushed away the essential evils of congestion—trucking delay, sweatshop housing, excessive handling charges, excessive cost of living in big centres, dangers in traffic. At one sweep he was going to abolish the evils that had beset civic growth from the beginnings of commerce. You will admit it was a pretty big dream for a youth not yet twenty-five.

"THE MOST PERFECT TERMINALS EXISTING"

Part of Mr. Bush's inheritance had been some sand lots on South Brooklyn waterfront, then used as a dumping ground for tomato cans. He planned to build on those lots the model terminals of the world; and it may be set down here that the Bureau of Corporations in Washington has pronounced them the most perfect terminals existing. But they did not grow without sweat and blood and gray hairs and knocks.

First he built his piers, slips, docks, and warehouses—some of the docks as large as fifteen acres. Where the city was paying 46 cents a cubic yard for dredging Mr. Bush was paying 22 cents; so that if he was willing to capitalize his own idea with his own money he was not throwing money into the sea. But now that he had his dock ready that first "impossible" emerged *and threatened* to suck down his plans. *Mr. Bush found himself* with a magnificent pier which no one would use. He was in the same position as Boston; only Boston let her magnificent pier rot for lack of ships and the public paid. Mr. Bush could not afford to let his piers rot: he had staked his all on them. But not a railroad nor a steamship would come to his terminals.

BUYING HAY TO FORCE SHIPMENTS

When he interviewed managers they smiled and refused. He met that refusal by hiring a young man at $15 a week to go to Michigan to buy hay, hay in odd lots and job lots and car lots and train lots. Hay was cheap in Michigan and dear in New York. Mr. Bush stood to make money on that hay, but it was not for the sake of the hay. Wires kept pouring in to New York railroads asking if they could route hay to the Bush terminals. The railroads kept wiring back, "Never heard of them"; and the wires from the West made answer that shipment could not be obtained unless routed "Bush Terminals". Finally, one railroad wired "go ahead"; and the other roads followed suit. Fifty railroads to-day connect with the Bush Terminals. Freight comes to them from every corner of the continent.

In the same way, the objection of the steamships was overcome. A ship was chartered by Mr. Bush for banana trade. When the railroads came, the ships had to come. To-day, there are at the Bush Terminals 130 warehouses, 25 miles of switching tracks, 2,000 cars, 229 manufacturers and industrial concerns, and two dozen steamship lines; and at times may be seen as many as thirty-two steamers in port. The docks support 2,000 laborers. The industrial concerns that rent space in the lofts employ 10,000 people; and the vision of the young man who was once ignored by the railroads and steamship lines supports a model city of 50,000 people with its own nurses, its own library, its own restaurant for employees at cost price, its own doctors, its own model tenements. More than a million dollars have been spent on fire protection, and in fifteen years the total fire damage has been less than $49. But the most important characteristic is undoubtedly the industrial lofts. Thirty of these have been planned and nearly half are

y built and every building has been before it was completed. These are icent structures of concrete and steel, indowed walls from wainscoting to . Ventilation, light, fire protection rfect. Sweat shopping and congese impossible here.

OW THE BUSH SYSTEM WORKS

now for the system. A ship comes h, say, cotton and cocoanuts and any. A train at shipside takes the The mahogany is loaded on a car hunted to the railroad system which rry it to some furniture factory in- This is a type of what is known as igh freight." The cotton and co- s are loaded on separate cars and d to factories in the loft buildings, the elevators are built to receive car- ts. Instead of six handlings are two. is no delay. There is no trucking. is no multiple movement. Day or when the freight comes in, it goes at o its destination.

us follow the cocoanut. In the fac- f the industrial building it is cut, d, opened, pared, shredded, dried, l, boxed, and by the same switch i shipped to its ultimate destination. the cotton. It, too, is unloaded on vator of the loft building and de- l on the floor of its factory. There icked, cleaned, and packed into mat- which are reshipped by the same i.

y can the Bush system be carried out Atlantic ports? Simply by follow- e idea of segregating freight and ex- shipments, wholesale and retail es- ments, factory and saleshop. At- ports must work out some such sys- r see their supremacy threatened by ival of water-borne traffic, which can ly go to foreign markets by the Missis- r Gulf ports as by the Atlantic ports. the war lasts, the United States may scendancy in foreign trade without After the war, to retain foreign ts the United States must devise as cheap and expeditious terminals as those of Germany and England. It may have to do even more. Germany and England to gain foreign markets have financed terminals in those foreign markets. The United States may have to finance securities to build foreign terminals.

New York is to-day attempting to follow the Bush system on adjacent waterfront lots. Boston, too, had plans for $25,000,000 of improvements and condemnation proceedings that would permit the removal of the dead hand; but a shift of the party in power brought these plans to naught. In Baltimore and Philadelphia much of the waterfront is owned by the railroads, though Baltimore has plans for an industrial centre on vacant lands to be improved. Similar conditions rule Norfolk, Va. The objection to railroad ownership is stated by the Bureau of Corporations: "Railroads refuse piers for freight not going over their line and so discourage independent ships and tramps and deter the growth of the ports."

THE SOUTH AND THE WEST AWAKE

It is when you come to the South and Pacific Coast that you find publicly owned belt line railroads and waterfront administered for the growth of the ports, not for revenue. Though New Orleans is a hundred miles from tide water, it has one of the finest belt line systems in America, and fireproof steel sheds and warehouses. From this belt line are forty industrial sidings. Wharves are open to all comers. Galveston is administered in the interests of port expansion and ranks next to New York in volume of commerce. The cities of San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, all have spent money without stint preparing for Panama's waterborne commerce. All have piers open to all comers. All have or are building new belt lines. Three were planning great industrial centres when the war broke out and called a halt. But the very activity of these ports threatens the supremacy of the ports on the Atlantic Coast unless the waterfront wakes up.

A STATEMENT FROM HIS EXCELLENCY, YUAN SHIH-KAI

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

FOR thousands of years China was subjected to the absolute form of government. The conversion into a republic was sudden, hence everything connected with the new form of government is naturally rough-hewn. To attain republican ideals from this crude beginning will not be a matter of days, especially as China is a large country with a teeming population, rendering the task more difficult.

Although during the Revolution of 1911 there were bloodshed and turmoil, yet fortunately peace and order have been restored in the last three years and the people have settled down to resume their occupations. The present is, therefore, the right moment for China to devote her efforts to the internal development. It is my belief that in carrying out plans and policies of reorganization China should aim at steady progress rather than seek immediate, transient results, for steady progress enables us not only to avoid instability inherent in radicalism, but also to insure permanent improvement from day to day. Mushrooms grow quick but soon wither and perish; pines grow slowly but they can always stand the test of time.

With this guiding principle in my mind I propose to carry out my policies.

First, I will endeavor to strengthen the foundations of the Republic and establish an effective government, so that the Central and Provincial governments will act in unison and thus be able to develop China into a well organized State.

Secondly, I propose to encourage public education, so that the people may learn to know their responsibilities as citizens, respect the laws, value their liberty, and exercise their rights.

Thirdly, I propose to develop our internal trade and industries, so that every person may have a proper means of livelihood. An old adage tells us that a man must have plenty of food and clothing before he can cherish the sense of honor and shame. To improve the economic life of the people is an important phase of my policy. Furthermore, China is rich in natural resources, the development of which will enrich the nation and its citizens.

Although our financial prospects grow brighter day by day and although the revenue is sufficient to cover our administrative expenses and pay our debts, yet there is not enough margin to be applied to industrial enterprises. My opinion is that in order to accomplish this object we have to obtain the assistance of foreign capital for the time being. This means not only that the investors will get their profitable returns on their capital but China will also reap the benefit of productive investments. This is, therefore, a course which will serve the interests of both parties.

As regards the Chinese as a people they are known to be peace-loving and noted for their honesty, their sense of justice, and their respect for righteousness. They respect the rights of others in the hope that other people will reciprocate in the same manner.

These qualities and these characteristics happily coincide with those of the Americans. Since the two peoples are now under the same form of government and are inspired by the same ideals, the friendly relations which have hitherto existed between the two countries without interruption are therefore bound to grow firmer and more intimate.

THE WILD EAST OF EUROPE

GREAT MILITARY POWER OF THE BALKAN STATES—HOW THEY MIGHT DERMINE THE ISSUE OF THE GREAT WAR IN FAVOR OF THE ENTENTE—WHAT THESE STATES HAVE DEMANDED AS THE PRICE OF THEIR SUPPORT OF THE ALLIES—BULGARIA THE KEY TO THE SITUATION

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

THE present European war presents one especially remarkable situation: the fact that the peoples who have the largest national interest in its out- have all, with one exception, suc- d so long in keeping out of it. His- is may discover plenty of more or emote explanations for this universal ct; the fact remains, however, that Balkan states furnished the precip- g cause. When the Turkish revolu- ies, in 1909, deposed Abdul Hamid, the Government, and announced an rate programme of Turkish nation- —the reclamation of the lost Turkish nces and their consolidation into a rful, modern, even "constitutional" e—they started going the forces that universal war. Austria, seeing in action the possible loss of Bosnia- govina, hastily seized it; Bulgaria, g that the new Turkish regime would form its paper suzerainty into actual ol, declared its independence; Italy, that Tripoli might become part of ejuvenated Turkey, laid violent hands is, its destined share of the booty; a, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece, hensive that their appointed inheri- in Macedonia and Albania might be ned into real Turkish provinces, d their distracted counsels long enough nquer them from the Sultan. Not the of Francis Joseph, as we had so long led to expect, started the European -the old gentleman is still alive—but threatened re-birth of the Ottoman r. Each nation engaged declares that fighting for national existence. Only sense is that true. However the war end, there is little question that the nations now known as England, France, Germany, and Russia will continue to be going concerns. It is not improbable, however, that the Balkan nations, especially Servia, Montenegro, Roumania, and Bulgaria might actually disappear. These nations are all new; the first three gained complete independence in 1878, the last in 1908; for hundreds of years preceding they had remained under bondage. Europe has demonstrated that it can worry along very well without them; to a large extent they are artificial entities, created by the Powers merely to block each other's ambitions. For a generation all have lived constantly in the fear that, like the Irishman, they might wake up some morning and find that they no longer existed.

Servia and Montenegro were the only ones of these Balkan states that entered the European conflict at the beginning. The others were more or less passive onlookers at a struggle which affects them more vitally than anybody else. From the beginning, however, both the Entente and the Alliance struggled for their assistance. The greatest diplomatic problem of both sides has been to make allies of the Balkan states. England, and her associates, have aimed directly at placing the Balkan armies in the field on their side. This would mean an enormous access to their military strength, for, taken as a whole, these once-despised communities comprise one of the great military powers in Europe. They can place in the field, practically at a moment's notice, 1,300,000 men. The Balkan wars disclosed that these soldiers have no superiors as terrific fighters. They are thoroughly trained and equipped, able to endure the most terrible privations—the Servian warriors, in the successful on-

slaught on Austria last winter, fought barefooted in the snow and went uncomplainingly through the severest surgical operations without anesthetics—and can live on a commissariat under which modern Europeans would starve. The Roumanian army, 500,000 strong, is one of the finest in Europe; the military critics say that, had it not been for its assistance in 1878, the Russians would not have defeated Turkey. The Bulgarian army recently destroyed the military power of Turkey in a furious three-weeks' campaign; weakened as Bulgaria is, she could probably put 350,000 men in the field. Greece, to the amazement of a world that had witnessed its absurd collapse in 1897, displayed great fighting power and heroism in 1913. It has an army of 250,000 men.

Strategists early in the war figured out what would happen should these Powers suddenly turn against the Teutonic Alliance. Roumania would push through the Carpathians into southeastern Hungary. Bulgaria, advancing on Constantinople, would greatly help in the solution of that problem; it could have taken the city in 1913 had the usual complications not prevented. Greece, by adding its strength to Servia, would make possible another advance into Austria. A glance at the map shows the precarious position in which Austria would then find itself. The Russians would assail it on the north, the Roumanians on the east, the Servians and Greeks on the south, and the Italians on the west. In all probability the Russians could leave these new allies to settle with Austria, and, with a reformed and reequipped army, devote all its attention to the Germans. With Constantinople in the hands of the Allies; with Austria reduced to helplessness by Servia, Greece, Roumania, and Italy; with England controlling the sea and stifling Germany economically; assailed on the east by the enormous Russian levies and on the west by the English, French, and Belgians, it seems inconceivable that Germany, powerful as it is, could much longer endure the struggle.

Clearly, therefore, the Balkan states *hold one key* to the present military puzzle; *no wonder that the* Entente and the Alliance have both strained every nerve to win their favor.

If these states take the field with the Entente or remain neutral, which is probably the most Germany can hope for, what are the reasons that guide their choice?

THE FRENCHMEN OF THE EAST

The problem presents two aspects: the sentimental and the practical. Sentimentally, the Balkan states should favor the Allies. Let us take each one individually. Here is Roumania, a Balkan state whose chief distinction, according to its own claims, is that it is not Balkan at all. It constantly repudiates the suggestion that it has any connection, except geographical, with the turbulent territories to the south. Formed largely from the Roman province of Dacia, its present people claim to be the descendants of ancient Roman legionaries. Its very name, "Romania," signifies the Roman country. It still speaks a language which is basically Latin. Ethnologists take rather lightly these pretensions; the fact remains, however, that the Roumanians regard themselves as a Latin people, as the Frenchmen of the East. Their historic friendship for France is as strong as it ever was. Bucharest, in its outlook and manners, aspires to be a miniature Paris. To France the upper classes look for education and leadership—Paris, with these same classes, is practically a second home. On the other hand Austria is the traditional enemy. Like the other Balkan states, Roumania has enrolled only a part of its people under its own flag. In Transylvania, the easternmost province of Hungary, are 4,000,000 Roumanians "unredeemed." The Dual Monarchy treats these people in the traditional Hapsburg way. There is the usual attempt to transform an alien people into Hungarians, and the propaganda takes the usual form of suppressing free speech, prohibiting the teaching and use of the Roumanian language, and denying the people all kinds of political and industrial opportunities. Roumanian "national aspirations" mean the incorporation of these suffering brethren into the Roumanian kingdom. Against Roumanian love for France and Italy, and its hatred of Austria, can be set only the

fact that its king is a Hohenzollern, and the fact that Russia is unpopular. Although Roumania fought hard with Russia in the Russian-Turkish War and really decided the contest in Russia's favor, Roumania gained little; indeed, Russia callously took its province of Bessarabia in the final settling up. This grievance, however, has not weighed the balance against the Allies; a thousand indications show that the sympathy of the people is strong with England and France.

BULGARIA'S "HERITAGE OF HATE"

Bulgaria's position is less definite. It resembles Germany somewhat, in that it has reasons to hate almost every other nation. Traditionally Russia, which won partial independence for it in 1878, is its friend. Without Russia, indeed, there would have been no Bulgaria at all. But Bulgaria's act in proclaiming its independence in 1908, and apparently joining Austria in defying the Treaty of Berlin, rather dampened this historic friendship. Russia also, Bulgaria believes, betrayed it in 1913, and permitted the other Balkan states to reap most of the fruits of the Balkan wars. Austria, although there was a brief rapprochement in 1908, is now numbered among Bulgaria's foes. Austria, according to general belief, really inspired Bulgaria to make its sudden attack upon the Balkan allies, promising military assistance if required; the Austrian failure to fulfil this engagement left the devoted country a helpless prey to a ring of enemies. Similarly, Bulgaria hates both England and France for their failure to come diplomatically to its rescue in 1913. Turkey, of course, is the particular foe; and Germany, as Turkey's ally, and the nation which spent many years building up a Turkish army, naturally arouses little affection. Bulgaria hates its Balkan neighbors even more than the great Powers—Roumania as the country that attacked it in its afflictions and appropriated part of one of its provinces, Greece and Servia as the nations which seized Macedonia, the great Bulgarian land to the west. No, Bulgaria hates and despises all its neighbors in Europe and the Balkans; its entrance into the war is predicated upon self-interest, not any sentimental *enthusiasm.*

Servia and Montenegro, being already in the war, need not be considered. Greece, like Roumania, has traditional European friends. And, like Roumania's, they are France, England, and Russia. These three Powers made Greece a free nation. Lord Byron's name still arouses the enthusiasm of the sentimental Greeks. It has not yet forgotten that the fleets of England, France, and Russia destroyed Turkish sea power at the battle of Navarino in 1827 and so gave Greece its independence. Gladstone's act in giving Greece the Ionian Islands still stands as an evidence of British disinterestedness and magnanimity. In the days of its struggle France was the foremost champion of Philhellenism. In more recent years Greece has the same reasons for liking these three great Powers that Bulgaria has for distrusting them; that is, the liberal treatment it received at the treaty of Bucharest. King Constantine, however, is the Kaiser's brother-in-law, a fact that seems to have had considerable influence in keeping Greece out of the struggle so far; but outside of the royal palace, there is no liking for the Hohenzollerns. For Austria, the nation which, as presiding genius of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, ignored all Greek appeals and turned it over to the mercies of Turkey and which has steadily blocked all Greek aspirations ever since, the Hellenic kingdom nourishes an abiding, almost oriental dislike.

THE AUSTRO-GERMAN EMPIRE IN ASIA

On sentimental grounds, therefore, there can be little question in which direction Balkan sympathies incline. Roumania, Servia, Montenegro, and Greece desire the success of the Entente. But sentiment, though it is an important force, does not determine weighty issues of this kind, especially in the Balkans. The pressing question is, what are the interests involved? Will an English or a German triumph mean most for these little states? Will they gain or lose by taking up arms in favor of either one of the fighting forces? To any one who has kept close eyes on Balkan affairs in the last ten years, this question apparently answers itself. The great national schemes of Austria and Germany apparently imply the destructio

of certain Balkan nationalities. Foiled in its several attempts to build up large German empires in Africa, in the Far East, and in South America, Germany has discovered only one possible outlet—in the Balkans and Asia Minor. A glance at the map, as it existed in 1912, prior to the Balkan wars, will enable one to visualize this ambition. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina formed the first step. The proposed addition of Servia would have given Pan-Germanism a well-established hold upon the Balkans. Macedonia and Albania would next have fallen to the ambitious Austro-Germans. This would have carried the new eastern empire to the Ægean Sea and given it the coveted harbor of Salonica. Germany and Austria, as a result of the diplomatic genius of Marschall von Bieberstein, had already made Turkey almost a dependent state. It had secured concession for a railroad from Constantinople to Bagdad, a large section of which is already built. With the completion of this railroad, express trains from Berlin to the Persian Gulf would have been a practical every-day matter. Germans, following this line, would settle in the Balkans, in Asia Minor, and make Mesopotamia bloom as fruitfully as in Biblical times.

Economically the scheme is entirely feasible; politically it meant the extinction of certain Balkan states—Servia and Montenegro, the crippling and very likely the ultimate extinction of Greece and the end of all Bulgaria's plans for expansion in the Balkans. The conflict of this ambition with the aspirations of Servia and other Balkan states precipitated this European war. As a result of the Balkan War, Servia increased its territory nearly one half, and Greece seized the port of Salonica, coveted by Austria; both states, puffed up by military success, and determined on still further expansion, seemed destined to become Powers strong enough effectually to block the Pan-Germanistic plan. The Central Empires had either to abandon their grandiose scheme or obtain ascendancy in the Balkans; hence Austria's plan to overrun Servia, and hence all that has followed since. The triumph of the Dual Alliance necessarily means the fruition of plan. Servia and Montenegro will disappear; Greece will lose all that it won in the Balkan wars; Bulgaria, if not immediately crippled, will find itself surrounded by German and Austrian bayonets. Certainly Turkey, as payment for its activity, will receive practically all of Thrace which represents Bulgaria's winnings in the Balkan wars, and a considerable assortment of the Ægean Islands which Greece now claims as its own. Dismissing all these considerations German-Austrian success means the triumph and part-rehabilitation of Turkey, the nation which has massacred and otherwise maltreated the Balkan peoples for 400 years. From the standpoint of self-interest, therefore, there is little ground for discussing where the Balkan interest lies. German success is success for the imperial idea, which necessarily wars upon smaller nationalities. The success of the Entente means national preservation, the end of Turkey, not only in Europe, but to a large extent in Asia, and a chance for the Balkan states to make the most of their opportunities. True, such a triumph means that Russia will get Constantinople. All Balkan states in turn, especially Greece and Bulgaria, have had foolish moments in which they dreamed of Constantinople as their capital. Byzantinism—a renewal of the old Greek Empire, with its Greek Caesars at Constantinople—has long been a political watchword. Practical Greek statesmen of to-day, however, particularly the greatest of them all, M. Venezelos, dismiss this ambition as purely romantic. So far as Constantinople is concerned, they realize that there are two alternatives: either it will be Turkish or Russian, and the latter alternative seems the least objectionable.

All this reasoning seems plain and convincing; the Balkans, sentimentally and from the standpoint of interest, will clearly profit from the defeat of the Dual Alliance. Thus they apparently have had excellent reasons for joining battle on the side of the Allies. At this point, however, things are not so plain sailing. All kinds of influences have been at work; public sentiment all over the Balkans, excepting in Bulgaria, championed the Entente; but this was not all that was necessary to swing

great military strength in that direc-
Territorial readjustments were nec-
and "compensations" must be pro-
in several directions. The most
s problem facing the Entente has
imply this: what inducements can be
to these little states to persuade them
ce their great military strength at the
al of the Allies? The Balkans cer-
ought to enter the war, for their
ood and the good of Europe; how can
e prevailed upon to do it?

THE TREATY OF BUCHAREST

rsuasions," "inducements," in this
ction mean only one thing; that is
onal territory, what, in modern dip-
ic parlance, is called "the realization
ional aspirations." One thing could
en for granted, and that was that the
n states would not enter the war so
s victory meant the preservation of
atus quo. The Balkans, under the
quo, represent the work of the
y of Bucharest—the treaty that
ht Balkan wars to a close in 1913.
s that treaty were revised and the
ries distributed on some other basis,
was little chance that the Balkan
would fight on either side. And
y to the situation was Bulgaria. Ac-
g to Bulgaria, all Europe "betrayed"
en that treaty was made. It had
the largest part of the fighting, and
uffered most; but its former allies,
. and Greece, had captured almost
e spoils of war, and Roumania had
advantage of its weakness to rip
part of a cherished province. It is
ecessary to analyze this situation in
letail or attempt to apportion the
; the one fact is that Bulgaria would
thing for the Allies unless the Allies
mething to undo what Bulgaria looked
as a monstrous wrong; the other
s that Greece and Roumania would
enter the war unless Bulgaria
forces with them. Should Greece
Roumania join the Allies it was safe
sume that Germany, by promising
ria parts at least of what these na-
"stole" from it and all, and more
all, of what Roumania lifted, could
Bulgaria to join the Alliance.

What possible disposition of territory, therefore, could be made that would placate, if not satisfy, the "national aspirations" of the Balkan states? Fortunately these nations had placed themselves upon record on these various questions. M. Venezelos, the Cretan statesman who organized the Balkan Alliance of 1912, stated precisely at that time the territorial claims of Greece. First of all, he believed, his country should dismiss the wildest dreams of Pan-Hellenism and recognize practical and historical realities. This meant concretely that any idea of reëstablishing the ancient Greek Empire at Constantinople must be abandoned. This, in the practical mind of M. Venezelos, was the silliest of ambitions; the man was generally condemned as a traitor for saying so, but, ultimately, his persuasive eloquence and magnetism carried the point. Moreover, Greece must abandon all pretensions to any considerable part of Macedonia. Possibly she might obtain a small slice of the southern extremity, might even obtain Salonica, but all the rest belonged by right to Bulgaria and Servia. This did not mean, however, that Greece must not expand. But its expansion should be natural and not artificial, and should comprehend lands that were incontestably Greek. Greece, primarily, was not an agricultural or an industrial community; it was commercial and maritime. In the course of several thousand years, Greeks had sailed to many adjacent territories and established Greek trading stations and colonies which had remained undoubtedly Greek up to the present hour. First of all was the large island of Crete, whose ambition for annexation to Greece had disturbed Balkan politics for years. Then there were the islands of the Ægean, as completely Greek now as in the days of Pericles. More important still were large communities in Asia Minor. Take the map, begin at Scutari, on the Marmora, opposite Constantinople, and trace a line along the whole coast of the Ægean as far as Adalia. Nearly all this littoral, and a large part of the inland territory, was Greek in people, language, and national feeling. Here, then, in the Ægean islands, Crete, a small piece of southern Macedonia and Epirus, and the Asiatic coast line,

THE BALKANS BEFORE 1912

A seething mass of discontented peoples living under the unnatural arrangement of boundaries that were forced upon them by the "Concert of Powers" at the Treaty of Berlin. This discontent was kept before the eyes of Europe by the chronic "Macedonian Question" which arose from Turkish oppression of Bulgarians, Greeks, and Servians in the region centering at Ochrida. In 1908, it was intensified by Austria's seizure of the Servian possessions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was a step in the plan of Austria and Germany to acquire a free path to and through Asia Minor by way of Salonica

THE BALKANS OF THE SECRET TREATY

Which was concluded by Servia and Bulgaria when the Balkan Confederation attacked Turkey in 1912. By this treaty these countries agreed to divide most of Macedonia between them. Servia recognized the preponderance of Bulgaria's interest in this territory. It is believed that there was an understanding by which Bulgaria agreed to support Servia's ambitions to gain access to the Adriatic Sea south of Montenegro. The action of Austria in compelling Servia to evacuate Durazzo, on the Adriatic coast of Albania, led Servia to demand that Bulgaria make compensatory concessions of Macedonian territory. Bulgaria refused, and the second Balkan War, of Greece and Servia against Bulgaria, was the result

M. Venezelos found the true "Græcia Irredenta" ["unredeemed" Greek territory].

If Greece obtained these desired territories, or any considerable part of them, it would annex only Greeks—people enthusiastically desirous of becoming a part of the new Greek kingdom. Greece entered the Balkan Alliance with this understanding. Had she limited her ambitions to these extensions, the situation would be much simpler than it is now. The treaty of Bucharest unfortunately gave it not only Crete, the Ægean Islands, and Epirus, but a large part of Macedonia which it had not originally claimed. As a result of the Balkan disagreement, this distracted region became merely a grab *bag, and these* were the things Greece *eeded in capturing.* This scramble gave Greece no territory on the Asiatic mainland, however. Turkey was strong enough not only to hold these possessions but to get back a considerable part of Thrace, including Adrianople. The important point is that the Venezelos programme of 1912 clearly indicated the basis upon which Greece could join another Balkan Alliance in 1915: let it give up the larger part of its Macedonian acquisitions, retaining perhaps Salonica, which is a Jewish-Greek city, and receive compensatory territories in Asia, as it had originally planned. The iniquity of the Treaty of Bucharest, so far as Bulgaria was concerned, was that it gave Greece not only Salonica, but the only other useful port on the northern Ægean shore—that of Kavala. If Greece

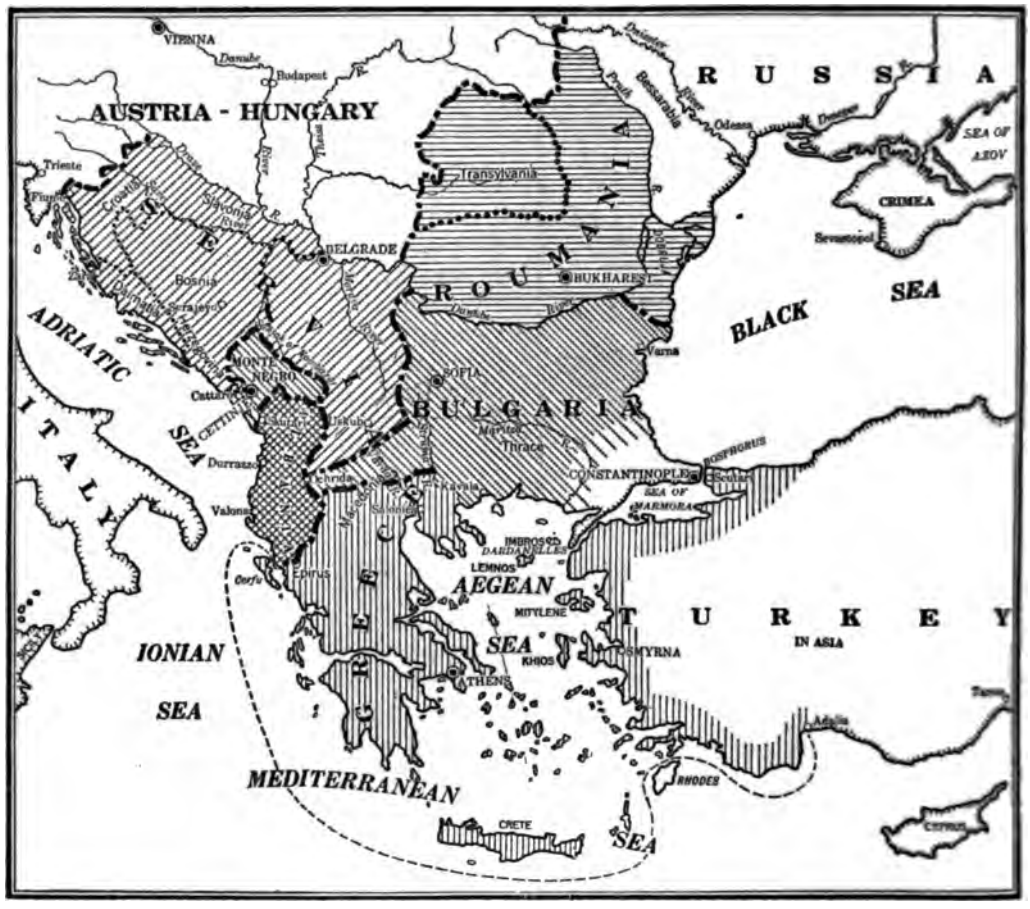
THE BALKANS AFTER 1913

e second Balkan War ended in the defeat of ıria. At the Treaty of Bucharest the Powers ged the boundaries of the Balkan states as they when the Great War began. Roumania was ed to keep that part of the Dobrudja which it ıied while Bulgaria was fighting Greece and a. Greece also received Salonica and Kavala, ınly good ports on the former Turkish coast of Egean Sea, which Bulgaria had coveted. Bul- was also deprived of most of the Macedonian ory that it wished to acquire. Servia was again d access to the Adriatic by the erection of ıia into a principality under William of Wied. ey regained Adrianople. The net result of the y of Bucharest was to make Bulgaria hostile to neighbors and to all the Powers, and to leave a dissatisfied with its lack of an outlet to the sea

ld turn this over to Bulgaria, thereby ıg its rival an outlet to the Ægean, Bul- ı would probably be reconciled to a k Salonica.

far for Greece. Fortunately, Servia Bulgaria have also officially published erritorial programme. The Servian- garian Treaty of 1912 contains a "secret se," containing an arrangement for ing up Macedonia. Only a careful ence to the map makes clear this some- t complicated arrangement. It pro- d for three classes of territory—one hich was to be indisputably Bulgarian, her indisputably *Servian*, while the third area, the real bone of contention, was to be disposed of according to a stipulated programme. The secret-treaty makers assigned all territory east of the Struma River unconditionally to Bulgaria. Between Servia and Montenegro was a strip, averaging about fifty miles in width, known as the Sanjak of Novibazar—a sanjak, in the Turkish administrative system, being a subdivision of a vilayet, or province. This territory was to be assigned unconditionally to Servia. This left a large area, bound on the north by the Shar Dagh, roughly on the east by the Struma, on the west by Albania, and on the south roughly by the Ægean Sea. This is Macedonia proper, the small area which, as the headquarters of brigands, massacres, conflicting nationalities, and religious and national aspirations, has threatened the peace of Europe for a generation. All Balkan communities have quarreled as to whether the Macedonians are Bulgarian, Servian, or even Greek; it is scarcely necessary to discuss this question at the present time. The point is that the Balkan Alliance, in its original terms, left the disposition of this land exclusively to Servia and Bulgaria.

The secret Servian-Bulgarian Treaty expressed a pious wish that Macedonia might be created an autonomous province. Clearly this was nothing but a pious wish, inasmuch as the treaty proceeded to apportion this territory in case the autonomous state became impossible. It drew a triangular line from Kustendje southwesterly to the Ochrida. Territory north and west of this line, including the important city of Uskub, was to be Servian; territory south and east, including Monastir and Ochrida, was to be Bulgarian. The treaty provided that this proposed division should be submitted to the Czar of Russia; if he approved, then it was to stand; if he disapproved, then the two contracting parties agreed to accept such division as he defined. This decision gave the lion's share to Bulgaria, practically making it the all-powerful Balkan state. Clearly it showed remarkable self-sacrifice on Servia's part, especially as it seemed clear that it would have to divide the Sanjak of Novibazar, the only territory it received unconditionally, with its ally, Mon-



BALKAN BOUNDARIES AS THEY WOULD BE IF "NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS" WERE REALIZED

Servia would regain its lost provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, acquire its Slavic relations in Croatia and Slavonia, and gain an outlet to the sea in Dalmatia. Roumania would "redeem" its 4,000,000 inhabitants of Transylvania from Hungarian oppression and possibly its old province of Bessarabia from Russia. Bulgaria would acquire the larger part of Macedonia, containing many thousand Bulgarians, gain a good port on the Ægean Sea at Kavala, and regain lost territory in the Dobrudja. Greece would incorporate in its boundaries the Greek inhabitants of the Ægean islands and of a considerable part of the coast of Asia Minor. Constantinople would be "neutralized" and free passage through the Dardanelles would be guaranteed to the ships of all nations. Some such arrangement as this is probably the solution of the Quadruple Entente's problem of bringing the Balkan states into the war against Germany, Austria, and Turkey

tenegro. But, according to representations afterward made, there were certain understandings not put down in written form. The treaty said nothing about Albania. It was understood, however, that Montenegro and Servia were to invade this country, seize the splendid harbors of Scutari and Durazzo, and thus gain the indispensable outlets to the Mediterranean. The possession of these western territories would reconcile Montenegro and Servia to Bulgaria's great acquisitions in Macedonia and would reëstablish some*thing like a balance* of power. In fact this military plan succeeded beautifully; Montenegro seized Scutari, Servia captured Durazzo, with the indispensable slices of Albania. But now Austria interfered, and unceremoniously demanded that Montenegro and Servia give up these ports and withdraw their troops. The little Balkan Powers had to obey. But this meant the loss of the very thing for which Servia had mainly gone to war. The one thing without which it cannot continue to exist as a nation is a Mediterranean seaport. She now declared that Bulgaria must give it "compensation" elsewhere; that the famous

t treaty must be re-
l. Bulgaria perhaps
nically was in the
, as the treaty made
ference to Bulgaria.
ally, however, it
d seem that Bul-
ought to have made
gs easier for Ser-
This dispute precip-
d the second Balkan
, and Bulgaria, when
tiations were pend-
suddenly attacked
its allies. Bulgaria
dearly for its treach-
It had not only to
Servia and Greece,
Roumania, who took
ntage of its weak-
to grab the Dobrud-
nd Turkey, who pro-
ed to regain Adrian-
The net result was
Servia and Greece
had Bulgaria at their
y, and they prompt-
ivided the disputed

MR. TAKE JONESCO

The most distinguished statesman of Roumania, who has led the movement for intervention in the European War on the side of the Allies

territories among themselves, leaving Bulgaria out in the cold. The question before the diplomats of the Entente has been, Will Greece and Servia return material parts of this territory to their former ally? That Greece could do this and still satisfy its "national aspirations" has been made clear; but how about Servia?

And here, also, diplomacy saw a possible solution. A reference to the map discloses one significant fact; that is that Bulgaria can expand only within the Balkans. It is hemmed in on all sides by the Black Sea and other Balkan communities. The Allies, in case of victory, can give it "compensation" in only one section, and that

THE FOREIGN OFFICE AT BUCHAREST

Its sentiment for half a century has been pro-French and anti-Austrian

CZAR FERDINAND OF BULGARIA

In 1908, probably by understanding with Austria, he proclaimed the independence of Bulgaria, with himself as first king or czar

is in Macedonia. This is not only a matter of geography, but of "manifest destiny," for Macedonia, despite Servian pretentions, is overwhelmingly Bulgarian in race, language, and sentiment. So long as Servia retains this province the Balkans have merely added an Alsace-Lorraine to their other problems; and unhappily Servia has alienated sympathy by following the German Alsatian policy in treating its new Bulgarian subjects. But, though Bulgaria can expand only within the Balkans, both Servia and Roumania, like Greece, can expand without. Both these states have their "irredentas"; both have large adjoining territories with kindred populations that they aspire to incorporate within their kingdom. Westward of Servia are Bosnia and Herzegovina—states practically as Servian as Servia herself. Adjoining these states are Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia—all Servian communities held in subjection by Hungary. These communities—Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia—would make a compact, harmonious, and homogeneous state, which, with its capital at Belgrade, would make a strong power, and have

QUEEN ELEONORE OF BULGARIA

Who was a German princess of the minor House of Reuss-Köstritz before her marriage in 1908. She is well known for her interest in social improvement

HOHENZOLLERN RULERS OF ANTI-GERMAN ROUMANIA

The late King Carol (wearing a cape), with his nephew, King Ferdinand (left-hand figure of central group), who succeeded him on his death last October

an indispensable coast line on the Adriatic Sea. Servia's propaganda in favor of such a state has produced indescribably acute relations between her and Austria; many secret societies have organized and preached the cause to all the Slavic nations; the culmination of the whole propaganda, according to Austria, was the murder of the Grand Duke and his consort at Sarajevo a year ago. Indeed, Austria's famous ultimatum to Servia demanded the immediate cessation of this Pan-Servian crusade. Servia has preached the cause more fervently since the war than before. Such a state would realize Servia's grandest dreams: "this great war," said M. Pashitch, the Servian Prime Minister, opening the Servian parliament last December, "from the very beginning has been a struggle for the emancipation and union of all our brother Servo-Croato-Slovaks, who now suffer under foreign rule." Probably Servia would surrender Macedonia to Bulgaria in return for such a splendid accession as this. If it should refuse to do so, it would be entitled to no consideration and demonstrate its unfitness to exist as a nation. Should the Allies win and re-

QUEEN MARIE OF ROUMANIA

The daughter of the Duke of Edinburgh, and cousin of King George of Great Britain. Though her husband is a German and Catholic she is strongly English and Lutheran

M. VENEZELOS, M. GESHOFF, AND M. PASHITCH

They were the Prime Ministers of Greece, Bulgaria and Servia, who, in 1912, accomplished what was regarded as an impossible diplomatic feat—the Balkan Alliance against Turkey. The success of this Alliance in defeating Turkey, and its failure as manifested by the quarrel of Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria following its triumph, was one cause of the present European war

distribute Europe on the basis of nationality, this change would be a natural one. As to Roumania, it also can expand without its own borders, for it would receive Transylvania, with its 4,000,000 Roumanians, and surrender to Bulgaria that portion of the Dobrudja which it appropriated in 1913.

The completed scheme—the readjustments that would permit Balkan interven-

Copyright by Underwood & Underwood

SALONICA, OCCUPIED BY GREECE IN THE BALKAN WAR

Austria had for years planned to make it her outlet into the Ægean and a stepping stone to the great Austro-German empire in Asia. Its cession to Bulgaria would probably be a necessary preliminary to adjusting the present Balkan difficulties

tion on the side of the Allies—is now fairly plain. It would furnish the world several new nations, and nations that represent more than a mere hodge-podge of discordant peoples, collected in haphazard fashion; they would be homogeneous entities, having the same or similar languages, the same ideals, the same enthusiasms. First there would be the new Servia, including the present nation of that name and the affiliated provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia. There would be a new Roumania, formed of the present kingdom and the Roumanians in Transylvania—perhaps those in Bessarabia. There would be a real Bulgaria, taking in the large Bulgarian population in Macedonia and Thrace. Finally Greece, the great maritime Power of the East, would form the nucleus of a new Mediterranean Power, with her centre of gravity in the Ægean Sea. No one asserts that these states, racially and religiously, would constitute perfect wholes. There would still be Greeks in Servia and Bulgaria; still Bulgarians in Servia and Greece, and Servians in Bulgaria and Greece. The fact that there is a large Greek population in Roumania shows how hopeless is any attempt to make boundary lines in the Balkans coincide exactly with nationalities. Compared with the present situation, however, these proposed states would represent conditions almost ideal. Despite this, diplomacy would even now find great difficulty in arranging things. The Greek mob howls at any suggestion that Greece shall give up sections of the conquered territory to Bulgaria. Even German hatred for England hardly approaches the mutual feelings of Servia and Bulgaria. In 1912, however, Venezelos, the great Greek premier, succeeded in mixing oil and water and producing that diplomatic marvel of the century—the Balkan Alliance. He did this by showing the Balkan States that they must get together and destroy Turkey or that Turkey would destroy them. A similar situation prevails in 1915. Out of a mass of complicated facts, one thing has stood out clearly: the status quo could not last. All parties regard the Treaty of Bucharest—scarcely two years old—as an unstable settlement. Greece and Turkey were getting

MARSCHALL VON BIEBERSTEIN (LEFT)

Who, as German Ambassador at Constantinople, brought about the relations that have made Turkey practically a vassal of the German Empire

THE LATE COUNT VON AEHRENTHAL (RIGHT)

Who, as Foreign Minister of Austro-Hungary, violated the Treaty of Berlin in 1908 by annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was the first of a long series of events that finally ended in the present war

A BULGARIAN CAVALRY SCOUT

HEADQUARTERS OF THE BULGARIAN GENERALS

Great as were Bulgaria's military triumphs, it came out of the Balkan wars terribly weakened. In the provinces which Bulgaria seized from Turkey the adult male population of Bulgarians in 1912 was 700,000; one year later, 300,000

ready to go to war when the European conflagration started, and Greece purchased two American warships in preparation for the expected attack. Bulgaria would not have hesitated to ally herself with Turkey to get possession of Macedonia. At the first opportunity these states would rush together again. The knowledge of

BULGARIAN INFANTRY

Bulgaria's participation on the side of the Allies would probably solve the problem of Constantinople, which has engaged a large French-English land and naval expedition

ROUMANIANS MORE LATIN THAN BALKAN

claim that Roumania is a Latin community left along the Black
l the Danube, and that its people are descendants of Roman
ies. Their language is essentially Latin. Physically they re-
one type of Italians

A ROUMANIAN INFANTRY-MAN

act, and the fact that the Balkans
a great statesman in Venezelos, have
l to incline their minds to make any
able settlement. The Congress that
this war ought to fix European
aries for a century; now, or never,
is the time for the Balkan States to assert their national claims.

ROUMANIAN CAVALRY

ambition of the Roumanian army to gain the Hungarian province of Transylvania, where 4,000,000 Roumanians have been maltreated for years

THE CANNON THAT LOST

A Turkish field piece, of German manufacture, captured by the Bulgarians at the siege of Adrianople in the Balkan War of 1912

To assure the peace of Europe these claims should be settled. The restlessness of the peoples of the Balkans under unnatural boundaries—boundaries that have thrown groups of each race under the rule of aliens—has been a constant menace which only a settlement of national aspirations seems likely to end.

THE CANNON THAT WON

It is significant of the alignment of the Powers in the present European conflict that in the Balkan War of 1912 the French supplied the Bulgarians with the Schneider-Creusot guns which they used successfully against the Turks, who were supplied by the Germans with Krupp guns

THE GREAT RIVER

III. THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

A TERRITORY GOVERNED BY LAW-ABIDING LAWLESSNESS—HOW THE RIVER RULES ITS DOMAIN AND HOW MAN TRIES TO RULE THE RIVER—OUTLETS AND CUT-OFFS—THE LANDS BEHIND THE LEVEES

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

IF YOU spill a pail of water on a dusty, slanting floor, the water will not run off straight with the grade. It will snake its way downhill in sinuous ribbons, adapting itself automatically to the slight inequalities of the surface, just as rain does on the window-pane. From an aeroplane a thousand feet up in the air a river, flowing through its alluvial plain, looks exactly like the wavy ribbon of water poured from a pail. Big streams and little streams obey the same laws.

When the clouds spill rain over the Appalachians or in the foothills of the Rockies, the water runs over the ground in sinuous rills into brooks which make their wavering way into rivers. Precisely like the rills and the brooks, big rivers meander toward the sea. All the time, in rill or brook or river, the water is seeking its lowest level, but instead of encountering only dust in its path it finds hills and varying geological strata, forests, and the works of man. Balked in one direction, it turns immediately in another. Weak obstructions, such as soft alluvial banks, it is constantly attacking and overcoming. Strong barriers check it and modify its natural laws, making it do things it would not do if left entirely to itself.

Now if by some convulsion of Nature all the water should be diverted from the

BLASTING A SNAG OUT OF THE RIVER BED

In the Kickapoo Bend of the Missouri River, by the use of dynamite. The later steps in the destruction of the snag are illustrated on the facing page

FIRST AID TO NAVIGATION

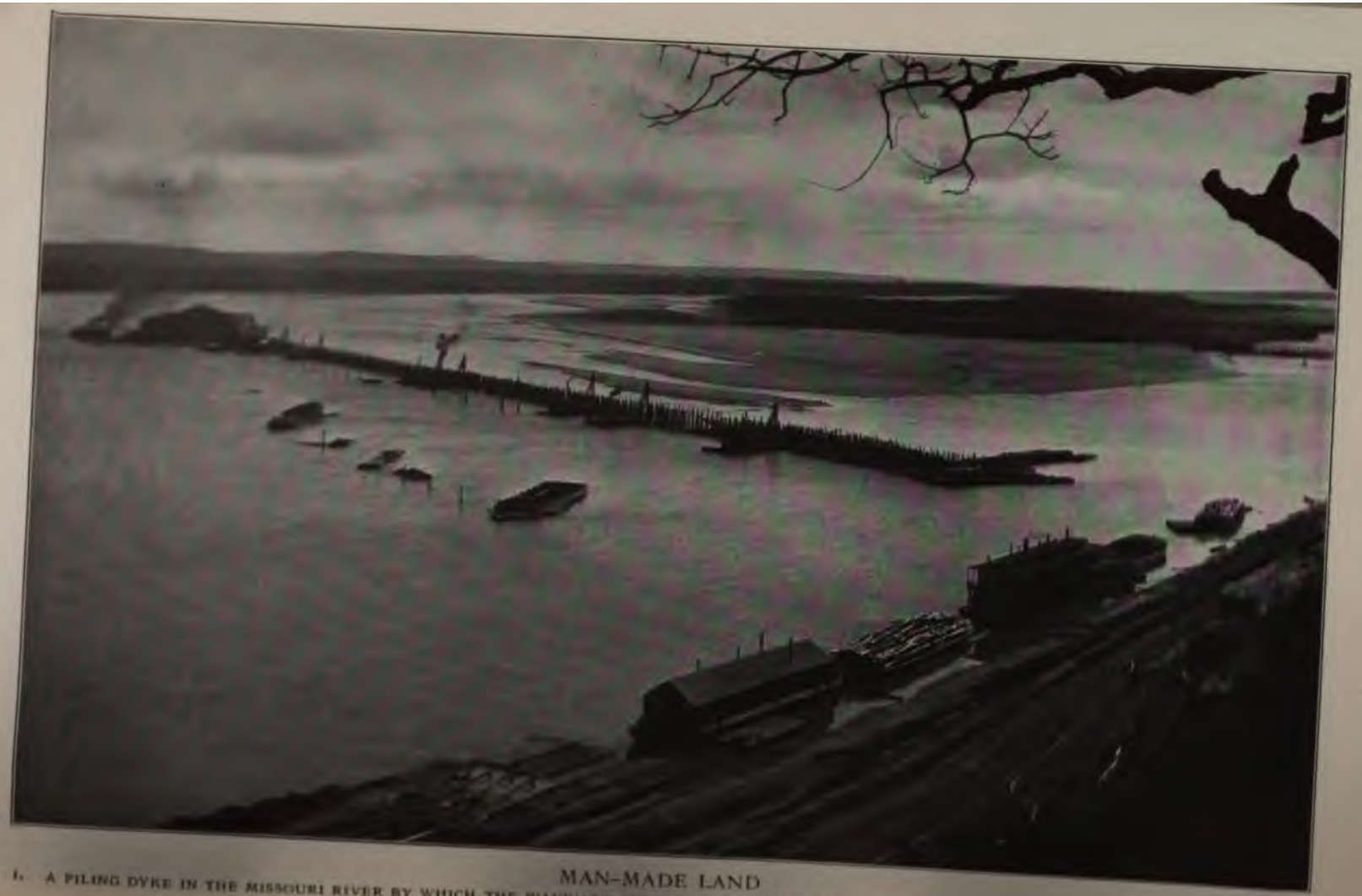
The snag-boat *J. N. Macomb*, one of the great inland fleet owned and operated by the United States Government in the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and their navigable tributaries

A RIVER DERELICT

Snag-boats, specially constructed for the purpose, "spot" these obstructions that are continually being sown in the river by its caving banks, grapple for them, and destroy them

THE RIVER GIVING UP ITS DEAD

Reeking, like the unburied débris of a battlefield, mouldering trunks are dragged to the surface, sawed into short and harmless lengths, and sunk again in deep water



MAN-MADE LAND

1. A PILING DYKE IN THE MISSOURI RIVER BY WHICH THE WAYWARD STREAM IS DIVERTED BACK INTO ITS MAIN CHANNEL AND NEW LAND IS BUILT BEHIND THE HURDLES

MAN-MADE LAND

I. The United States hydraulic dredge *Pelee* clearing the Mississippi channel, 95 miles below St. Paul, and using the dredged soil from the river bed to reinforce low banks

WHERE THE RIVER SHORTENS ITS COURSE

bend on the Missouri River a few days before a cut-off occurred. Looking downstream on the left and upstream on the right

WHERE SNAGS COME FROM

Whole hillsides, with their standing timber, slipping into the rivet

THE LAND BEHIND THE LEVEES

I. Before the high water of 1913. Corn and alfalfa in the drainage district north of Cairo, Ill., protected from the Mississippi and Ohio rivers by means of dykes built and maintained by local taxation

present channels of the Mississippi and its tributaries, and their beds, from source to mouth, should thus be exposed dry, a very curious formation would be revealed.

As you traveled down through the forsaken channel on the course the stream had worn for itself by centuries of erosion, you would first pass through a deep depression (it might be a hundred or a hundred and fifty feet deep) and circle around the base of a high concave bank arching above you. Then you would climb out over a sandy

THE LAND BEHIND THE LEVEES

II. After the high water of 1913. This is the same kind of land, in the same drainage district, as that shown in the photograph above, after the double break in the "Big Four" levee-railroad embankment north of Cairo, Ill.

THUS FAR AND NO FARTHER

The river has overflowed uncleared land on its banks, and has reached back inland half a mile or mor to attack good agricultural acreage—an instance of protection divorced from navigation. Owners of th unprotected land think the Government ought to buy it

STEPPING STONES DOWN THE OHIO

One of the Government's completed dams in the Ohio River system, which maintains a navigable depth in a series of basins. A steamboat is passing through the lock on the far side

WHERE SIXTY MILLION DOLLARS IS GOING

Work proceeding on one of the 54 dams with which the Government is trying to maintain a navigable channel from Pittsburg to the mouth of the Ohio River

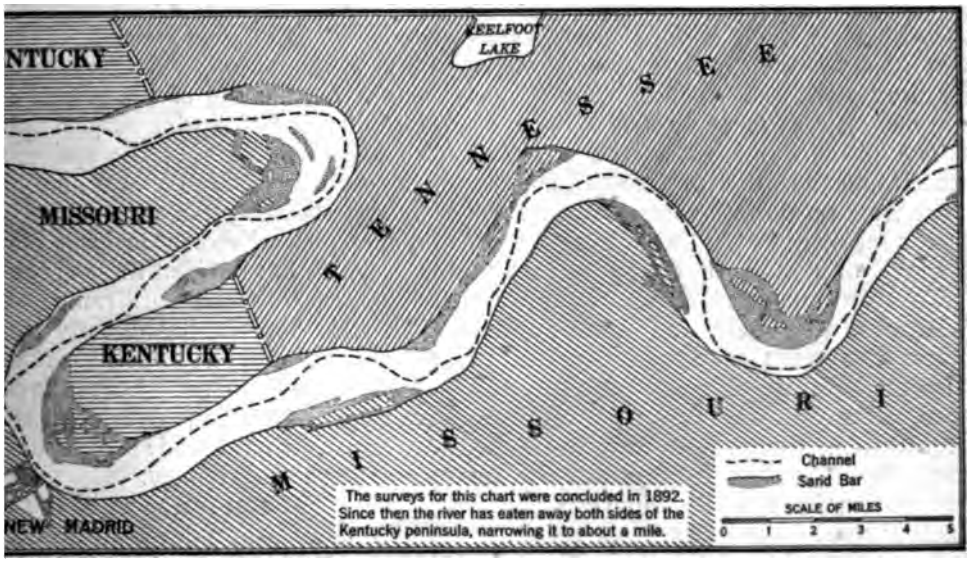
ıd get on the other side of this river ay. Diagonally across from the ıole, then, you would go down deep into another depression, and so on would progress up and down for eds of miles if you had to travel on ɔr on horseback by the Mississippi rom Cairo to Baton Rouge.

en the water flows down over that the whole river is a succession of deep lying in alternate bends with sand-crossings, the pilots call them—be-them; first a pool and then a sand-nd over every pool a concave bend osition of which is just the reverse bends next above and below it. It hough the stream had all these long been battledoring and shuttle-cocking through the valley across a series of . When you watch a steamboat ating the channel at low water, she looks as though she were tacking, sailboat against the wind.

se sandhills which separate the pools re are forty-three of them below with an average length of about 800 come up very close to the surface of ater at low river stages, sometimes ı four or five feet of it. On the tops em lie dead and drowned trees, red by their matted, up-torn roots or sullenly drifting. These hills are the bars, and the derelict trees are the snags, which obstruct navigation at low water. Because of them big fleets of Government dredges and snag-boats are maintained.

In its very lawlessness the Mississippi is obeying laws inexorable in their operation. It is constantly endeavoring to adapt its volume into the easiest negotiation of the 379-foot drop—increased to 413 feet at flood stages—between St. Louis and Gulf level. The soft banks, which it must erode when they check its course at an angle, it eats out, and carries, pushes, and rolls its booty away to make bars with downstream. Thus checked and arrested, as it feels its way blindly and inexorably downhill, it is constantly making and re-making its channel, preserving its integrity and its length, maintaining always the relation which must exist between its own velocity and the resisting power of its banks.

The straighter course, deeper banks, and more permanent channel below Red River and Baton Rouge are due to the flatter slope of the Mississippi from that point to the Gulf, which causes less current and therefore less caving of the bank. From here south, therefore, you will find levees and banks almost identical,



THE MEANDERING MISSISSIPPI

ıe characteristically tortuous steamboat channel on the Mississippi at the famous New Madrid bend a steamboat, that is twenty miles away by the channel, can be seen across a mile of land. The river ɔcession of deep pools lying in alternate bends with sandhills between the pools

the channel thus, by the constant flowing of the river in the same course, remaining clear and deep.

It is this apparent whim of the river, its law-abiding lawlessness, which the engineers call the river's regimen, the inevitable self-accommodation of a stream flowing through alluvial land. When the floods come they simply exaggerate normal conditions and further complicate a problem which is already complicated enough at less than bank-full stages.

UNDERSTANDING THE RIVER

For it must be distinctly understood that the Mississippi problem is not merely a matter of providing for recurring acts of God. It exists all the time, 365 days a year. It is a low-water difficulty as well as a high-water peril; it involves keeping navigable depths in the channel as well as keeping navigation off the riparian corn and cotton fields; it associates intimately the interests of navigation and conservation, and in every one of these phases the engineering part of the problem, reduced to its lowest terms, is first a matter of understanding and accepting the river's regimen as a pervading and persistent fact, and then in so dealing with that fact as to make of the river a beneficent ally instead of a useless neutral or a merciless foe; to turn the river's very whim to use; to convert its lawlessness, which already obeys Nature's laws, into conformity with the statutory laws of seven states.

The mistakes in engineering theory and practice on the Mississippi have generally come from an unwillingness to accept the river's regimen; in treating it as if it were a canal, or a lake, or a Bay of Fundy.

That was the trouble with Sir William Willcocks, who built the Assuan Dam across two miles of Egyptian desert to turn the Nile into an irrigation ditch, and then, after one day under an umbrella at Memphis, Tenn., last year, wrote extensively in the press of this country on the assumption that the Mississippi was merely another Nile or Euphrates.

Extremists of all types make the same kind of mistake: those who would double-track the river all the way from Cairo to New Orleans; those who would make counties into impounding reservoirs; and those who advocate diverting the levee appropriations from up-river states into the carving out of new channels in the form of outlets south of Red River Landing. The cranks who would make a 600-mile cataract by cutting through all the serpentining bends between Kentucky and the Gulf make this mistake and so do the "levees-only" enthusiasts, who would expend all Federal, state, and local appropriations in making a colossal canal out of the Mississippi, no matter what happened at the source or Gulf ends of it.

THE CASE AGAINST LEVEES

Now the objections to levees, it must be understood, are collectable under two heads: first, the scientific objections to the levee method of dealing with the flood and navigation problems of great rivers; and secondly, the political, sectional objections which arise from a very human reluctance in one locality to see so much money spent in another. In each class of objection there is a certain element of justice. For example, it may be well maintained that the Governmental "protection" of alluvial lands along the Mississippi River, if not primarily a work of reclamation, at least has reclamation and land development as a very important by-product. The great basins of the St. Francis, the Yazoo, and the Tensas were, before the building of the levees, subject to the burden of storing surplus waters of the Mississippi during the spring floods. They were overflowed almost annually.

Unquestionably the expenditure of millions of Federal money in levee construction, which has fortified these great basins with 20-cents-a-cubic-yard ramparts along their river borders, has directly increased the value of all the protected private land behind these ramparts. Levees have made drainage companies, development companies; levees have made levee boards, and levees have made money.

One of the best instances of the way in which an ambitious development company has profited by the protection afforded by levees in reclaiming great areas of swamp land is found in the St. Francis Basin. This company, with offices at Cape Gir-

ardeau, Mo., began in 1901 to drain portions of seven counties, at that time consisting chiefly of cypress swamp. The land was submerged by the overflow of the main stream of the Mississippi and the Little River clear up to the 'Frisco Railroad tracks, where they seek high land back on the foothills of the Ozarks. Here and there over that area land could be bought for $2 an acre or less. Out of the total 488,050 acres in this district, 56,000 have been, or are in process of being, reclaimed.

To drain extensive swamp areas by the dredging methods now employed costs from $6 to $12 an acre. To that you must add from $20 to $30 more an acre for clearing, so that before you can plant anything in the ground the land has increased in value, by the work put into it, fifteen times or more.

The character of the soil would justify an even greater expenditure than this, and elsewhere in the Delta the expenses of complete reclamation run as high as $75 an acre. In this deep alluvion no commercial fertilizer or manure is needed. Thirty-five bushels of wheat an acre is only a fair average for such land; fifty, sixty, and even seventy-five bushels are reported in several parts of Arkansas and Missouri. Off the same acreage, without fertilizer, and sometimes without even plowing, come from twelve to fifteen bushels of threshed peas and a ton of pea hay worth $15 a ton.

Land with that amount of fertility in it is easily worth $100 to $125 an acre, so that it may readily be seen that there are at least reasonable profits for the development companies and the real estate agencies which work with them.

Improvement companies, such as the one at Cape Girardeau, are organized by state law and compose a regular state department, like a levee district. Their bond issue is secured by the assessed valuation of the land that is to be improved, and interest on the bonds is paid by taxes. This particular company has acquired possession of nearly all the remaining swamp land in the state.

The company's chief engineer took me on a two-day's trip in his Ford from Cape Girardeau through three of the river counties where his reclamation work was in progress or where the results of earlier reclamation were to be seen. He showed me level lakes of wheat, with patches of green, young corn, and a little alfalfa here and there. In some districts of Missouri they cut alfalfa five times a year. No exploiter would have had to say a word about these rich redeemed portions of Cape Girardeau, Scott, and Stoddard counties.

At least once in every mile the little Ford bucked over rickety bridges spanning the drainage ditches which make a vast checkerboard of this whole area. These ditches made the prosperity I saw in the great green and golden squares of fertility traced by them. They were grass-grown; hogs wallowed in them, fleets of domestic ducks cruised in them. But back in the swamps we found conditions as they must have been in the now planted and populated neighboring area only a few years ago. There were vistas of freshly dug canals where converging banks of black mud stretched away to meet like railroad tracks on a prairie. Under the engineer's guidance I saw portions of more than 100 miles of interlocking waterways, all freshly dug, all with black mud ramparts rimming hot canals and marking their boundary from dense standing timber.

What is being carried out in the St. Francis Basin other companies are pushing in Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. More than 1,000 miles of these drainage canals have been dug in the alluvial Delta since 1901, and this enormous system, with the thousands of acres of rich agricultural land which it makes possible for cultivation and habitation, is dependent upon protection from the Great River.

The association of these development and reclamation interests with the efforts of their representatives in Congress to secure insurance from the river risk is perfectly natural, precisely in the same category with legitimate land-holding interests which back up great irrigation projects of the West. The history of the levee system along the Mississippi River is simply an episode in the long struggle of mankind from time immemorial to

reclaim for cultivation all fertile, alluvial plains of rivers all over the world. Money cannot be expended for a better purpose. But it ought to be properly spent; it ought to be used, not wasted.

SPENDING MONEY ON THE RIVER

The *Congressional Record* of the last Congress contained hundreds of pages of debate and filibustering on the Rivers and Harbors bill, the Newlands bill, and the Ransdell-Humphreys bill, all of which legislation immediately concerned the control of the Mississippi. A certain amount of the objection to the appropriations contemplated in these bills came from public spirit, a certain part from incomplete information regarding the subject, and a very large proportion from Congressmen representing districts not directly benefited by the appropriations.

In so far as the annual storm of objection against the expenditure of large Government appropriations for river improvement is concerned, there would seem to be at least this one just compromise, a compromise which is fair in theory and is fortified by a first-hand, unprejudiced inspection of the lands and the greatest river concerned.

The National Government ought not to bear such a large proportion of the cost of levee and revetment work as it is now bearing in some parts of the Mississippi Valley. Take the St. Francis Basin, of which we have just spoken, as an instance: lands there fifteen years ago worth only from $1 to $5 an acre are now valued at from $50 to $125 an acre, the advance in valuation due directly to the closure of the St. Francis Basin by levees constructed by the Federal Government. Yet these lands have not contributed, on an average, to the best of my information, more than $5 an acre toward this insurance. It would not be unreasonable to require a contribution from lands so extensively benefited in valuation of at least 30 or 40 per cent. of the increment in value due to the Government's work.

Farther south, in the older levee districts in Mississippi and Louisiana counties bordering on the river, the local authorities have in the past done their full share in paying for river protection. But nearly all of them now are lining up behind a movement to try to get the Federal Government to bear all the expenses in the future. Taking the upper Yazoo district, which has been spoken of before, as an example, lands having complete protection increase constantly in value. Such lands should keep on bearing their share of the expense, just as the upper Yazoo district lands have done.

FAINT-HEARTED LEGISLATION

Another objection to the levee system, and another grievance against the way in which the problem of the Great River has hitherto been approached, is to be found in the ineffective expenditure of such appropriations as have already been made, an ineffectiveness, however, which is more apparent than real. There are two reasons for this apparent wastefulness. In the first place, it has been very difficult for the engineers to figure accurately on the data provided by different floods and the whimsical history of the river; in the second place, the framers of legislation have been faint-hearted and pusillanimous in going before the country for appropriations.

For example, in 1898, after an investigation of several months, the Senate Committee on Commerce reported upon the testimony of Col. Robert S. Taylor and Col. G. L. Gillespie, both at that time members of the Mississippi River Commission, that:

"It is estimated that it would cost to complete the entire levee system from the head of the St. Francis Basin to the head of the Passes, at a grade sufficiently high and strong to afford complete protection against floods at the highest possible stage, the sum of $18,000,000 to $20,000,000."

Fourteen years later, in 1912, Colonel Townsend, president of the Mississippi River Commission, said before the Committee on Rivers and Harbors that it would cost $58,000,000 to build existing levees to the height estimated on the basis of the flood in the spring of that year, and that the estimate for revetment work, in addition to the building of the levees, was "about $90,000,000." These are only two quotations from a great number of widely

ging estimates by Government and
civil engineers on the amount of
y necessary to hold the Great River.
estimates in their divergence prove
the theory that an Army engineer is
able of mistakes is not well founded.
e advocates of the Ransdell-Hum-
ys bill lobbied hard all through the
-third Congress with a bill appro-
ing $60,000,000 for the complete
ing of the river between Cairo and
Orleans to the standard grade and
horough revetment of its banks. The
le with that bill was not that it asked
much—the ground on which it was
t and defeated—but that it did not
alf enough.
nator Newlands's titanic legislation, ad-
ting the appropriation of $600,000,000
aterways all over the United States,
aside only $100,000,000 for the Miss-
i portion of the entire area.
e truth of the matter seems to be that
ost of an efficient system on the Mis-
pi will be materially greater than any
al estimate yet presented to Congress.
age 3,445 of the Report of the Chief
ngineers for 1914 is a fair basis for
utation. It is there stated that
00,000 cubic yards of fill—which is
ably an under-estimate—are required
mplete the levee system to its present
sional grade and section. A very
rvative estimate of the cost per cubic
is 20 cents. That figure does not,
urse, include revetment and it does
nclude the cost of the land, nor the
lue to wear, which in 1913 amounted
6 per cent.
careful estimate of the cost of
lete treatment of the banks of the
issippi by revetment is contained in
ort of the Mississippi River Com-
on published in House Document
Sixty-second Congress, second session.
gives $157,800,000, although in the
on of the engineers who prepared that
t less than half of that amount would
ctually necessary for the protection
isting lines of levee.
ch divergence in professional opinion
he habit of recurring floods to overtop
dermine the levees has weakened the
dence of Congress in the special
advocacy of flood-control measures. Before a Congressional state of mind, toward which these inconsistent estimates merely constitute one cause, the framers of bills for work on the Mississippi appear with a heavy burden of proof upon their shoulders. Like the Army and the Navy, the Great River suffers from politics. Framers of legislation ask for what they think they can get and, in order to get even a fair proportion of what they ask for, they are obliged to distribute the appropriations over wide fields. Hence the insidious legislation known as the "pork barrel."

If we are ever going to get anywhere with this Mississippi problem, we have got to divorce the whole subject of its cost from the false economy which has always been injected into its discussion. If to deal finally with this great problem involves the expenditure of more than $300,000,000, the money would be well spent.

We must remember that this great drainage ditch of the Nation brings down the run-off of thirty-one states and leaves it to be cared for by the six states which border the lower Mississippi. The domain to be protected is 29,000 square miles, or 19,000,000 acres of land. It is an empire that is asking for protection. A cotton crop as large as the entire bumper growth of 1914 in the United States could be produced in that fertile acreage by intelligent, protected cultivation. The high water of 1912 converted half of it—an area greater than the states of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts —into an inland sea.

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION

There are two other troubles with the Great River: the Mississippi River Commission and the Mississippi River Levee Association. To criticise the first is a kind of profanity; the really patriotic aims of the second may be appropriately divorced from some of its methods.

In a figurative sense, the Great River flows through the Mississippi River Commission, a body organized under an act of Congress in 1879 and authorized to supervise the work in general and make recommendations for the allotment of appropriations. In the working out of this

scheme the Commission is really the distributing agent or medium through which the various levee boards, organized under their state acts, obtain funds for the erection of levees and the consequent reclamation of the alluvial lands behind them. In this connection it must be understood that only one state in the Delta gives direct state aid, and that is Louisiana. In the other levee districts the state simply permits the riparian counties affected to organize themselves into levee districts and then grants them the privilege of taxing themselves.

In the disposition of Federal appropriations the chief source of river contracts is found, and it is inevitable that the powerful political influence which always shadows the distribution of public funds should prejudice the disposition of big allotments to levee boards composed for many years of the same coteries of officers, contractors, and engineers. It is inevitable that the annual or occasional disbursement of these river appropriations should come to have something of the nature of harvest in localities so governed and constituted.

As at present constituted, it is at least arguable that the Mississippi River Commission has survived its usefulness. There are evidences of dry rot in it, as must be the case with any similar body which, ever since 1879, with a long-term membership, has spent on an average all but two weeks of every year in offices.

What the Great River needs in the way of a commission is a body of men who are actually on the job. For example, the Ohio River Board is composed of four United States engineers, all of whom are regularly in charge of their districts on the river and meet together occasionally with a fifth, junior officer, who is the recorder of the board. A Mississippi River Commission to be most effective should be similarly organized. The work is easily of such magnitude and importance as to justify handling it as the Panama Canal construction was handled, not with a comparatively academic aloofness, but by the members of a commission who themselves should have actual charge of the work throughout the river's course and *not, as at present,* visiting their territory only twice a year, covering the distance from St. Louis to New Orleans in a week's or ten-days' trip.

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER LEVEE ASSOCIATION

Sometimes, as one travels down the river in an inquiring frame of mind, one almost loses sight of the river among the recriminations of those who believe in different ways of controlling it. The only organized interstate body in the Valley which has as its object the direction of national attention toward the problem we are discussing is the Mississippi River Levee Association, with headquarters at Memphis, Tenn.

This association has accomplished a lot of good work in its propaganda but it has been somewhat bitterly opposed by the supporters of the Newlands-Broussard bill, such opposition being traceable to local political causes, fortified by strong sectional dedication against the "levees only" plan of flood prevention and aid to navigation.

The Levee Association is closely identified with Senator Ransdell, of Louisiana, and Representative Humphreys, of Mississippi, the two sponsors of the compromise bill which failed in the last Congress to put sixty millions of Federal dollars entirely into dykes and revetment work between Cairo and the Passes. On the board of directors of the Levee Association are many well known names, and several railroads whose tracks run through the Delta appear modestly on its subscription list to the quiet tune of one thousand dollars apiece. But as an effective working body, the Mississippi River Levee Association is reducible to just two men: Mr. A. S. Caldwell, of Memphis, and Mr. John Fox, a civil engineer and native of Arkansas.

Mr. Caldwell stays in Memphis most of the time but makes speeches in other cities. He is personally interested in lands along the river and in navigation upon it, and patriotically interested in making a national project out of the Mississippi problem.

Mr. Fox, the secretary of the association, spends nearly all his time in Washington during the sessions of Congress. With a certain amount of naïveté Mr. Fox

n his propaganda that "there are fish motives prompting the actions se participating in this great public and in the same sentence says that who contribute funds for its support those whose interests suffer loss in of flood."

o far as it has been the purpose of ississippi River Levee Association, as th in its printed matter, to convince ople of the Nation in general and the ess of the United States in particular he control of the floods on the lower sippi River is a national duty, its s worthy of all praise.

mistake has come in tying itself up ecial piece of legislation, advocating icular remedy to the exclusion of all , and in not being apparently quite in the estimates submitted in sup- f such legislation. The association, ne bill to which it has tied itself, a little bit of utilitarianism, of unism, of "getting away with it." ers in that way just as the Newlands tion, as drafted, seems to a layman tical, bulky, and barren of expedi- results—vague and altruistic.

SERVOIRS AND THEIR ADVOCATES

as the levee crowd can't see any in reservoirs or outlets, people in urg and New Orleans are not a tisfied with the performance of the and their builders. When Sir m Willcocks, fresh from his chaining Nile, arrived in this country a little than a year ago his professional n was eagerly sought by the various is interested in solving the Mis- i problem. Sir William spent a day at Memphis, very uncomfort- because it rained that day. He have spared himself the trouble and fort of the trip. He found in the sippi merely corroboration of his redetermined theories of flood con- btained in a long experience on the ates and the Nile.

reservoir cohorts welcomed his nces as they seemed to confirm their views. Sir William made several tions, but his chief idea is one very advanced by the anti-levees-only people, namely, the use of impounding reservoirs to take off the crest of floods and thus maintain the stream within its leveed banks.

Reservoirs of this character are of two kinds: comparatively small ones built in groups near the sources of confluent streams flowing into the Mississippi; and enormous artificial lakes near the main course of the river itself. Needless to say this second type of reservoir exists only in theory. A series of small reservoirs has been built by the Government at the headwaters of the Mississippi River, and the Pittsburg Flood Commission has prepared plans for the building of a similar system at the headwaters of the Allegheny, Monongahela, and Ohio rivers, and their tributaries, mainly for the protection of the city of Pittsburg.

The total capacity of the Pittsburg Commission's reservoir system is about 59,500,000,000 cubic feet. To give a definite idea of what this figure means we may compare it with the capacity of the system of reservoirs already built at the headwaters of the Mississippi River. According to the chief engineer's report on the practicability of impounding reservoirs, the total capacity of this system, 95,000,000,000 cubic feet, makes an average difference of only one foot in the control of the river at St. Paul, about 200 miles below, the Ohio River at Pittsburg and the Mississippi at St. Paul being comparable streams.

Conditions are extremely favorable for reservoir construction at the headwaters of the Mississippi but, while those which the Government has built there materially do increase the low water discharge at St. Paul and, to the extent just stated, may reduce flood heights, yet a hundred miles farther down the river it is impossible to detect their influence during either high or low water. The principle to be deduced from this uncontested fact is that a source reservoir or a group of them must be close to the locality to be benefited or their value rapidly diminishes. For regulating the lower Mississippi by reservoirs, therefore, the source stream type cannot be considered a substitute for levees.

Colonel Townsend, president of the Mississippi Commission, was also appointed on the Board to investigate the reservoir project above Pittsburg. In his report of 1914 he uses these very interesting figures:

> The Pittsburg Flood Commission has a carefully prepared project which proposes to store, in seventeen reservoirs, fifty-nine billion cubic feet of water at an estimated cost of about $21,000,000, which I consider very reasonable. But I made a little computation to see what that figure meant when translated into a unit applicable to the Mississippi River and found that during less than seven hours 59,000,000,000 cubic feet of water flowed by the latitude of Red River at the crest of the recent (1913) flood, and, based on the estimate of the Flood Commission, it would therefore require more than $73,000,000 to build reservoirs to hold the water that passed down the river in one day. If reliance is placed on reservoirs provision must also be made for the other forty-eight days the river was above a bank-full stage.

The scheme of flood control above Pittsburg must be carefully distinguished from the work of building dams in the Ohio between Pittsburg and Cairo. The latter undertaking, for which $60,000,000 has already been appropriated, is rather a low water than a high water expedient, purely in the interests of navigation. The fifty-three dams appropriated for, thirteen of which have already been constructed, will make a series of stepping stones down the Ohio, insuring a depth of nine feet throughout its course.

Those who do not put all their faith in source stream control advocate, as did Sir William Willcocks, great impounding lakes lower down the river. A very brief analysis of just what this would involve in the case of the proposed turning of the St. Francis Basin into such a reservoir will suffice to shed light on the whole subject. The St. Francis Basin contains about 6,000 square miles. Between Cape Girardeau and its southernmost drainage point there is a drop of 129 feet. To have retained the Mississippi flood of 1912 within its banks would have required a reservoir in the St. Francis territory of 7,000 square miles, an area slightly less than that of New Jersey. And these figures leave entirely out of account the question of condemning as a reservoir site some of the most fertile land in the Valley, valued at $100 or more an acre. Granted that all this stupendous engineering and the sacrifice of 7,000 square miles of habitable and cultivatable country were once achieved, the floods would thereby be reduced only between two and three feet in height.

THE OUTLET THEORY OF CONTROL

As you approach the outlet theory of flood control it is well to carry with you the fact that this river at its highest stage pours down twelve times as much water as goes over Niagara Falls: that is, 2,300,000 cubic feet a second. At once it will be clear that by an outlet you would make another river which would have to be leveed, and, as the opponents of outlets say they can prove, thus double your expense and cripple your navigation by impeding the flow of the main river.

The river has itself constantly given evidences of the comparative ineffectiveness of outlets. A crevasse is an uncontrolled outlet, and careful observations have shown that in nearly every crevasse that has occurred the amount of flood depression is much smaller than the diverted volume would seem to demand. For example, in 1912 two big crevasses occurred on the same day north of Vicksburg, at Panther Point and at Salem. A discharge measurement of the river was made at Vicksburg just before the breaks occurred and showed a stage of 51.5 feet. Two days after the levees had gone out at the Panther Point and Salem crevasses the stage had fallen only .5 feet at Vicksburg although the discharge was 369,220 second feet less than before the breaks.

The celebrated Nita crevasse, which occurred in 1890, carried off a river of 402,556 cubic feet a second out of the main stream, yet the flood stage at Carrollton, fifty-eight miles downstream, was lowered only 1.6 feet.

These instances will show what an enormous volume must be diverted through outlets or spillways in order to secure an even temporary relief in flood heights.

Despite these apparently conclusive

figures, however, it is only fair to say that the subject of outlets and their effect upon the Mississippi has not yet been investigated to the thorough satisfaction even of the Army engineers on whose investigations the foregoing figures are founded. And if, by the use of a controlled outlet at Bonnet Carre, diverting the crest of a flood from the Mississippi into Lake Pontchartrain, or by other similar artificially built but controlled spillways, even a foot and a half or two feet might be taken off the New Orleans levees in flood time, such protection ought to be incorporated in any general plan for the control of the Great River.

RICHLAND CENTER AND THE SPIRIT OF THE MIDDLE WEST

HOW LIFE IN A SMALL TOWN IS MADE BIG WITH POSSIBILITIES

BY

WALTER A. DYER

THERE was a Man from Massachusetts who had heard much about the Spirit of the Middle West, and who had a curiosity to know what it was. He sought it in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Chicago, and it eluded him, though he knew it was there. Their organization recalled too strongly that of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Even in young and beautiful Minneapolis, with its grain elevators and flour mills, he found a complicating touch of the East.

He sought the Spirit in the corn belt and among the wide-flung wheat fields of the Dakotas. They sang a new song to him, wild and strange, but the words of it he did not understand. His hill-girt mind could not comprehend these far horizons and unclothed spaces. They and the growing cities were too big to tell a single tale. So the Man from Massachusetts sought a little town among the bluffs, far off the beaten track from the East, where the lives of men and women spring in native vigor from a soil yet in its prime. And there he found the Spirit of the Middle West, or at least one form of it, for it is a gem of many facets which no man can paint into a single picture.

Half way between Madison and La Crosse, in the smiling land of southern Wisconsin, where broad fields of nodding oats gleamed from the hillsides in the sunny July weather, the Man from Massachusetts alighted at Lone Rock and took a shuttle train for the little city of Richland Center.

Some one at the University of Wisconsin had called it a "town with a history of public spirit and coöperative action." On the map it seemed to lie in a great tract of country as completely unknown to the Man from Massachusetts as the Sudan. Wherefore, he bought his ticket and went.

Richland Center is the county seat of Richland County and boasts a local population of 3,000. It lies at the heart of a thoroughly rural community of about 15,000 inhabitants, and all roads lead to Richland Center. It is a prosperous and self-sufficient city of the West, which has grown up of its own volition and developed its own character. Its people think not in terms of Chicago or St. Paul. The trials and triumphs of New York and San Francisco interest them less than those of Prairie du Chien. Richland Center is the hub of its own universe, and that is one aspect of the Spirit of the Middle West.

Richland Center supports three banks and three newspapers and derives its wealth from the cattle on a thousand hills. As the Man from Massachusetts approached the town he observed the stacks and buildings of a great condensed milk plant which, though its output is said to be

greater than that of any other condensory in the United States, bore a name unknown to him. Its product, he was told, is directed chiefly toward the Farther West. The Man from Massachusetts was impressed. Bunker Hill seemed very far away.

A SHIRT-SLEEVED MAYOR

The Man from Massachusetts summoned up his courage and sought out the mayor of Richland Center. He found him in his dental office, working with his coat off over a wild-eyed little girl with rubber-dam over her mouth. The mayor—a Middle-Western fellow rejoicing in the name of Smith—left the wild-eyed little girl to her fearsome imaginings and showed the Man from Massachusetts the city audit sheets.

"Richland Center," said the mayor, "has more water mains, sewers, and street lights than any other city of its size in the great state of Wisconsin," and the Man from Massachusetts caught another glimpse of the Spirit of the Middle West.

This little town of 3,000, which could be tucked away in a corner of Central Park, in New York City, has a municipal form of government and municipally owned utilities. It operates its own water works and electric lighting plant. It owns a quarry, stone crusher, and road-making machinery. The water department does a business of $100,000 annually, and the lighting department a business of $26,000, and both are run at a profit. The city has concrete streets and is building more. It has adequate police and fire protection and has placed sanitary drinking fountains at the street corners. The Man from Massachusetts had always supposed that isolation meant backwardness, but he found it not so at Richland Center.

Moreover, Richland Center is an American city. Almost none of its people are foreign born; 95 per cent. can boast American parentage.

The Man from Massachusetts strolled over to the public library to learn whether any love for reading existed in this out-of-the-way place. He found one of the first Carnegie buildings erected in any city of less than 10,000. For some years the city had maintained a public library in a rented hall, and had accumulated a few hundred books and about $1,000 in funds when, in 1905, Mr. Carnegie sent his check for $10,000. Of this, $8,000 was used for the building and $2,000 for equipment, and the city bound itself to pay $1,000 a year for maintenance. The site was donated by a philanthropic citizen. There are about 4,400 books in this library, with an annual circulation of more than 14,000. Of the 3,000 people in Richland Center, more than 1,300 are registered borrowers.

But village libraries were not an unfamiliar sight to the Man from Massachusetts, and he turned his steps toward the high school, picturesquely located at the foot of a lofty bluff. There he opened his eyes, for high school plants such as he found here had been associated in his mind with the resources of much larger cities back East.

It was midsummer, and school was not in session, but the superintendent, Mr. E. G. Doudna, was in his office, and, like the mayor, had his coat off and was working. Like the mayor he dropped his work and showed the Man from Massachusetts what he wanted to see.

A MAGNIFICENT HIGH SCHOOL

The building, which is large, handsome, and well equipped, was erected three years ago at a cost of about $60,000. The man from Massachusetts did a little mental figuring. A city of 100,000 population would have to spend approximately $2,000,000 on high school buildings to hit Richland Center's pace.

The Richland Center school is modern in the scientific arrangement of its study and lecture rooms and laboratories. Its auditorium seats 260 people. It is equipped with a large gymnasium, lockers and bathrooms, a sewing-room, kitchen, model dining-room, and laundry. A manual training department was to be installed this year. In addition to the usual academic branches, cooking, sewing, music, physical culture, and agriculture are taught. The kitchen is supplied with a coal range and electric cookers, and the model dining-room is used for demonstration purposes by the classes in domestic economy. There is an agricultural laboratory in the building and demonstration and experimental plats

d the athletic field, where the Man Massachusetts found the tents of a er Chautauqua.

re are nine members of the school's ng staff, and the pupils last year ered 235, of whom 110 came from e the city limits. A class of about s graduated each year and for the last ears fully half of these have entered es, universities, and normal schools. Man from Massachusetts recalled a chool back East, in a town of about population, which graduated a class last June.

Man from Massachusetts suppressed ing of surprise at finding Richland r advanced in its musical tastes and ally enthusiastic. The high school rts an orchestra of seventeen pieces, d of thirty pieces, a chorus, and a glee club, not to mention a girls' y society, a boys' debating society, riving athletic teams of all sorts.

impression grew on the Man from chusetts that he had visited a ighly modern high school plant up among the Wisconsin bluffs, and it ith a feeling of respect that he started e leave of this remarkable Middle- rn schoolmaster, when the latter l to show him the municipal building uditorium, which was the thing the from Massachusetts most wanted to The schoolmaster, it appeared, was a er of the committee of management municipal building.

hey walked down together he told the from Massachusetts the history of interesting institution. For years nd Center had talked and dreamed ort of municipal home—a temple for ic spirit. It wanted a building that be at once the seat of the city ment and the centre of the city's unity life—a place for public dis- n, entertainment, and social inter- . It had never heard of the phrase l centre," but it was making tracks t direction.

1911 the electors of the city voted a issue of $40,000 for the erection of a ipal building worthy of the best of the community. A committee of s was appointed by the Common Council to prepare plans and the building was completed in the winter of 1913 at a cost of about $55,000.

At first the city found itself lacking legal authority to operate the auditorium, and so an association of business men was formed who leased the hall from the city, appointed an operating board of three and a manager at a salary of $25 a month. Later an accommodating legislature passed a bill making it possible for the Common Council to conduct the business of the auditorium. The services of the operating board and the manager were retained.

The Common Council of Richland Center reserves the right to designate for what purposes the auditorium shall be free, for what purposes it shall be rented at cost, and for what purposes at a profit.

A PUBLIC AUDITORIUM THAT PAYS

The auditorium was opened March 10, 1913, with a play. In twelve months it had been used fifty-one times for public meetings and entertainments. It had paid all operating expenses and had turned a surplus of $2,000 into the city treasury, though constantly conducted for service rather than for profit. The record night was April 5, 1913, when the box office receipts for a theatrical performance were $1,153. In other words, Richland Center found that its long-dreamed-of institution for public welfare was a paying proposition, just as its lighting plant and its water works pay for themselves.

The schoolmaster and the Man from Massachusetts approached a substantial-looking structure in the heart of the city. It is a three-story fireproof building of brick and concrete construction, designed to meet the needs of town hall, club house, and people's auditorium. On the lower floor, a few steps down from the street, the Man from Massachusetts found the quarters of the Federated Women's Clubs, running across the front of the building. The main room is large enough for assembly or banquet purposes, and there is a lavatory, kitchen, and well filled china and linen closets. An indirect system of electric lighting is employed here as in the rest of the building, hanging bowls casting the light upon the white ceiling. The affairs

of the various women's organizations of Richland Center are conducted in these rooms. The rooms are also frequently rented to churches and other organizations for dinners, meetings, and entertainments.

SOME MODERN CONVENIENCES

Behind the Women's Club rooms lies the mysterious realm of the janitor, which the Man from Massachusetts was permitted to invade. Here he found a furnace room and a modern fan system of heating and ventilation, with automatic regulation. Beneath the auditorium proper extends an air chamber through which warmed air is forced in winter and cooled air in summer.

"Rather up-to-date for a Wisconsin cow town?" remarked the schoolmaster.

The Man from Massachusetts nodded; he didn't like to admit too much.

On the main floor, at the front, above the Women's Club rooms, the offices of the city administration are located, including a meeting-room for the mayor and Common Council, and the offices of the superintendent of light and water, the city engineer, and the other city officers. Back of these offices there is a corridor, a box office, and the entrance doors of the auditorium.

In the auditorium the Man from Massachusetts was shown as attractive a small theatre, opera house, and lecture hall as he had ever seen. Its decorative beauty scarcely conceals its look of confident efficiency. Comfortable theatre seats are arranged in curving tiers on a sloping floor of concrete, and beneath each seat is a capped register through which is forced warm air in winter and cool air in summer. The body of the hall is two stories high, and from the lofty ceiling hang great lighting bowls. The walls are paneled and frescoed in excellent taste. At the rear of the hall a curving gallery juts out, its cantilever construction reducing the number of obstructive pillars to the minimum.

The auditorium seats 920 persons comfortably. On the occasion of the Decoration Day exercises last year 1,200 people were crowded in. Danger of panic on such occasions is lessened by the fire exit doors placed at intervals along both sides—doors that cannot be locked against a pressure *from within.*

The stage is large enough for any ordinary production, being 46 x 27 feet, with an opening 30 x 20 feet. There are fourteen clean, light dressing rooms, a scene loft, and a good equipment of scenery and properties. The auditorium owns four complete stage settings and three extra drops. The stage lighting facilities, too, are adequate for all ordinary purposes.

"Even a college dramatic club," mused the Man from Massachusetts, "should do well on a stage like this."

The auditorium is used for many purposes—for amateur plays, traveling shows, concerts, lectures, moving pictures, school exercises, public meetings, etc.

AN AUDITORIUM FOR THE PEOPLE

"Good music is one of our hobbies," said the schoolmaster, and he named several first-class performers, both vocal and instrumental, who had been brought to Richland Center. In the winter of 1913-14 seven numbers of a lyceum course were offered. Traveling theatrical performances are investigated by the committee before they are allowed to rent the hall, and objectionable performances are barred. The committee does not expect to make "high brows" out of Richland County dairymen, however, and they are not denied an occasional "East Lynn" or a comedy of the slap-stick and seltzer-bottle variety. The auditorium is for all the people.

The Richland Center auditorium has undoubtedly contributed in a degree to the community spirit and democracy of the place, and it has given the leaders a confidence in social experimentation. It is a popular institution with no taint of philanthropy, and it is used by the people largely because they built it themselves.

The institution tends in its development toward the practical and the concrete. A recent gathering will illustrate: Some of the leaders desired to hold a citizens' conference on the subject of concrete roads and cement work; a twenty-five cent supper was served in the Women's Club rooms and 250 taxpayers turned out. If the object of the meeting had been some uplifting discussion of child welfare or the initiative and referendum, there wouldn't have been a quorum present.

ı the third floor of the building, above nunicipal offices and across the corridor , the entrances to the gallery, the Com-ial Club has its quarters—lounging assembly room, billiard tables, etc. rooms in the building are used for the l social and commercial purposes of a ıess men's club.

om the secretary of the Commercial ı (who is also editor of the *Republican-rver*), from the president of one of the :s, and from an energetic young lawyer, Man from Massachusetts picked up a ıdditional facts about the city.

REGENERATION OF RICHLAND CENTER

ɔt much more than ten years ago Rich-Center was a rough logging town, with nud knee-deep in its streets and with ly enough public spirit to start a com-ıt. Its chief product was railroad ties, the men who handled that product a cursing, red-necked lot whose chief 'ity while in town was to raise the local age for annual consumption of ales, s, and spirituous liquors.

ɔbody claims that Richland Center's ıeration was the result of a moral ral; no Moses came to lead a distraught le out of the wilderness. The re-ration was due simply to a change in strial conditions and to the fact that Spirit of the Middle West was there its boots on, waiting for whatever ıt turn up.

was half a century ago that Ex-gover-loard began to preach the gospel of the and the cheese factory for Wisconsin, :he message traveled slowly. It struck land County about ten years ago, and on as people found that there was more ey in cheese than in railroad ties a ıge came over the face of the land. ying and cheese making became the ng industry of the county, and bank nces began to grow.

Commercial Club was formed in Rich-Center to help things along, and ıgh the efforts of its members the big ensory was built in the winter of -11. This plant uses from 100,000 to ɔoo pounds of milk a day, and the ty's cheese production has dropped rdingly. Still, twelve carloads of cheese were shipped out of Richland Center the week before the Man from Massachusetts arrived for his visit.

PROSPERITY WITHOUT A "BOOM"

All this has meant prosperity—extraordinary prosperity per capita. The only unhappy person the Man from Massachusetts found in the city was the hotel proprietor, who said that all the families in the county were so well-to-do that he couldn't find any girls to employ as waitresses and chambermaids. But this prosperity has come steadily and normally; there has been no unhealthy boom. And with the prosperity there has come to the people a sane desire for the good things of life—good roads, good schools, and the auditorium.

Prosperity has not made Richland Center snobbish. It is still a shirt-sleeve town. Ths Spirit of the Middle West does not take kindly to coats and is not overcordial toward collars. Yet Richland Center is civilized; it is no frontier camp.

The assistant librarian told the Man from Massachusetts in confidence that Richland Center owed its regeneration entirely to the fact that it was a "dry" town. The Man from Massachusetts hadn't the time to investigate this theory, but he did find that in 1907 Richland Center went dry to stay dry. Whether this was cause or result would furnish an interesting subject for debate. Suffice it to say that the gilt signs came down and the roisterers departed for more congenial regions. And that did not seem to draw trade away from the town, either, for wherever there had been a saloon there seemed to be a merchandise store to take its place.

"And the stores advertise, which the saloons did not," added the editor, which indicated his views on prohibition.

At present there are no saloons, no pool rooms, and no gambling in Richland Center. The law is enforced because public sentiment demands it. And this means very little alcoholism in Richland Center, for the man who wants a drink badly enough to journey down to Lone Rock for it must be very thirsty.

Incidentally, the Man from Massa-

chusetts counted fourteen patrons of one drinking fountain in ten minutes, and wondered if these fountains had any connection with the cause of temperance.

Richland Center has some things that other cities of its size lack, but it is doubtless not unique. The Middle West is probably full of Richland Centers, but the Man from Massachusetts had not time to visit them all. But he surely found in this Wisconsin community an expression of the Spirit which he sought.

The people of Richland Center know what they want and proceed to get it. Their minds act directly, not circuitously. Their mental processes are not blocked by preconceived notions or bound by traditions. If the Man from Massachusetts missed something in this that seemed desirable to him—something soft and sweet and solid and good—he set it down as a matter of personal prejudice.

This is a plastic people, a people that can be led, a foot-loose people. They are strong and confident in their strength. And they are growing, growing, ever expanding, with the light of to-morrow always in their eyes.

Which is only another way of saying that they have drunk of the fountain of perpetual youth. That, if we may trust to the conclusions of the Man from Massachusetts, is the Spirit of the Middle West.

COÖPERATION: A KEY TO FOREIGN TRADE

BY

WALTER F. WYMAN

The WORLD'S WORK *will publish every month an article dealing with the concrete problems of the increase in our export trade. The magazine is led to do this by the evident widespread interest shown all over the United States in the possibilities of export trade, and the specific interest in this subject shown by the readers of this magazine in the answers to a circular letter sent to a group of subscribers, most of whom are not directly connected with manufacturing or exporting, in all parts of the country.*—THE EDITORS.

THE best exporting manufacturers of the United States have worked out certain principles of export trade with South America that should be understood and practised by all business men who undertake to enter this field. Some of these principles are characteristically American and they largely explain the success of these manufacturers in the face of European competition.

Perhaps the most useful of these principles are the following:

1. That these manufacturers have combined in their products the artistry of the French, the structural strength of the English, and the surface value of the Germans, but in addition the North American manufacturer insists, whether the product be a pin or a sky-scraper, that it must from first to last prove of more than surface worth. And, in combining the points of advantage of his European competitors, the American manufacturer has added to these the spirit of coöperation, and thus becomes the most desirable source of supply for the South American market. Nor does he waste valuable time endeavoring to duplicate the best articles in use in each country or establish certain set standards and endeavor to convince prospective purchasers that these standards are superior to the ones that the latter have been accustomed to use all their lives, but, rather, the manufacturer seeks to win "a place in the sun" for his product by exactly the same methods that he would employ at home—namely, manufacturing

the best possible goods and then dis- ıg of them by his regular methods of ng domestic sales.

That they have studied the individual s of consumers in South America and adapted their products to these needs.

corporation whose capital is fifty ɔns and whose product is typical of rican machinery secured and kept gn markets by sending to every coun- n the world trained investigators, not men but students, with the command, o explain how the company's machines profitable as against existing methods, to determine how machines could be ıfactured which would best suit the irements of each section of the world. manufacture a machine which meets itions of, and shipments to, western , reached via the Pacific; another el which best serves the user two lred miles away in eastern Peru, reached he Amazon. The differences in the are often concealed beneath similar ces, but every difference has come a careful study, not of profit per ıine, but of the conditions they must in actual service.

That they have studied the pref- es of the consumers and have ed to those prejudices as far as they l without lowering the quality of their uct.

That they have studied the conditions ıcking and shipment which are essen- o delivery in good time and in good ition.

applying this principle, the wishes ıe importer should be consulted and l upon. A record of his exact desires ld be kept, whether these cover pack- to protect against climate, insects, rage, or breakage, the routes by which s are to be shipped, the style, or the idual containers, and the classifica- should be in accordance with the hant's specifications. Some firms even tain customs tariffs experts, patent trademark attorneys, and forwarding ts to study the ways and means to t savings and insure against unfair ices and competition, and thus aid nerchant by investigation and action nd that which he could afford to undertake for their particular class of merchandise.

5. That the export manufacturers of the United States have tested their products in use under the peculiar conditions of every market that they have entered and have altered their products to fit those conditions.

An example of the application of this principle is the experience of a maker of prepared paints and varnishes who has yet to make an export shipment. His firm has an honorable business past and adequate, but not enormous, capital. His product is in nature similar to that of scores of makers in many countries. Even with equal merit he is not in a position to spend a fortune to make his product's name a household word. So before launching his export campaign he subjects his paints to every test of climate. In his laboratories can be found records of defeats, revised formulæ, further defeats, further experimentations. There are now but two problems to solve before he will be able to present a complete line of goods which he will know, by tests on the ground, best meet the demands Nature itself has made his standards. His salesmen travel, study, and report, while at the factory they test and design, discard, and redesign along the lines of customers' tastes, not according to the company's conception of what they should be.

6. That they have considered the South American merchant not as a person on whom to dump their products but as a partner whose success is their success.

And it is this essentially American custom of coöperation that has procured results for the manufacturer whose products are being sold in South America. He is not merely content to fill an order and then let the merchant sell the goods as best he may. Rather he is anxious to help the merchant sell his products, so that more orders may come in and, with this end in view, he lends the South American merchant the benefit of his experience, both as to the domestic selling of the products, as well as to the shipping of goods. Without this personal relation, this spirit of coöperation between the manufacturer and the seller, the North

American manufacturer would fail to have any advantage over his European rival; he might even be considered as being handicapped owing to the European having, up to the present war, dominated and controlled the South American market.

7. Chief among the coöperative efforts of the North American manufacturers has been their work in helping to create a demand for their goods which the local South American merchants carry in stock.

There can be no economical merchandising in our sister republics unless such demand is created—demand which rests on praise by pleased users. As a specific example, suppose that a resident of some manufacturing city of the United States become a resident of São Paulo. Once settled he seeks merchants from whom he may supply his varying needs. For illustration, assume that he has brought with him some household article of American manufacture and that he is unable to secure its duplicate or any competitive article of equal value. His first query is the cost to him of this article, if imported singly. He is staggered by the amount, although this represents only a fair profit to the merchant after he has paid the cost of delivery. The American finds, on inquiry and demonstration of the merits of the article, that many of his neighbors would be glad to buy it and that, with their wishes known, the merchant could and would import the article in sufficient quantity to allow him to make a fair profit and yet at a retail price no greater than that of competitive products, for demand has been created.

8. That further in the practical application of this idea, the manufacturers have helped the South American merchant to develop this demand for their products by keeping him supplied with advertising matter, since it is hardly fair to expect the merchants to shoulder alone the creation of demand. Some firms, on the advice of their merchant clients, send samples of their products direct to the consumers, whose names the merchant has given them, and follow these samples up with letters and color-illustrated booklets, directing the user's attention to the point of superiority of the article.

Another large firm coöperates with four other firms of different types of allied products, each without financial or any other interest in each other, in publishing a joint catalogue attractively bound and beautifully illustrated in color.

The object of this booklet is to enable the merchant to present under one cover a comprehensive illustration of the five most important lines of men's clothing. From his point of view five booklets would tend to emphasize five products, while one booklet would concentrate attention on the fact that he carried these desirable lines. The reason that five separate firms were willing to unite in this one piece of sales assistance was their common acceptance of the value of coöperation. Each regarded it as an axiom that coöperation of this nature with the dealer is of value. While they had nothing in common, except the best interests of this particular dealer, they realized that his best interests and their own were identical.

In addition to these things, this firm has several times, for the foreign merchant's greater profit, prepared letter- and bill-heads, envelopes, and many other forms of advertisements, listing even directly competitive lines. They have requested their salesmen, when visiting users in a merchant's interest, to call their attention to other lines to which the merchant was desirous of giving attention. They combined with other manufacturers in the United States to create demand for a class of article, not their individual product alone. From other businesses, instances might be drawn of coöperation between makers of ice making machinery, refrigerators, and certain utensils depending on the use of ice-boxes. Such combinations are not exceptional; they are the essence of the North American's conception of good merchandising in relation to his ally, the merchant of the South.

The methods and products of the manufacturers of the United States are a Pan-American asset—they free purchases from sentimental reasons for preference and are a logical and economic force. They are based upon a sincere effort to learn, not to assume; on the desire to be partners, not machines.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

FOR SAVING TIME AND LABOR

A device for the drafting room which eliminates the making of tracings and does away with drawing paper and tracing cloth

AN INNOVATION FOR THE DRAFTING ROOM

A DEVICE recently invented, consisting of a dark-coated fabric and a steel scriber, entirely eliminates the making of tracings, either for the purpose of obtaining satisfactory blue prints or for the purpose of having clear and durable records, and does away with drawing paper, tracing cloth, pencil, pen, and ink.

In making a drawing, the draftsman simply uses the steel scriber as a pencil. This scriber produces white, translucent lines on the dark, opaque fabric. Then blue prints are made direct from the finished drawing. The surface of the coated fabric is resistant enough not to become scratched in working on and handling it, yet the steel scriber cuts through it into the white coating underneath, producing a clean-cut white line which forms a strong contrast with the brown surface. The latter, being dull, does not reflect a glare into the eyes.

Erasing is done by means of an ordinary writing pen, which will easily follow either a straight or curved line, and is merely a matter of replacing color where it has been taken off.

Drawings made on the fabric are as permanent as tracings, do not change their color, and do not show soil. The latter quality is exceedingly pleasant when a drawing is worked on for any time or lies around in the open where there is much dirt.

TO REPLACE PEN AND INK

The steel scriber cuts through the dark opaque coating and leaves a clear white line

A MOTOR-CYCLE FIRE ENGINE

A NEW type of fire-fighting apparatus, designed primarily for increased speed in getting to fires, has recently been perfected. The apparatus consists of a motor-cycle with a 14-horsepower engine, on which are mounted a 35-gallon chemical tank with 200 feet of hose, two hand extinguishers, a 12-foot extension ladder, and the regulation fire department equipment of axes, pikes, and lanterns. It can attain a speed of 45 miles an hour.

A MOTOR-CYCLE CHEMICAL ENGINE
Which combines the essential element of speed with economy

A DUSTLESS MOTOR STREET SWEEPER

THE motor-driven machine depicted here is operated by one man, at a speed of from 4 to 5 miles an hour, sweeping, without raising any dust, a strip 8 feet wide and gathering the sweepings until about three cubic yards are accumulated, when they are dumped at selected points.

This sweeper is rendered practically dustless by means of a fine spray of water forced upon the surface of the street in advance of the broom. This spray is delivered through a series of special atomizers by an air pressure of 40 pounds to the square inch.

The water and air pressure are contained in a steel tank having a capacity of about 200 gallons. The pressure is automatically maintained by a compressor driven from the motor. One filling of the tank with water will suffice for from three to four miles. The spray is capable of such fine adjustment that the sweepings may so be dampened, that a clean, moistened path is left behind, without any surplus water upon the street.

AN IMPROVED STREET SWEEPER
Which dampens the road before sweeping and prevents the dust from being distributed in the air

PORTABLE LABORATORY FOR MAKING GAS TESTS

A PORTABLE gas analyzing laboratory has been devised for use in small cities which cannot afford to maintain a well-equipped plant for the purpose of making tests of the illuminating and fuel gas provided by public service companies. The gas analyzer, which separates the

A TRAVELING LABORATORY

A portable gas analyzer, for use in towns that have no regular laboratory

gas into its various constituents and determines the amount of heat it will produce, fills six small trunks and may be set up anywhere that it is desired.

BINDER ATTACHED TO FRONT OF TRACTOR

AN INGENIOUS device, called a harvester attachment, by means of which a binder of any standard make may be attached to the front of a farm tractor, has been invented and put to practical use in North Dakota. The operation of the binder is under the complete control of the man in the cab of the tractor, and the binder is carried clear of the ground, so that it does not interfere with the steering of the tractor.

LINING THE ST. LOUIS WATER TUNNEL WITH CONCRETE

THE pneumatic method of placing concrete, in which the concrete is prepared in a pneumatic mixer and blown through a large pipe into position, was successfully used in the recent lining of the St. Louis water tunnel. The forms used were 36 feet long. The discharge pipe was first extended 18 feet into the form, and the far end and the greater portion of the side walls were filled. The discharge pipe was then withdrawn to the end of the form and the remainder of the space filled with concrete from this point. There was no spading or tamping whatever, the entire section, except the invert, being filled from the centre of the crown. When one section was completed and set the discharge pipe was shortened, and the work of blowing the concrete into place continued.

A ONE-MAN TRACK GRINDER

THIS grinding machine, which can be operated by one man, remains stationary on the track during the actual grinding, the grinding wheel running forward and back on rigid guides, insuring a true surface. The motor is mounted above the grinding wheel and

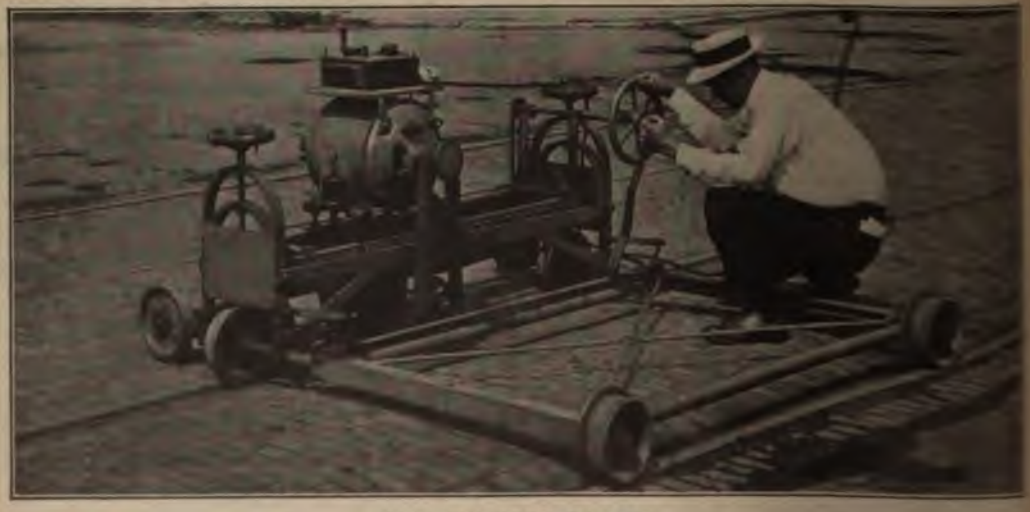
A NEW HARVESTER ATTACHMENT

Which attaches a binder to the front of a traction engine so that one man can operate both machines

BLOWING CONCRETE INTO PLACE

Lining the St. Louis water tunnel by the pneumatic method of placing concrete. Illustration on the left: the pneumatic mixer; lower picture on the right: the pipe discharging into the forms; upper picture: the finished section

travels with it, which permits fast cutting with a minimum of "chattering." The turning of a large hand-wheel causes the grinding wheel to travel forward and back, and a lever regulates the adjustment of the grinding wheel over the spot to be ground.



FOR GRINDING TRACKS

A light track grinder which permits of fast cutting with a minimum of "chattering"

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1915

Mr. Reginald M'Kenna - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Frontispiece*

THE MARCH OF EVENTS—AN EDITORIAL INTERPRETATION - - 499

Mr. Charles R. Miller
Mr. Paul Fuller, Jr.
Mr. Henry Morgenthau
General Louis Botha
General Von Hindenburg
General Von Mackensen

Let Every Man Prepare Himself
Germany and the Monroe Doctrine
Shall We Defend the Monroe Doctrine?
Arguments Within and Without the Law
Intervention in Mexico
American Business in a Changing World
Free Speech and German Propaganda
Latent and Effective Strength
To the Citizens of the Seventh District of Virginia
Mobilizing America's Inventive Genius
A Medical Expedition to China

YOUR GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES - - - - - 514
A WISE NOVICE IN INVESTMENT - - - - - - - - - - 518
HOW THE FOREIGN NATIONS FINANCE THE WAR
JAMES R. MERRIAM 520
HELPING HAITI - - - - - - - - - - - - GEORGE MARVIN 524
JAPAN'S HAND IN CHINA (Illustrated) - - - - CARL CROW 529
MAKING OVER NEW YORK'S CONSTITUTION (Illustrated)
BURTON J. HENDRICK 545
WORKING OUT BUSINESS ETHICS - - HERBERT S. HOUSTON 559
WHY THE UNITED STATES MUST FINANCE THE WAR
THEODORE H. PRICE 564
MACKENSEN'S DRIVE - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 568
THE TEUTONIC CONVALESCENCE OF TURKEY - - - - - 577
THE HOLDING CAMPAIGN - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 581
THE GREAT RIVER (Illustrated) - - - - - - GEORGE MARVIN 584
IV. NAVIGATING THE MISSISSIPPI
PUTTING CHARACTER INTO THE COUNTIES WALTER A. DYER
A NEW KIND OF COUNTY HOSPITAL - - - - - - - - - - - - 605
THE SPREAD OF COUNTY LIBRARIES - - - - - - - - - - - 609
"COMBINATION SALESMEN" AND RED TAPE IN FOREIGN TRADE - - - - - - - - - - - - - - WALTER F. WYMAN 614
MAN AND HIS MACHINES (Illustrated) - - - - - - - - - - - 617
BUSINESS TALKS - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Advertising Section*

TERMS: $3.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents. For Foreign Postage add $1.00; Canada 60 cents
Published monthly. Copyright, 1915, by Doubleday, Page & Company.
All rights reserved. Entered at the Post Office at Garden City, N. Y., as second-class mail matter.
Unsolicited manuscripts are welcomed by the editors and are carefully read. They cannot, however, be returned unless they are accompanied by the proper amount of postage.

F. N. DOUBLEDAY, Pres. H. S. HOUSTON, Vice-Pres. S. A. EVERITT, Treas. RUSSELL DOUBLEDAY, Sec'y.

DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY

COUNTRY LIFE IN AMERICA THE GARDEN MAGAZINE—FARMING

CHICAGO: Peoples Gas Bldg. GARDEN CITY, N. Y. NEW YORK: 11-13 W. 32d Street.

MR. REGINALD M'KENNA

THE SUCCESSOR OF MR. LLOYD-GEORGE AS CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, WHO SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATED A NEW WAR LOAN OF MORE THAN $3,000,000,000 FOR GREAT BRITAIN, BY FAR THE GREATEST LOAN IN HISTORY

[See page 500]

THE
WORLD'S WORK

SEPTEMBER, 1915

VOLUME XXX NUMBER 5

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THE United States Government has informed the German Government that we may go to war if the German maritime forces continue their attacks upon American lives and property. The word "war" was not used in the American note. It merely said that such acts would be regarded as "deliberately unfriendly." Under these circumstances certain offenses could be met by severing diplomatic relations. Yet the fact remains that a continuance of "deliberately unfriendly" acts means war. Whether or not there is a continuance of these acts rests with Berlin. A short while before the note reached Berlin the submarines began to use more humane and legal methods. This was a good omen for continued peace.

Yet with the possibility of war in the hands of the Kaiser it behooves every American citizen to look the question fairly in the face and decide what he is going to do if war comes. With Mr. Wilson in the White House he can rest assured that war will not come unless Germany really prefers it to admitting our rights at sea; and if Germany prefers war to admitting these rights in practise there is no way to prevent it. What is left for the United States to do is to be as ready as it can be if war does come.

There are several ways for the United States to be ready—military, naval, industrial, financial.

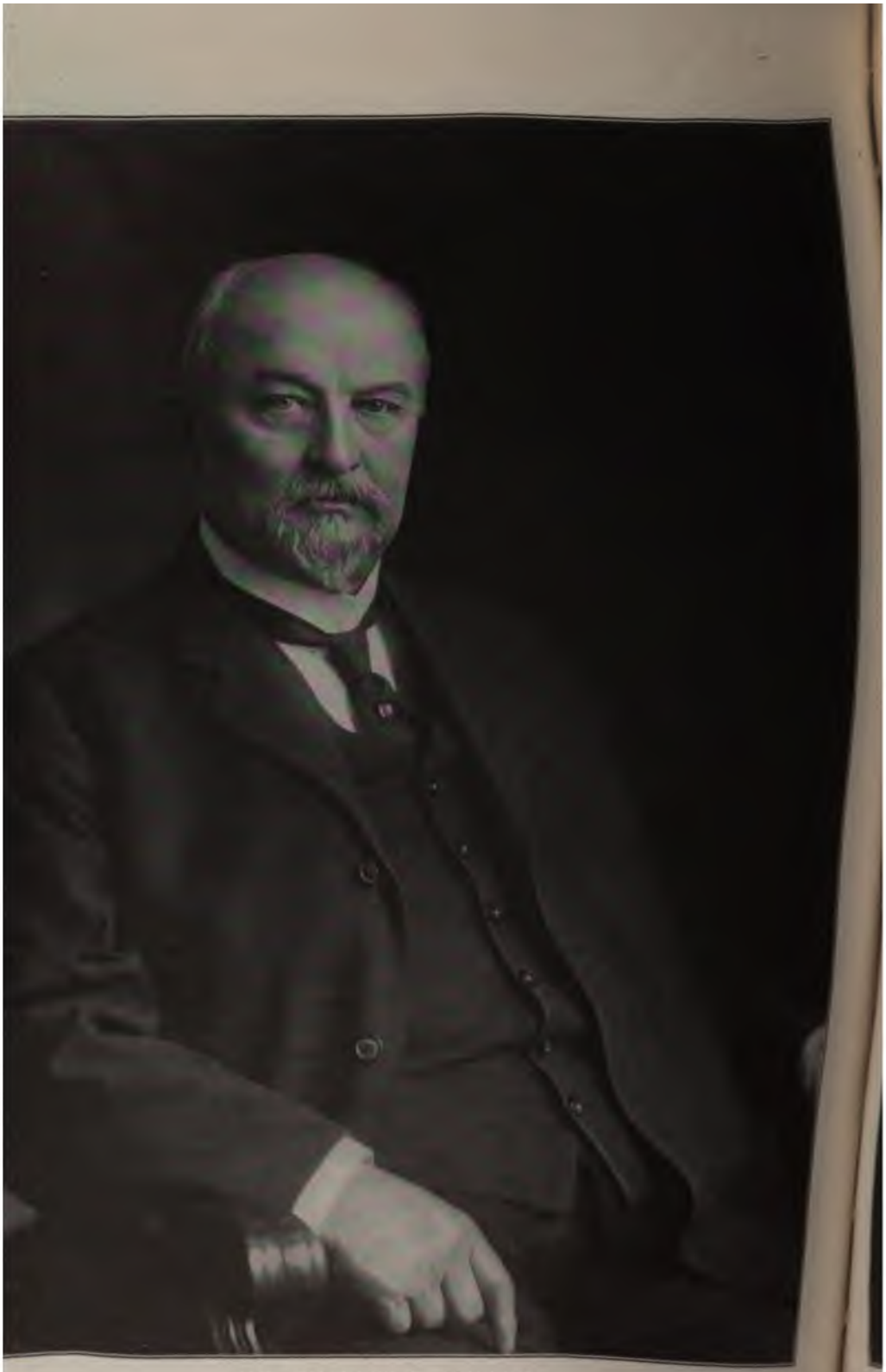
Presumably the War and Navy departments are doing what is possible without Congressional action.

If war should come we should have need of the utmost coöperation between the Government and the semi-public commercial bodies and their members so that the production of arms, ammunition, and supplies could be handled quickly, properly, and without scandals.

Financially a similar condition exists. The Federal Reserve Board and the private bankers would be called upon to meet a much more difficult situation than the great war has yet thrust upon us as a neutral nation.

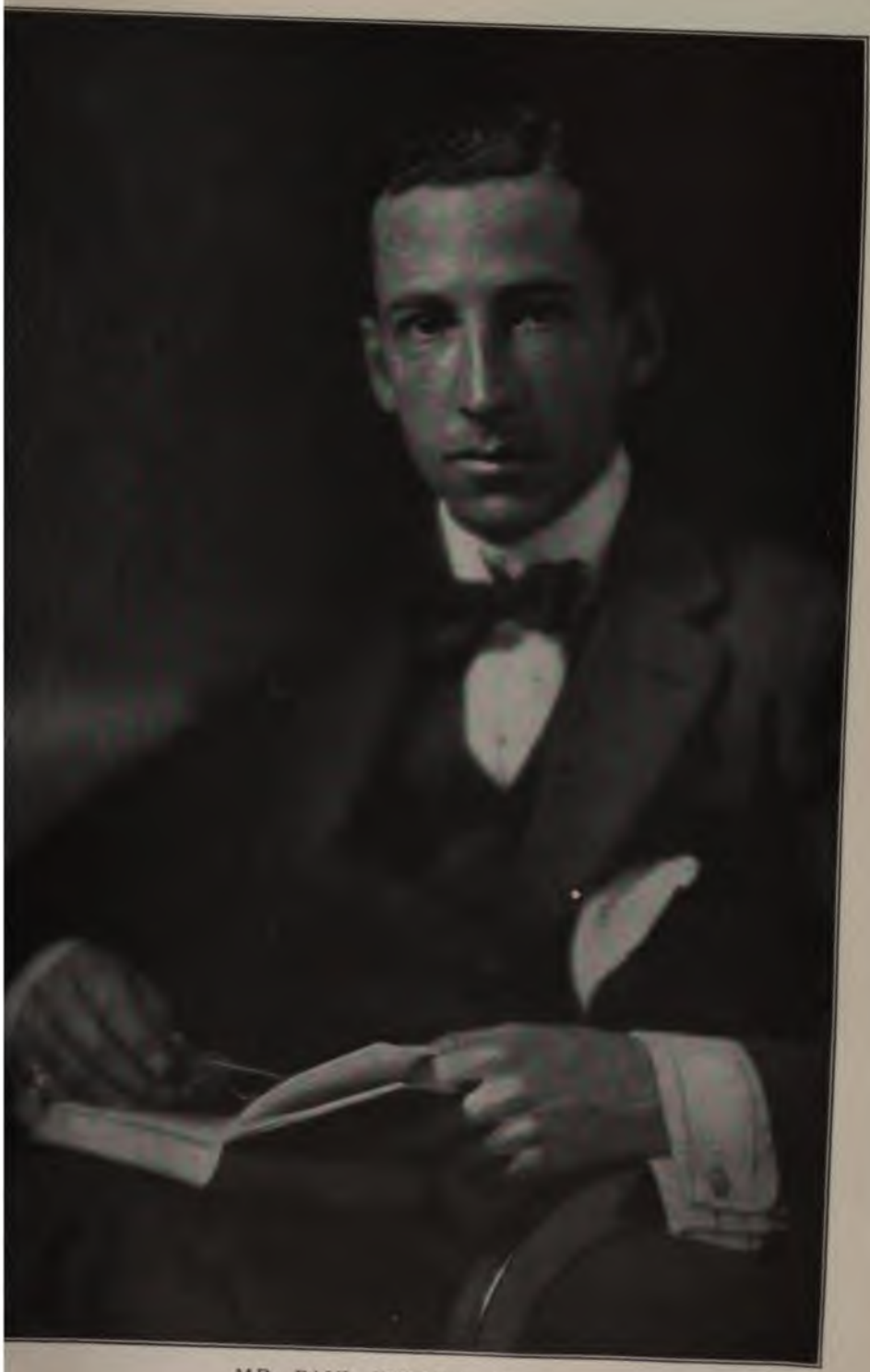
There are many people in this country who feel that to look the facts in the face and to make plans even as well as we can for any emergency is a move against peace. But the vast majority stand fully behind the President in putting the matter squarely up to Germany. Having placed the decision in Berlin we may well get ourselves mentally and physically as ready as we can for anything that Berlin may do.

Copyright, 1915, by Doubleday, Page & Co. All rights reserved.



MR. CHARLES R. MILLER

EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK "TIMES," WHOSE ASSOCIATES RECENTLY CELEBRATED THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS CONNECTION WITH THE PAPER



MR. PAUL FULLER, JR.

) INVESTIGATED CONDITIONS IN HAITI FOR PRESIDENT WILSON SHORTLY BEFORE THE NATION OF PRESIDENT GUILLAUME SAM FORCED THE UNITED STATES TO LAND MARINES ERVE ORDER

(See page 954)

Copyright by Underwood & Unde

MR. HENRY MORGENTHAU

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY, WHO HAS VERY ABLY FILLED HIS DIFFI
POST DURING THE WAR AND WHO RECENTLY RECEIVED THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
FROM ROBERT COLLEGE, THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY AT CONSTANTINOPLE

GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA

THE PREMIER OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, WHO FIFTEEN YEARS AGO MADE HIS REPUTATION BY FIGHTING THE ENGLISH AND WHO RECENTLY, HAVING PUT DOWN A REBELLION AT HOME, CONQUERED *GERMAN* SOUTHWEST AFRICA AND THEREBY ADDED 322,450 SQUARE *MILES OF TERRITORY TO ENGLAND'S* POSSESSIONS

THE JAWS OF THE VISE THAT

FIELD MARSHAL VON HINDENBURG, WHO ATTACKED THE RUSSIANS FROM THE NORTH

CLOSED IN UPON WARSAW

FIELD MARSHAL VON MACKENSEN, WHO LED THE AUSTRO-GERMAN ADVANCE FROM THE SOUTH

GERMANY AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

IT IS a good time, also, to take a general survey of our relations with Germany. In ordinary times of peace we have but one conflict of aims with Germany and that has nothing to do with our rights on the high seas. Our present disagreement with the Kaiser's Government comes primarily not out of its hostility but out of its contempt for us, a contempt that led Germany to think it could divest us of our rights with impunity whenever it chose.

The more fundamental conflict of aims which we have with the German Government arises from the German desire for expansion. As England stood in the way of that expansion in other parts of the world, so the United States stands in its way in the Western world.

For fear that we judge our past relations with Germany too much in the light of our present differences it is interesting to look back to comments of other years. In the WORLD'S WORK for March, 1903, occurred the following:

> Germany has not made a happy impression on the world by her conduct in the Venezuelan trouble. . . .
>
> Opinion in the United States has been singularly tolerant, and the Administration has been patient and careful to an admirable degree. But the undercurrent of American feeling has been one of suspicion. . . .
>
> The suspicious attitude of the German admiral toward Admiral Dewey at Manila is recalled. German conduct at Samoa, too, is remembered. The recent storming of the forts in the bay of Maracaibo during the Venezuelan blockade (in spite of the explanation offered by the German Government) had the appearance of unnecessary hostile activity. The anti-American feeling also that found expression in Germany during our war with Spain is remembered. . . .
>
> Yet while the good faith of the Kaiser's Government toward the United States and its friendly feeling need not be doubted, we cannot forget that there is a strong push of the German people outward. They need markets. There is a strong economic pressure for more room; and economic pressure has many a time proved itself more powerful than kings and parliaments, to say nothing of mere diplomatic declarations.
>
> While, then, it would be inaccurate to call the present feeling in the United States by any milder name than suspicion, and although Germany's bad naval manners and her lordly ways in dealing with a weak nation recall bad manners on previous occasions, a suspicion of unfriendly intentions may be unjust. Let us hope so, and forget the whole incident. But Germany must remember that these ways are not pretty ways, and the Monroe Doctrine stands.

The last sentence of this statement is interesting in connection with the German note about Haiti sent to the United States shortly before the great war broke out. As explained elsewhere in this magazine, Germany announced in this note that she meant to have a hand in affairs in Haiti and that she would "not understand any other arrangement."

If one compares that statement with other recent diplomatic notes it seems very strong language. It seems like language to usher in a serious attempt to violate the Monroe Doctrine if the occasion seemed propitious. The occasion has not been propitious. Whether it would have been or not had the great war not come on is purely a matter of conjecture. However, the German position has not been changed, and presumably if Germany should win in the present war the Haitian question would arise again. For the spirit of the German note is much akin to the Kaiser's famous statement that "no great decision can now be taken at sea, or on distant lands beyond the sea, without Germany and without the German Emperor."

SHALL WE DEFEND THE MONROE DOCTRINE?

UNITED STATES marines have been recently landed in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, and Guaymas, Mexico, to restore order. The customs of Santo Domingo are in American hands. The present Nicaraguan Government owes its existence to American intervention.

Rear-Admiral Caperton's landing in Haiti and Admiral Howard's landing in Guaymas are little events, but to the American citizen they should be full of significance. They are the concrete evidences of an old doctrine of increasing re-

sponsibility and possibilities of troubles. Those landings are an indication that the Monroe Doctrine stands—that particularly we do not wish any foreign interference in Caribbean affairs and that we recognize our responsibility to keep the Caribbean countries in order.

The Monroe Doctrine ties us to a dozen or more countries and their relations with other nations call for our careful scrutiny. We are taking a stand upon the broad humanitarian basis that we will not only protect our weaker neighbors from foreign aggression but that we will protect them against their own ignorance and folly —even contrary to their wishes. It is a big, constructive, and civilizing programme and to succeed it needs the thorough understanding and support of all Americans.

ARGUMENTS WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE LAW

THERE is one fundamental difference between our controversy over shipping with Germany and the controversy with England. In the controversy with Germany even the Kaiser's Government has not gainsaid that we had international law and treaties on our side. But their argument has been that the law and the treaties were not reasonable in the present circumstances. The question came down to whether or not the law and the treaties were to be respected.

In the controversy with England the British Government has not announced that it would do as it pleased regardless of international law and treaties. It rests its case on law just as we do ours. The British note says: "The only question, then, which can arise in regard to the measures resorted to for the purpose of carrying out a blockade upon these extended lines is whether, to use your Excellency's words, they 'conform to the spirit and principles of the essence of the rules of war;' and we shall be content to apply this test to the action which we have taken in so far as it has necessitated interference with neutral commerce."

Agreeing that international law shall rule, the English foreign minister seeks to show us that England's interpretation of the law is more correct than ours. He even quotes our own decisions to strengthen its case. In other words, England is willing to have a legal controversy while Germany immediately tried to remove our controversy with her beyond the realms of law.

Nor does it mean that we are any less eager to protect our rights from English invasion because we do not use such phrases as "without compromise and at any cost" in our correspondence with London. It merely means that with both foreign nations we are using the weapons chosen by the other party to the controversy. Germany chose weapons outside the law and we responded with a determination to maintain our rights "without compromise and at any cost." England chose weapons within the law and we respond in kind.

It is of vast importance to us that we succeed in protecting our rights within the law. In practice we have recognized that Germany was likely to go outside the law and our Navy has had as near a relation to the size of the German Navy as the Department could coax out of Congress. We have in practice also recognized that England would stay within the law and the size of our Navy has not had much relation to the size of the British Navy. If our difficulties are settled satisfactorily within the law we shall not need to duplicate the British Navy as we have the German.

The controversy with England then has a greater significance than the trade it affects. It is a kind of test for us of whether the fabric of civilization will hold together in some measure in times like these or whether we shall have to be prepared to fight out any possible controversy with any nation in the world or any combination of them.

INTERVENTION IN MEXICO

IN THE early days of June the President warned the Mexicans that if they did not soon come to some settlement the United States would have to take measures to improve conditions.

This announcement was followed by a change in our dealings with the different factions. Admiral Howard landed men at Guaymas to protect American settlers.

The American border patrol killed fifteen Mexicans who were violating American rights. Meanwhile the warnings sent to the different Mexican leaders had a firmer tone than heretofore.

But the different factions failed to get together and failed to produce a dominating leader. We were reluctantly forced to admit that Mexico is not an organized nation and that, as it showed no signs of becoming one, it could not be treated as such. We allowed revolution in Mexico to go on for four years in the hope that out of it would arise a government as has happened in other Latin American countries. But revolution degenerated into anarchy.

Some outside agency must help set Mexico upon its feet again. To show our continued good faith in the matter we have asked several other American Republics to join us in the task. Their coöperation should make the task somewhat easier both for us and for Mexico.

If a Mexican Government can be set up with this international backing it will be a better start toward the beginnings of self-government in the Republic than if the intervention government is made up of foreigners. But if the first does not succeed the second will follow. If the Mexican leaders are made to realize this there will be a better chance of a Mexican Government for Mexico.

In either case we have the advantage now that Mexico has been fed on anarchy for four years and is heartily sick of it. This being true, a Government that was backed or created either by the United States or by an international movement and that enforced order and distributed food enough to prevent famine would have a basis of welcome unusual in interventions.

AMERICAN BUSINESS AND A CHANGING WORLD

THE American people have every reason to look forward to the coming winter with a cheerful if sober confidence. In these times when the world is turned upside down, the 100 million people who live in the United States are less disturbed than any large body of people elsewhere in the world.

Those European nations which are not at war are so hedged about with belligerency that even the semblance of normal times is lacking. China's struggling Republic has suffered a hard blow from Japan. Japan itself is undergoing a transition toward democracy which has many disturbing elements.

India, Australia, Egypt, South Africa, and Canada—all the British dependencies—are suffering badly economically even if not burdened with the immediate presence of internal disorders and foreign war.

The countries of South America would not be more affected than are we if it were not for their greater financial and commercial dependence upon Europe.

Yet though we are more fortunate than any other people we have problems enough immediately upon us to make us take a broader and a more thoughtfully patriotic view than is our wont.

The Government of the United States is a piece of machinery operated for the benefit of the public. As it is this and nothing more it can not have the paternal wisdom of more autocratic governments. Our Government can not serve the public any better than the public's wisdom will support. That wisdom is bound to set the limit for a democratic government's action.

The public wisdom is the wisdom of you and me and our next door neighbors all across the land. There are a lot of questions that are new and unfamiliar to us which our Government and we ourselves privately have got to face in this recently distraught world. A sane and thoughtful patriotism will make us spend more time and energy than usual in trying to grasp affairs that are beyond our own noses.

II

Last August the mailed fist of war reached across the ocean and mortally wounded King Cotton. Cotton is currency in the South and suddenly this currency lost half its value. A bale of cotton that was worth fifty dollars one day was worth twenty-five the next, and next to nothing in a week. Slowly then it came back but never to its original value. Germany and Austria have in a large measure been cut off from our cotton supplies. Senator

nith and certain other members of
s from the cotton country are
the Government to force England
otton through to Germany. This
mediate problem but not the most
problem for the South in the long
he real question before the cotton
is how much cotton England,
Belgium, and Germany are going
after the war is over. The normal
in the demand for cotton that
price of cotton above ten cents a
or years before the war may not
r. There was a long lean period
he memory of most cotton farmers
otton did not average eight cents
—and this means poverty.
otton farmer, the storekeeper that
him, the bank that takes his de-
id lends him money—all these and
thers can profitably look at the
rned upside down and see if it does
n more food and less cotton on the
farms. And if it means this, all
ed must act with rapidity and vi-
in these days one year and another
very different and it does not take
ruin a country when all the world's
The Government acreage esti-
appily seem to indicate some pro-
this direction.

III

r great interior valley and on the
slope the farmers raise grain and
food. A year ago, when the war
ok control, their accession had an
ate effect on every American food
r it is a result of war that food goes
seems to take more food to feed
armies than at home. And the
armies do not raise crops but de-
em. While the gods of war took
tton they gave to cattle, corn, and
And what the food farmer gains
s not seem to threaten any loss to
he future, for there seems to be no
o fear that the return of peace will
ay any markets which the American
rmer had before the war began.
ong as this farmer is making money
ntry as a whole can not suffer very
or the food farmer *and the doctor, storekeeper, banker, and* black-
smith that make money with him constitute a tremendous power to buy the things which the manufacturing sections make.

IV

Yet while the food farmer's money can keep the wheels of industry busy enough to avert calamity, his money does not grease the wheels of industry sufficiently to overcome damage done by the sudden wrench of war.

Despite the signs to the contrary, business is not as usual in England; neither is it in France nor Germany nor anywhere else, and our business relations with the outside world are all upset. Nor is it likely that they will fall exactly in the old channels when peace is restored. A great deal that had been fashioned by painstaking effort has been uprooted bodily. In its place has come a sudden munitions business. It is highly profitable, but how enduring? What is to follow the munitions business? Similarly some manufacturers have grasped this opportunity to take for America trade that was formerly in foreign hands. How well can these efforts be maintained when the foreign manufacturer comes out again from under the cloud of war? Will our manufacturers have the skill to meet him even in his crippled condition? Will our Government prevent his using unfair competition as it prevents American manufacturers from using unfair practices against one another?

Amongst some American manufacturers there seems to be an unwarranted dread of the return of foreign competition. Wages will be lower than ever abroad, they cry. If that comes true we may expect a stream of that cheaper labor to come over here unless we prevent it. But however this is, certainly abroad taxes and the price of capital are likely to be high. Added to these disadvantages the foreigner will in many cases have to overcome the handicap of a run down plant and the handicap of an interrupted trade.

Ever since the war began there has been much talk of our acquiring more foreign trade, particularly in South America. Some manufacturers have worked and succeeded. Others who already had some trade got frightened and stopped all but cash bus-

iness. Altogether the progress has not been very rapid. But there is no reason to be discouraged because our foreign trade does not take on a mushroom growth, for mushrooms die quickly. If what we have acquired is built upon a solid basis, we may look forward to its continual increase.

V

And so we stand with cotton and the cotton country in some distress. The lumber districts are also suffering. Grain and cattle on the other hand are in high demand. Manufacturers, as a whole, are somewhat below normal both because of the wrench of war and because the consumers who make their money from cotton and lumber and various other things are not purchasing freely. On the other hand the war munitions business has snatched dull times from many factories. And the railroads show an encouraging amount of savings, if not gross business.

VI

Immediately in front of us, then, a fair or better business season seems to await us when practically all the rest of the business world is under the cloud of war and suffering in a degree which we would not approximate even if we were drawn into the great war and had to intervene in Mexico. The only thing that could immediately eclipse our prospects would be the defeat of the Allied fleets and the consequent closing of the markets which are responsible for the high prices to our food farmers and the sale of munitions. The closing of the British and French markets would also bankrupt the cotton states.

But such a contingency has little probability. We have a reasonably good prospect immediately before us. Energy and adaptability can make it into something better than that. And after the immediate future the prospect looks even brighter. For when peace comes again the United States, alone of the manufacturing and trading nations, will have its personnel intact, its industries reasonably undisturbed, manned, and in repair and its credit unburdened with huge taxes.

When peace is restored we shall wake up and find ourselves in a changed world, a world in which we shall have less isolation and greater opportunity than ever before. And with that opportunity, as with every other, will be greater responsibility.

Severally and collectively in government action we must hasten our progress to meet the new situation. What we should have achieved in ten years before we must do in two years now.

In finance, farming, manufacturing, and government we must be fit.

As a citizen and as a banker, farmer, or manufacturer or as whatever kind of worker he may be, every man in the country has a part to play in this coming era, and now is the time of preparation. And it is time to have done with small politicians and pork barrel methods. As we steamed along at our normal rate we have good naturedly tolerated such barnacles. We can afford them no longer. It is a time for every man to set his own affairs in smooth running order and to see what his representative in Washington is doing, for in the coming era in which we shall be—in which we are—more a part of the world than ever before, the National Government takes on an increasing importance to each one of us.

FREE SPEECH AND GERMAN PROPAGANDA

IN A country of free speech and a free press it is difficult to draw the exact line where patriotism demands that speakers, writers, and papers shall cease to plead the cause of a foreign Government against the cause of their own Government.

Even when American troops were actually fighting the Filipino rebels we allowed certain anti-imperialists to encourage the outlaws to kill our soldiers. At the present time we see a former Cabinet officer, Mr. Nagel of St. Louis, arguing the German contention in favor of an embargo on arms directly in the face of the position taken by our Government. We have patiently watched German propaganda at work against our Government and its policy toward Germany. The German papers in the United States have almost unanimously supported Germany against this country. Weeklies of German sympathy started since the war have done

likewise. German-Americans have threatened to use the German vote against the present Administration to make it alter its policy toward the belligerent Powers in a way to favor Germany.

There is no way in which to stop this activity for the German Government and against the Government of the United States which would not at the same time interfere with the legitimate freedom of the vast body of the press which is wholeheartedly patriotic. It would not even be advisable to stop it if it were possible. But it is advisable for the American people who set their own Government above all others to watch this activity and to realize how far short we have fallen of making true Americans of all those whom we have welcomed to our shores. It is a good time, too, for those Americans of German extraction who are patriotic citizens of this country to make plain just where the German propaganda shall stop.

It is, of course, true that the German-Americans who set Germany above the United States are more vociferous than the citizens of German extraction who are true to their citizenship. But even taking that into consideration it seems that a stricter set of immigration laws might give us a chance to become a more homogeneous whole than we are at present. Such a policy might somewhat slow up the development of the country, but even a very slow development is much preferable to a development which includes large bodies of citizens who are bound more strongly to Europe than to the United States.

LATENT AND EFFECTIVE STRENGTH

IN THE German capture of Warsaw the results of preparation are still abundantly evident after more than a year of war.

Russia's great numbers are not effective. England's great will is not effective. Russia alone of the Allies has more men than Germany and Austria. England alone has more financial strength. Yet Russia, England, France, Italy, and Servia make little progress against the Teutons.

The British fleet was ready and the French army was nearly so. Both are now effective, and on their effectiveness depends the outcome of the war, for they must bear the brunt of the struggle until the English and Russian armies get upon a much higher plane than they are now.

The lack of effective military preparation would have meant the destruction of Russia by now had she been a smaller country. The lack of effective military preparation would have meant the end of England by now except for her navy.

The Allies have vast stores of men and money, the two vital essentials for war, and yet they are losing thousands of men a day in trying to hold their own lands while they are preparing to use their latent strength. It is a frightfully costly time in which to prepare.

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE SEVENTH DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

MR. JAMES HAY, the Representative from the Seventh District of Virginia, is the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House. In that position he has great power to help or to hurt our preparations for national defense. Recently he gave an interview in which he said:

"I have not found among the people any real demand for changing our present policy for providing for national defense."

Mr. Hay could hardly have looked for such evidence, for it is plentiful on every hand. But even if there were no popular demand Mr. Hay should remember that the public does not necessarily keep itself thoroughly informed on technical questions. The public has delegated to the Government the duty of preparing for national defense.

The gist of Mr. Hay's interview is that he does not believe in greatly increasing the regular Army; that he would like to have an adequate reserve force, but he does not believe it can be had, and that, anyway, to improve the national defense would cost a lot of money.

Mr. Hay is quite right in believing that there is no large demand for a regular army of half a million men. The country is also with Mr. Hay in desiring a sufficient and

well trained reserve. But the public most emphatically is not of Mr. Hay's hopeless frame of mind about raising a well trained reserve of a half million, a million, or even two million men—without conscription.

It is hardly conceivable, if the Government should call for one year volunteers, that 100,000 young men from 18 to 25 years old coming out of the schools and colleges would not volunteer. Their service would cost the Government their food, equipment, and perhaps a hundred dollars a year in pay. Perhaps even less money would suffice, for most boys at this age make little if anything more than their living expenses. If after the year's training the reserves came back for two weeks' manœuvres every year for the next five years they would continue to be efficient.

Such a system in five years would give the United States a reserve of half a million trained men at a comparatively small expense. In ten years it would produce a million soldiers less than 40 years old. The original American conception of the defense of the nation was that it should be done by the citizens volunteering their services. In all our history, from the Revolution down, the volunteer has made up the bulk of our armies, and until seasoned by war he has usually been a poor soldier—brave enough but ignorant and undisciplined. The plan for a volunteer trained reserve is consistent with this long established principle that one of a citizen's duties is to defend his country. It differs from the practice of the past only in training the citizen so that he can come forward in time of need with the knowledge to make his spirit of service useful. It is just as voluntary an act for a man to offer himself to be trained during peace times so that he may fight well for his country as it is to offer himself ill prepared when war is declared when he and his country must suffer for his ignorance.

If we create a reserve force of volunteers and if Congress stops making "pork" of the Army we shall get our soldiers much cheaper than we get them now.

The news item in which Mr. Hay's views were given was introduced by the following:

"Mr. Hay's announcement, which the *World* [New York] presents exclusively, may be accepted as the forerunner of a great legislative fight with the 'peace-at-any-price' and 'pork-barrel' politicians lined up against the President and the military experts."

It is true, as Mr. Hay points out, that the expenditures for our military establishment have run from 70 million to 101 million dollars a year, and that for this sum we have only an army of 85,000 men. But one of the reasons for this is the pork-barrel method which Congress has used in disbursing army funds. Mr. Hay's Committee, for instance, has seen a list of army posts which the War Department has officially stated to be useless from a military point of view. Yet Mr. Hay has not recommended to Congress that these posts be abolished.

The high cost of our Army is partially owing to the high wages we have to pay to the regulars, and partly owing to the patronage which Congress makes the Army pay to certain of its members.

The citizens of the Seventh District of Virginia should make up their minds whether they are with the President (who can be counted upon to keep the country from any danger of militarism), or the "peace-at-any price" and "pork-barrel" politicians. The voters of this district have more responsibility than other citizens, for their representative is Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, and as such his power over the Army is great. Whatever the rest of the country may think, it cannot vote for or against Mr. Hay. But the citizens of the Seventh District of Virginia can, and in a situation like the present these Virginians owe it to their country to let their representative know whether they are for peace at any price and the pork barrel or whether they are for the President, the military experts, and the decent defense of the country.

MOBILIZING AMERICAN INVENTIVE GENIUS

SECRETARY DANIELS has a good idea underlying his War Invention Board. The newspapers periodically publish stories that Americans have invented certain implements

offered them to their own Government in vain, and have then taken them to Europe with better success. Many of these stories are fanciful; the fact remains, however, that we have great resources in inventive genius that we have not hitherto used.

As a nation we have never specialized in war; no great nation save China is so unprepared as we for a conflict. In warlike imagination we stand at the antipodes from Germany, the country which, above all others, has made warfare a great national industry. But herein lies an astonishing paradox. The American genius, least warlike of nations, has furnished Europe most of the implements it is now fighting with; Germany, the most warlike people in the world, has invented very few. The Germans wage warfare with consummate skill—but with weapons which other peoples, mainly Americans, have placed in their hands. They depend for their chief success upon strategic railroads—and the railroad is an English invention. For such naval warfare as they make they use the submarine, which originated in this country. They defend their harbors with mines—another American contrivance, invented by David Bushnell and developed by the Confederacy in the Civil War. They do their scouting with the aeroplane, which had its origin in Ohio. They communicate with the telephone and telegraph, both American inventions, or with wireless, the product of an Italian brain. The machine gun figures as their chief arm in trench warfare, an invention of Richard Gatling, another American. Even the battleship is essentially American. Its main characteristic, the revolving turret, was invented by Theodore R. Timby, an American, and first used successfully on the American *Monitor*. It is no secret that an American naval architect drew the designs for the first dreadnaught—and was laughed at for his pains. Guncotton and gas bombs are about the only German inventions of great importance used in this war. The one product essentially German, the Zeppelin, has apparently turned out to be the great disappointment of the war.

This record is certainly an astonishing one. In a degree it is reassuring, especially if Secretary Daniels can take advantage of the inventive genius without interfering with the efficient administration of the Navy.

A MEDICAL EXPEDITION TO CHINA

WHILE the world is resounding with war, America happily gives another illustration of the kind of spirit for which it primarily stands. We have just dispatched an expedition into China. Its leaders are Dr. Simon Flexner, and Dr. F. T. Gates, Jr., of the Rockefeller Institute, Dr. William H. Welch, of Johns Hopkins, and Dr. Wallace Buttrick, of the General Education Board. Its purpose is to improve, so far as it can, medical education and the practice of medicine in the Celestial Empire. The Rockefeller Foundation recently decided to undertake medical work in China; these men are the advance guard of the undertaking.

China is a nation without sewers, "running" water, bath tubs, and other commonplaces of American life. Medical education and medical practice in China represent about the eighth or tenth century in Europe. Medical training, except in the schools introduced by Americans and Europeans, mostly missionaries, still maintains its Confucian character. Chinese medical men know nothing of the experimental method.

The methods are of Confucian, not Republican, China. The date of separation is 1913, when autopsies first were introduced. Already China has many medical schools on modern lines, some good, some indifferent, and none of them first class.

The aim of the Rockefeller Foundation is primarily to elevate the standards of medical education. In doing this they will coöperate with missionary institutions. They will furnish financial assistance where it can be most advantageously used. For the present the Foundation will not undertake the arduous tasks of teaching Chinamen to take baths, to be vaccinated, and to establish sanitaria. Good medical education, however, ultimately means all these modern improvements toward reducing China's death rate, which is the highest in any known country.

YOUR GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The WORLD'S WORK *publishes each month one or more editorial articles about the activities of the Federal Government. These articles are written by a member of the editorial staff in Washington who keeps in close and constant touch with the men and measures of which he writes.*

The Washington office (in the Munsey Building) will also answer readers' questions about the work of any department of the Government.

THE Department of State might more appropriately be called the Department of Foreign Affairs. In the beginning it was so called, and in 1781 Robert R. Livingston was appointed the first "Secretary of Foreign Affairs."

Livingston's "Department of Foreign Affairs" consisted practically of himself, although two under-secretaries, whose combined salaries amounted to $1,500 a year, were provided by Congress to carry on the strenuous routine business of drafting in long hand the five or seven copies of every document sent abroad. With this equipment Robert Livingston first shaped and defined the foreign policy of the new Republic in 1782. Robert Lansing, in this one hundred and fortieth year of the Republic, conducts its foreign policy at the head of a force of 226 Government employees whose joint salaries, taken together with miscellaneous department expenses, foot up to $350,000 a year.

A great many people who have read the notes between this Government and England and Germany think of the American notes as emanating directly from the President. In one sense only is this supposition true. The President has, indeed, set the stamp of his personality upon—and in one instance at least phrased almost in its entirety—an expression which vitally and immediately concerns the welfare of this nation as a whole, shaping its destinies toward a self-respecting maintenance of its *rights in time of* war.

But this determining correspondence has in another sense been in substance the work of the State Department. Every note was drafted there and every essential statement in every note was there in substance and in form made the subject of conference and of reference to records and precedents. Every document was checked up with the law and the custom of nations. And then, when the final draft was drawn so as to carry its intended message without equivocation and without flaw, it was coded in the State Department so as to preserve its integrity and, after transmission by cable to the foreign capital, uncoded and translated with infinite care by the Department's diplomatic agents in the Embassy so as to carry in the foreign language exactly the force and significance of its original expression in English.

Our recent difficult relations with Germany and England have produced from Washington a State correspondence notable not only for the spirit of dignity and vast patience which has animated it, but for the simplicity and correctness of its form. It signifies both background and efficiency.

These high-pressure foreign affairs have been the most conspicuous recent work of the State Department, no different in character from its customary functions, carried on hitherto in the obscurity of peace and the national indifference to foreign affairs, but thrown into sharp prominence now by the all-absorbing focus of the great war. In this capacity the Department is the agency whereby this nation authoritatively speaks to other nations; it is, in a way, its memory, its con-

science, and, when the need arises, the vocalization and record of its intent.

Although supreme for the moment in national attention this foreign correspondence is, however, only a very small part of the daily work of the Department.

THE DAY'S WORK

The Department of State at Washington with its roster of 226 employees is the central home office of the diplomatic and consular services, which together include an additional force of 1,036 public servants scattered all over the world. These are the ambassadors and ministers, consuls-general and consuls, secretaries of embassy and of legation, vice and deputy consuls, marshals, clerks, interpreters, etc., all of whom are under the control and direction of the Department of State, carrying out its instructions and reporting to it regularly from their respective localities.

Thus at the same time this administrative octopus has its tentacles vitalized from Peking to Stockholm, from Buenos Aires to Petrograd. The Government of the United States is in intimate relations—to take one territory only—with twenty other American republics all the time, and there are at Washington more diplomatic representatives of foreign countries than in any other capital in the world.

On the same day this branch of the Government is bringing pressure to bear on the Haitian lack-of-government to protect American holders of Haitian railroad and electric light bonds, watching a mercurial and many-headed Mexico, clearing a way for American Red Cross units in Servia and Poland, keeping tabs on American missionaries in Turkey, and maintaining, despite the antipathy of the Pacific Coast, a *modus vivendi* with Japan. Thus, every day and all day, in all parts of the world, the State Department, its policies strained but unchanged by the war, is looking after American rights and privileges and watching over its citizens.

It is also helping to push the trade of those citizens who try to trade abroad.

Under the consular division of the State Department is an organized force of more than eight hundred men whose particular job it is to help the American exporter sell his product. Their assistance costs him nothing. His consul at Mukden, Manchuria, will tell him just what kinds of piece goods the North Chinaman will and will not buy, and what competition the manufacturer will have to meet in that Japanned market. His Government's agent at Constantinople can tell him just the kind of agricultural machinery the Turk will need to harvest in eventual peace the Asiatic wheat fields which are now being plowed and harrowed by war. In Vladivostock or in Valparaiso paid scouts will not actually sell his boots and windmills for him, but they will keep him from sending out advertising matter almost useless in English, and they will set him right on such matters as exchange, credits, and local markets for his goods.

The same outposts who provide all this important export information are ready also to give importers the special information they desire. And wherever all this commercial assistance originates, however distant geographically a given American interest may be, it all centres on Pennsylvania Avenue and 17th Street in Washington, where the State Department crowds with the Army and Navy Department the huge administration building which, with the more beautiful Treasury structure on the other side, flanks the White House. On one side of the White House, the Whence, the Whither, and the Why; on the other side, the Wherewithal.

DEPARTMENTAL PHASES

In Secretary Root's time "under the Empire" the State Department was organized as a kind of happy family, and it had a happy family's coöperative efficiency. In 1906, Mr. Root reorganized the consular and diplomatic services and began a rearrangement of the Department in Washington.

Under Secretary Knox, in the Taft Administration, the whole character of the Department changed. Mr. Huntington Wilson, first Assistant Secretary of State, with his chief's cordial approval and backing in 1909 reorganized most of the establishment very much on the lines of a big department store.

On paper the new arrangement was good; it lent itself admirably to graphic

representation by chart. Nominally well-coördinated, it proved ineffective in practical operation for the primary reason that the business of a State Department cannot properly be carried out on the methods of a department store. Mr. Knox's office was over-organized and under-vitalized. It was little more than a shell.

With the coming of Mr. Bryan a disorganization set in, but no real vitality was injected to counterbalance it. A condition of semi-chaos resulted. Toward this condition several causes were contributory. Mr. Wilson more than any President for many years—partly by native disposition, partly from necessity—has been his own Secretary of State. Mr. Bryan has conclusively demonstrated to the country at large and to himself his own unfitness for the high office he occupied.

And in addition to his own personal unfitness for the secretaryship he still further weakened the department's efficiency by injecting into its personnel several political appointees who had had no training and who have shown little aptitude for their important and exacting duties.

With a deep relief those who appreciated the Department's responsibilities and understood its weaknesses saw Mr. Lansing succeed to the secretaryship. The present Secretary of State is resolutely bent upon strengthening and building up the department of which he is the head.

ORGANIZATION

The State Department has what the Army has, and what the Navy ought to have, a general staff. The Secretary of State is its chief. Next in order to him and acting in his absence is the Counselor, who is really the Under-Secretary of State. For some strange reason Congress balked at this term, which has the best possible precedent in the foundations of our foreign affairs, so that the late Henry Hoyt, who was in 1909 nominated in Mr. Knox's bill for Under-Secretary, could only be confirmed as the first "Counselor."

Next below the Counselor come the three assistant secretaries in order, Mr. John E. Osborne, Mr. Alvey A. Adee, and Mr. William Phillips, the first distinguished from the other two in rating only by a difference of $500 in salary. The other officers on the general staff are Mr. Wilbur J. Carr, director of the consular service, Mr. Cone Johnson, solicitor, and Mr. Benjamin G. Davis, chief clerk.

Working under the general staff are eight chiefs of bureaus with their separate staffs of clerks: Diplomatic, Consular, Index and Archives, Accounts, Library, Appointments, Citizenship, and Trade Advisers. In addition the politico-geographical jurisdiction of the department is divided for more specialized management into the four divisions of

(1) Western European Affairs;
(2) Latin-American Affairs;
(3) Near Eastern Affairs; and
(4) Far Eastern Affairs.

Each one of these geographical divisions is nominally under the management of an officer of the diplomatic service who has himself had experience in the territory he directs. For example, Mr. Williams, of the Far Eastern Division, has lived twenty-five years in China as a missionary, interpreter, consul, and secretary of the legation at Peking; Mr. Bryan's conception of politics has placed at the head of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs a political appointee who has had no experience in his territory; and Mr. Bryan's inefficiency left the Division of Latin-American Affairs without any chief at all. At the time when Latin-American affairs are assuming an importance for us they have never had before, that division of the State Department is less qualified than for many years to deal appropriately with the volume and the importance of its business. The Division of Western European Affairs is in good hands under the direction of Mr. William Phillips, third Assistant Secretary of State, and Mr. Walker Smith, of the diplomatic service.

It is the theory of our Government that a Secretary of State shall be responsible for the conduct of our foreign relations. Livingston, the first Secretary, was responsible whenever Congress would let him be. Mr. Hay and Mr. Root were responsible to a high degree. Mr. Bryan was irresponsible. Since the early days of the Republic, Congress has ceased to meddle in the immediate

uct of foreign relations, reserving its ority for review and confirmation.

THE WORK OF THE SECRETARY

r. Lansing's day's work is varied. He to the White House and talks with the dent. When he attends Cabinet ings once or twice a week, he is ex- d to have the *status quo* at his finger's He often has to sign a stack of corre- lence, credentials, etc., a foot and a n cross section before he goes home at , although his signature is necessary to documents in which the Govern- is directly represented. He must receive the representatives of foreign nments unless he can shunt them off, often does, into Mr. Phillips's or Mr. rson's offices. When Congress is sion he is apt to be interrupted several a day by calls from members of Con- and he must keep in touch with the nittee on Foreign Relations of the e. Every bit of his spare time ought devoted, and in Mr. Lansing's case is ed, to the study of important diplo- relations either actually before the nistration or looming up ahead of it. good deal of this work he is assisted by Counselor who, aloof from regular tmental office work, devotes most s time to the preparation of opinions ring study and the searching of au- ties. When Mr. Lansing is away Washington the Counselor has to this academic work to step into his s shoes.

e First Assistant Secretary theoreti- does not specialize, but should be pre- l, in the absence of both Secretary and selor, to assume the duties of Secre- of State. The present incumbent of ffice has never acted in this capacity. not unfair to Mr. Osborne to say that s paid the penalty of a purely political ntment in merely occupying, not ca- administering, the duties of his office. fficial in his position ought to be in touch with all the large questions of reign policy so as to relieve the Secre- as far as may be of his enormous ns. Mr. Osborne has been incapable ieving his chief of any of his burdens t in a general oversight of accounts and a very tentative and shrinking touch on Mexican affairs.

The office of Second Assistant Secretary of State has been during the recent incumbency of Mr. Adee partially withdrawn into academic shades. Mr. Adee has held this office ever since his first appointment in 1886. In that time he has been a most useful public servant. He has now grown to be a walking archives. Every important State document is taken to Mr. Adee for correction in phraseology before it is sent. A thorough reorganization of the Department of State, while providing for Mr. Adee's peculiar corrective and standardizing usefulness, ought to bring the office of Second Secretary out into the sunlight of a more vigorous administrative capacity.

For different reasons, then, neither the First nor the Second Assistant takes any appreciable amount of real work off the shoulders of the Secretary of State. Mr. William Phillips, Third Secretary, a Republican who held the same office under Mr. Root, was appointed because he could somewhat relieve the situation and he has done so. His job is the maintenance and administrative direction of the diplomatic service, in which territory since the war began his work has been multiplied. His abilities and long experience in the diplomatic service make him most useful.

One of the hardest worked men in Washington is Mr. Carr, the director of the Consular Service, who, in addition to the enormous territory and the varied activities covered by his jurisdiction, is constantly helping the chiefs of other departments to do their work. You will find him in his place on the second floor of the Department every afternoon long after the daily migration of time-servers has flowed out of the Department when, promptly at four-thirty, their prescribed time-service is over.

The office of Solicitor is a whole State Department in itself. Mr. Cone Johnson and his subordinates have to take up and decide questions of an inconceivable variety: What right has a native-born American citizen residing in America to inherit the personal property in Turkey of another native-born American citizen who dies in Turkey; what right have American citizens

to display American colors upon leased foreign-owned and foreign-built ships; the interpretation of all kinds of treaties; the policy of using our good offices for the protection of Chinese subjects in South America; the question of stopping the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta from rescinding the concession of a Canadian corporation financed by American citizens—all this is merely scratching the surface of Mr. Johnson's day's work. The files of his office include the materials for new sets of Conrad and Kipling, two or three Hague conventions, and a lib of "Histories of Our Own Times."

So important, indeed, and so distin the Solicitor's office that there is a g chance of its becoming too independ The Solicitor is in the first place paid by Department of Justice, and there is a fee among some of the best thinkers in State Department that some of the du of this office ought to be merged with Counselor's in an "Under Secretaryshi if Congress can be persuaded to that te separately established.

A WISE NOVICE IN INVESTMENT

AN ADMIRABLE illustration of the kind of quiet, sober reasoning which experience has shown to be the only sure road to success in the field of personal investment is furnished in a letter recently received by the Financial Department of the WORLD'S WORK from a man living in a Middle Western city.

The writer of the letter in question began by saying that he had been a business man for many years, engaged entirely in a manufacturing line, and that he had found during that time little occasion for outside investment. He presumed, therefore, as he modestly expressed it, that he would have to be considered in the novice class.

Beginning with some general ideas about investment, he said, he desired now "to make a business of it for his own education," and particularly so that he might be able to handle properly about a hundred thousand dollars lately received from the sale of some of his holdings, together with an additional amount of considerable size that would be in hand later on.

He explained that his estate would all go eventually to his wife and daughter, and that, therefore, he wanted everything on his list of investments reasonably easy to handle, although there was no immediate need for worry along that line.

His fundamental requirements were set forth thus:

"Of course, security is naturally foremost. Yield comes next; and convertibil I think, comes next. I find myself unc fortable with securities which have no market. I like the feeling that, if nec ary, I can raise a reasonable amount money quickly, and without borrowi This may come partly from the idea th if an opportunity offers, I may want to actively into business again."

Then he added significantly that seemed best to him to start with a plan to the kinds of securities, and the prop tions of each; and, having agreed upo plan, to stick to it consistently, reinvest from time to time as occasion required.

His own general notions about the mat he summarized in the following manner

NATURE OF INVESTMENT	YIELD PER CENT.	IN CEN TOTAL YIELD
Bonds—Municipal and public utility, not more than ten years to run, if possible	5	3
Bonds—Industrial, and local serial, not too long term . . .	5½	2
Real estate mortgages on improved local property, to run 3 to 5 years.	5½	2
Stocks—Railroad and industrial preferred	6½	2
Common stocks, slightly speculative, such as Atchison; and industrial specialties of which something is known of management.	6½	1
Average yield on total . . .	5.65	10

This plan, as his "maiden effort," he said he realized might be entirely wrong; therefore, he wanted some criticisms, based on the assumption that he would be entirely dependent upon income for living expenses, and taking such account as might seem necessary of the possibility that the sum to be invested might be eventually as much as $200,000. He wondered whether, in the latter event, an average yield of a little better than 5.65 per cent. might not be obtained with safety.

In looking at the situation of this correspondent it will doubtless strike some investors that the amount of resources at his disposal removes him from the "average" class, and renders the solution of his problem possible only by the application of special investment rules. But that idea is erroneous, for, after all, the same fundamental principles apply to the cases of both large and small investors.

Indeed, the situation of this man, in many essential respects, is typical of the situation of thousands of investors who are continually searching for the "trouble-proof" way of employing surplus money safely for income purposes. It is timely, therefore, to set down briefly in the form of an article a few of the more or less obvious criticisms suggested by the plan as outlined; and to try to discover, if possible, their application to the average case.

It is at once apparent that among the purposes this investor has in mind, one of the foremost is to get "counterpoise," or to avoid the careless distribution of the risks, which many are prone to forget, sometimes, are inseparable from all investment. And the general method which he suggests is, on the whole, well adapted to the accomplishment of that purpose. It is, in fact, a fine example of the product of the logical thought of a practical man, recognizing, as many business men have failed, unfortunately, to recognize, that the investment of money outside the circle of one's daily pursuit involves principles and practices which do not apply to the personal supervision of a particular enterprise.

It recognizes the essential characteristic of stability, which practical experience has revealed in the real estate mortgage, in the municipal bond, and perhaps, to a somewhat less degree in the higher grade utility bond, contemplating, as will be seen, the investment of the bulk of the funds in those three classes of securities.

It seeks by perhaps the simplest means available to defend the bulk of the estate against depreciation, and to eliminate the "uncomfortable feeling" which many investors find in holding securities with no real market; namely, by the choice of issues from the short-term category. And in this connection it suggests the "serial" bond, now extensively available in the municipal as well as other fields, as a type of investment whose advantages will be more widely appreciated by shrewd investors as time goes on.

It takes into properly balanced account the advantages of established, dividend-paying stocks of the investment grade, and even the wisdom of sprinkling in a few slightly speculative issues, giving higher revenue and some chance of ultimate advance. And again in this connection it suggests a most important rule for discriminating—especially among industrial issues—namely, some knowledge of the management of the issuing corporations.

For an investment of this kind, to be made under existing market conditions, and without altering in any essential particular its present purpose, it is probably true that this investor's calculation of possible income is just about that which would be indicated by the average conservative banking authority. If a higher average rate of income were to be sought, it is likely that similar authority would recommend a somewhat more minute division of the funds.

In broadening the scope of the investment under those circumstances, or in providing for the employment of any additional funds, consideration would logically be extended to the farm mortgage, the railroad bond, and the utility stock of established earning power and market stability.

In that form the estate might be passed along under the supervision of a careful, honest banker, with about as much assurance as one could reasonably expect that it would continue to produce a safe and adequate income.

HOW THE FOREIGN NATIONS FINANCE THE WAR

HOW GERMANY, FRANCE, AND RUSSIA HOARDED GOLD IN PREPARATION FOR WAR—THE BIGGEST LOAN IN HISTORY—GERMANY'S UNIQUE METHODS OF FINANCE

BY

JAMES R. MERRIAM

EDMOND THERY, an eminent economist of France, made a calculation a few weeks ago, based upon such trustworthy statistics as were then available, that the first year's cost of the European war has been about $17,400,000,000, —for the seven Allies, approximately $10,000,000,000; for Germany, Austria, and Turkey, approximately $7,400,000,000. This does not include such items as estimated trade losses, property damage, and decreased productive power.

These amazing figures not only raise again the oft repeated question, how long can Europe's resources bear the strain of such unparalleled military activity, but also prompt an inquiry into the ways and means by which the already huge expenditures have been financed.

Everybody understands, of course, that these extraordinary expenditures must represent, for the most part, borrowed money, since experience has shown that war does not decrease materially such national expenditures as are provided for by the ordinary sources of public revenue, and that those sources cannot be made productive of larger yields to meet the demands of a crisis—that, indeed, their yields are often temporarily decreased.

But to borrow money, nations, no less than individuals, must have credit, which so far as a nation is concerned is based on gold. It is an interesting fact that Germany, France, and Russia were preparing credit long before the assassination of the Austrian Archduke, as if there had been a premonition of that or some other impending event destined to confront them with the supreme emergency of a world war.

Thus, the great State banks of Germany, France, and Russia, the three institutions long regarded as responsible for the finances of the European Continent in peace and in war, had been noticeably persistent since the middle of 1913 in their efforts to accumulate gold. Hence, in June, 1914, we find Sir Felix Schuster, at the meeting of the Union of London & Smith's Bank, urging his belief in the necessity for strengthening the British gold reserve. These additions to the various European reserves, Sir Felix said, were the result, "not of natural commercial or monetary conditions, but of a deliberate policy," and afforded "considerably increased strength in the event of grave political or financial difficulties arising."

But accumulated gold serves to fortify a nation's credit only through its use as the foundation of the currency by means of which trade and industry are carried on and made to flourish. For, after all, a nation's credit is but the reflection of the condition of the private business of its citizens taken as a whole.

It was this fundamental fact that accounted for the world-wide financial deadlock at the outbreak of hostilities, and forced even neutral America to resort to financial expedients of the most extraordinary nature, such as the embargo on the security markets; the issuance of emergency currency under the Aldrich-Vreeland Act; and the formation of the $100,000,000 "gold pool" with which to pay our most pressing debts to Europe.

The success with which our own tremendous difficulties have slowly but surely been overcome need not be recounted here. How well Great Britain's financial strate-

gem succeeded, however, in establishing that nation's business firmly on the basis of the new conditions created by the war, is shown by the ease in the London money market at the time the Government entered upon the first stage of the practical test of its credit. During that stage hundreds of millions of dollars were borrowed for the prosecution of the war on the security of Treasury bills, or short term obligations having an average of six months to run, at the satisfactory rates of 2⅞ to 3¾ per cent.

The second stage of war borrowing, marked by the appearance of the longer term, direct Government loan, was entered upon by Great Britain in November after about $450,000,000 had been raised by means of the preliminary, short term "bills." The first loan of $1,750,000,000—up to that time the largest single issue of securities in the financial history of the world—was in the form of bonds to run for ten to thirteen years at 3½ per cent. interest. It was offered and quickly taken up at 95, making the cost of the money to the Government about 4 per cent.

But the success of this enormous financial undertaking was not achieved without the aid of yet another unique expedient, designed to counteract the embargo that was still laid upon the investment markets, and to make up in other ways for the low rate of interest of the new securities. This expedient was an agreement by which the Bank of England guaranteed to the purchasers of the new 3½'s the privilege of borrowing on them at the Bank during the first three years at the full issue price, and at one per cent. below the Bank rate prevailing at the time of application for the loan.

The kind of success which the Government found it had insured, however, by offering these advantageous terms was not exactly the kind for which it had hoped. It was not of the popular brand. In fact, the records show that less than one fourth of the subscriptions to the loan came from sources other than the banks, insurance companies, and other large financial institutions.

Clearly, something would have to be done to secure the cooperation of the English public in the national financial plan, with which, despite the vast sums already raised, financiers agreed that probably only a beginning had been made.

Suggested solutions of the problem went even to the length of an absurd scheme of compulsory investment in war bonds of a small proportion of salaries, wages, and separation allowances. But it remained for the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Reginald McKenna, to show a shrewd appreciation of the real financial problem confronting the nation: first, by advocating for the second big loan announced in June an interest rate of 4½ per cent. in bold recognition of the fact that even the traditionally staunch credit of the British Government could not reasonably be expected to ride an even keel throughout such a storm; second, by proposing to exchange the new 4½ per cent. war bonds for the older 2½ and 2¾ per cent. "Government annuities" as well as the 3½'s of the first war loan on even terms for the latter and a basis adjusted at about the market price of the former, on the condition, however, that holders of the old securities subscribe in cash for the same amount they originally subscribed for; third, by agreeing that if in the future the Government should find it necessary to pay a still higher rate for money, the present loan would at once conform to the new basis; and last, but not least, by "democratizing the finance of the State," in riding roughshod over time-honored British precedent, and arranging to sell the new bonds in denominations as low as twenty-five dollars, and interest-bearing vouchers in denominations as low as one dollar and twenty-five cents, through the post offices and other agencies convenient for the small investor.

The response to this appeal carries its own comment. As officially announced, it has enriched the Exchequer of Great Britain by $3,000,000,000, of which more than $75,000,000 is represented by 550,000 or more separate subscriptions at par for small allotments received through the post offices.

Adding to these two permanent loans the outstanding Treasury bills, together with the commitments made in the English money market on Colonial, Russian, French, and other European Government obligations—for England has had to give financial assistance to all her allies—it

does not seem too much to place the direct financial burden now being carried on account of the war by this nation alone at well over six billions of dollars.

And in the light of that enormous sum, the full significance of the Treasury orders last February, prescribing conditions under which new issues of capital might be made in the English market, becomes apparent. Those orders, it will be recalled, provided that the official test of "advisability in the national interest" would have to be applied in all cases of issues for undertakings in the United Kingdom, and the test of "urgent necessity and special circumstances" in all cases of issues for undertakings in the British Empire overseas; while issues or participations in issues for undertakings outside the British Empire were forbidden altogether.

HOW GERMANY FINANCED ITS WAR LOAN

Although the Bank of England has not, since the beginning of the war, exercised its right to issue new notes without the gold "cover" required by law, nor failed in its obligation to pay its notes in gold, it was by the immediate adoption of such expedients that the Imperial Bank of Germany met the crisis as it developed in that country. Germany's preliminary financing, moreover, after the expenditure of the golden store that had been kept at Spandau, was done directly by the Reichsbank without immediate resort to the public issue of short term bills, although millions have since been raised on 5 per cent. Treasury notes, having an average of five years to run, at a net cost to the Government of about 5½ per cent. for the money.

With characteristic thoroughness in preparation, Germany seems to have been the first of the nations involved in the great war to provide for the more permanent financing of her expenditures. Not only that, but the expedient which she has devised as a means of avoiding a general moratorium, insuring the successful issue of her loans, and at the same time supplying the demands of the country for small currency, is an uncommonly ingenious one.

Of itself this device is not new. It served Germany in a more or less modest way throughout the crises of 1848, 1866, and 1870. It takes the form of a system of loan banks, organized under the auspices of the Reichsbank, for the purpose of lending money on stocks, bonds, and certain other kinds of collateral. The funds of these banks are really a special currency in the form of "bonds" which, although not legal tender as between individuals, are honored by the Imperial Bank, even to the extent of being used by that institution, among other forms of paper, as part cover for its notes. This means that Germany has departed partially from the gold basis.

At last accounts, these loan banks were lending up to 75 per cent. on German and Prussian State bonds; up to 40 and 50 per cent. on the shares of large German companies; and apparently up to about 40 per cent. on certain American bonds. Among other classes of acceptable collateral are included gold and silver ware, copper, brass, tin, lead and zinc, wool and cotton, raw sugar, alcohol, and potash.

The operations of Germany's loan banks have been criticised on the ground that they appear merely to transfer to the Government capital that is raised by engaging the public in progressively increasing debt. But these operations have probably been on a much smaller scale than generally supposed. It has, for instance, been officially stated that the first German war loan in September, 1914, of which about $824,000,000 Imperial 5 per cent. bonds and $238,000,000 Treasury notes were taken by more than a million subscribers, was financed through the aid of these banks to a far less extent than had been anticipated; furthermore, that all the loan bonds then paid in have since been liquidated. And of the subscriptions amounting to more than $2,250,000,000 for the second big war loan, the official figures show only about 8½ per cent. obtained through the loan banks. So that it seems as if the issue of this special currency in Germany must still be far below the authorized maximum of $174,000,000.

Another interesting development in Germany's emergency finance is found in her system of "war credit banks," which have been formed in most of the large cities under the auspices of chambers of commerce, municipal governments, and existing credit

ts, to supplement the loan banks by ing on mortgages and other kinds of tiable paper. These institutions have rently played little; if any, part in the n's financial operations thus far, but are said to possess abundant potential rces that can immediately be called play, if pressing needs arise. The cur- y that these "war credit banks" lend is, urse, not based upon gold reserves.

AUSTRIA, FRANCE, AND RUSSIA

ie principal emergency measures ted by Austria, France, and Russia ediately following the declaration of consisted in the suspension of their ctive bank acts, and the declaration neral moratoria, although, as in the case ermany, Austria now has her war banks which issue non-interest-bearing ds," so-called, against collateral— the provision, however, that the banks grant loans only after proof has been itted that the funds asked for are to be in carrying on industries giving em- ment to people who would otherwise be f work. The Dual Monarchy's loans amounted to about $1,500,000,000, per cent.

meet preliminary war expenditures, ce, fortunately, had on hand a fund of ,000,000 that had been raised by a er cent. loan only a few weeks before came necessary to mobilize. She has borrowed liberally—to the extent of than a billion dollars—directly from Bank of France, in addition to selling icly, at an average of ninety-five, three, nd twelve months 5 per cent. Treas- obligations known as "National De- Bonds." And this, thanks to the erbial thrift of the French people, ut the adoption so far of expedients unusual than arranging for the sale e bonds through the tobacco shops, offices, and savings banks; authorizing Bank of France to accept the bonds as teral for loans and to discount them other paper within prescribed limits; giving to their holders the preferential to subscribe to the forthcoming long bonds.

ssia's loans, amounting to more than 0,000,000, have been for the most part in the form of Treasury bills of short term, bearing 5 per cent. interest and issued in denominations as low as twenty-five dollars to give them a popular aspect.

SOME EFFECTS ON AMERICAN FINANCE

Yet the huge dimensions of these borrowing operations and the extraordinary character of the inducements that have already been found necessary to tempt capital to work for war tell only part of the story of the financial strain that is being put upon fighting Europe. There remains the knotty problem with which she has been confronted by the remarkable reversal of the position of the United States from that of a large debtor to that of a huge creditor of Europe.

It is a familiar fact that the "balance of trade" in favor of this country, due to the purchases here of vast quantities of war munitions, foodstuffs, and supplies of various sorts, now amounts to more than a billion dollars, with every present prospect of continuing to increase.

EUROPE'S DEPRECIATING CURRENCY

The seriousness of Europe's problem of how to pay for these purchases, while prevented from offsetting them in any substantial way either by the visible or invisible balances that stand to her credit under normal trade conditions, has been emphasized by the badly upset market here for foreign bills of exchange. Thus, at one time only a few weeks ago "sterling exchange" stood here at a discount that represented a depreciation in Great Britain's currency, as compared with the American dollar, of approximately 2 per cent. At the same time exchange on Paris stood at a discount that represented a 10 per cent. depreciation in the French franc; while German and Russian currencies showed depreciation of about 15 and 20 per cent., respectively. The foreign exchange experts are careful to point out, however, that in such unprecedented circumstances this does not necessarily mean that the currencies of these countries are depressed to any such extent in the home markets.

To a considerable extent, of course, these tendencies in the exchange market have been checked by the large banking credits

established here by several of the debtor countries largely through the medium of the system of acceptance provided for by the Federal Reserve Act; by the return to this market of a good many millions of American securities formerly owned in Europe; and even by the actual shipment of a certain amount of gold, grudgingly given up by Europe, where it is so sorely needed as support for the enormously increased issues of paper currency, and just about as reluctantly added to our own supply, already more than adequate to the country's legitimate needs.

These measures have failed, however, to counterbalance at all effectively the persistent outward movement of merchandise. And it is for that reason that Europe's financial problem has a phase with which this country is deeply concerned.

HELPING HAITI

THE POTENTIALLY RICHEST AND ACTUALLY POOREST OF THE WEST INDIES—HOW GERMAN AND FRENCH INTERESTS HAVE SOUGHT A FOOTHOLD WHILE THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN UNWILLING TO HELP THE BLACK REPUBLIC HELP ITSELF—A CLOSE CALL FOR THE MONROE DOCTRINE

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

WHILE we have been thinking and reading of the war in Europe, the materials for a not impossible international strife have been simmering almost unnoticed for a year or more in the Caribbean. The war has prevented, or perhaps only postponed, an international crisis in which the United States was, and is now, primarily concerned.

In Haiti the critical conditions, greatly accentuated by the war, continue, although from Haiti the war has drawn the alert attention of the two European nations chiefly concerned. Relieved thus from immediate foreign pressure, the American Government still faces a very difficult problem in this potentially richest and actually poorest island in the West Indies.

The gist of the situation is something like this: The Haitian Administration of the late President Guillaume Sam came to a bloody close on July 28th, while the revolutionists, under a "general" who rejoices in the name of Bobo, were seeking its authority in the north. This was merely the last chapter in a series of revolutions which have paralyzed the industry of the country for the last two years. Before the European war began France and Germany had brought pressure to bear in Haiti and at Washington to put an end to the chaos. The communication of the German Government was couched in terms very nearly peremptory.

The war has given both these nations all they can do at home. In their councils Haiti is for the moment shelved, although, strange as it may seem, each has during the summer continued to emphasize its claims and its grievances to the State Department at Washington. The American Government has professed itself willing to go in and take charge of the Haitian customs, the only source of revenue there is in the Republic, to enable the Haitian Government to meet its obligations. Hitherto this willingness to help has been rejected for the very good reason that any Haitian Administration which would accept a foreign administration of its customs revenues would automatically go out of office. Up to the middle of July the United States was unwilling to land marines in Haiti to protect whatever administration might accept its proposals. The situation, then, has been: Haiti, even if it would.

d not accept our good offices unless
ble intervention made the practical
ving out of these good offices possible.
ident Wilson had been unwilling to take
step of forcible intervention in Haiti,
though the island might thus be saved
bite of itself, because of the inevitable
ing of such action upon his entire
American policy. However, the
der of 160 political prisoners at Port-
Prince, followed by the retaliatory
der of President Guillaume Sam, forced
President's hand, and on July 28th,
Admiral Caperton landed marines
store order.

aiti is a mock republic. With all due
rence to the hundred-years-old struggle
Negro community to govern itself,
intermittent attempt has proved poli-
ly a failure and out of the political
re has grown almost complete economic
phy. Socially the life of the island has
been a quaint mixture of bucolic con-
tempered by occasional homicide.

olitically Haiti is divided between the
nd the Outs, the latter always neces-
y in a large majority and therefore only
porarily out. By the same token, poli-
are very fluid in this republic; the divi-
are eternally interchangeable. In Haiti
are no parties, no well established
ciples of government, no platform, no
ks. About 10 or 15 per cent. of the
lation make their living by politics,
to these gentry party, platforms, and
ciples are all summed up in the one
poleth, personal profits.

his is rather a broad, categorical state-
t to make about any Government, but
n be abundantly sustained by the
ry of the last hundred years in Haiti,
nning in a patriotically led self-
ncipation and degenerating into a
less license. In a criticism so unspar-
t must be understood that there are in
i many patriotic citizens who resent
regret their Government's condition
the pseudo-political methods which
ght it to such a pass. Moreover, 80
cent. or more of the population are not
ny way concerned with politics. They
simple agriculturists who desire only
ve and let live. The desires of both
e elements in the population are of no
avail against the stratum of active politi-
cians, "generals," and agents who subsist
upon the customs duties of the country.

Very naturally, as in the case of every
sick nation with a rich patrimony, Haiti has
become the object of concern to neighboring
healthy nations. This attention is in-
evitable. In the similar cases of China,
the sick man of the Far East, and of Tur-
key, the invalid of the Levant, a similar
condition has aroused territorial and other
ambitions in Europe. The condition of Haiti
has aroused specific ambitions in France
and in Germany and, to a lesser degree, in
Great Britain and Belgium. Let us see just
what these ambitions amount to and what
are the claims upon which they are based.

The central fact in Haitian finance is the
so-called Banque Nationale de la Re-
publique d'Haiti, with its central offices at
Paris, a branch at Port-au-Prince, Haiti,
and another branch in New York City.
This institution controls practically the
entire (99 per cent.) foreign debt of Haiti,
amounting to $27,000,000 gold. Fifty per
cent. of its stock is held at present by
French interests, 40 per cent. by nominal
American stockholders, and 10 per cent. by
the German Disconto Gesellschaft, of Berlin.
Scattered sporadically throughout this list
of stockholders are about twenty or thirty
Haitians, each one of them owning a small
amount.

Up to 1910 this institution was entirely
French, under the name of "La Banque
Nationale d'Haiti," originally established
in 1875. It was a badly managed affair
and in 1910 it was thoroughly reorganized
with the two central ideas of establishing
monetary reform in the Black Republic and
of obtaining joint administration of its
customs. With these ends in view it was
deemed advisable to admit German partici-
pation and, as a political safeguard to the
reorganized bank, it was considered wise
also to include American investment.

The transactions incident to this reor-
ganization are exceedingly interesting.
In 1910 a Haitian commission went to
Paris to assist in the reorganization of the
bank at its central offices. At the same
time some other interested Haitians went
into conclave with German mercantile
interests at Port-au-Prince, and this group

made emphatic representations through the Haitian agent of Thalmann & Co., which has a branch office in Paris. The New York office of this German banking company is Ladenburg, Thalmann & Company.

The German-Haitian group did not at first want American participation. Whatever the French stockholders might have done in the premises was defeated by the emphatic attitude of the French Government not to allow German participation without the inclusion of American capital. This fact throws an interesting light upon that phase of the Monroe Doctrine which is staged in the Caribbean.

As at present constituted, then, there are no German individual shareholders in the National Bank of Haiti, the German block of stock, only about 2,500 out of a total of 40,000 shares, being all held by the Disconto Gesellschaft. The individual shareholders are all Frenchmen, Americans, and Haitians, but the character of some of the American shareholders may or may not throw some interpretative light upon the small proportion of the total stock held in Germany. The chief American shareholders are Ladenburg, Thalmann & Company, Speyer & Company, Hallgarten & Company, firms Germanic in their affiliations, and the National City Bank.

Responsive to the international alignment of the shareholders is the board of directors, which includes the following gentlemen: Messrs. Casenave, recently elected president of the bank, Mallet, Bosquet, Poisson, Girode, and Cere; and Messrs. Wehrhane, McRoberts, Rosen, and Davis, of New York. M. Casenave, sent here by the French Government, together with M. Paul Santallier, director general of the bank, has been for some time conferring in New York with Mr. R. L. Farnham, of the National City Bank, and the last-named American representatives of the board of directors.

According to the regulations of the bank the board of directors should normally have twelve members. The German representative tactfully resigned at the beginning of the war. The New York directors meet in New York separately from their Paris colleagues in order thus better to handle such business as is left to the bank.

Except for this international establishment there is no direct foreign banking organization in the island of Haiti, but a large amount of the financial obligations of successive administrations has been negotiated through German mercantile agents of German banks, each transaction being apparently purely a private one but the inference being somewhat more than that.

RUINOUS LOANS

These private loans negotiated between the grafting Haitian officials, as they totter their uneasy interval in authority, and German mercantile agents bore ruinous rates of interest, so ruinous that the transactions, so far from helping matters, only plunged the exchequer into further difficulties. For example, in June, 1914, the Zamor Government negotiated two loans with local German bankers at Port-au-Prince. The first one was for $500,000 at 35 per cent. per annum. This was bad enough. The next was much worse. By the terms of the second loan negotiated in the same month the Zamoristes got only 54½ cents for every dollar obligated. In other words, within one year the Government paid approximately $300,000 for the original $175,000 actually advanced.

As has been said, it was one of the chief objects of reorganization of the National Bank of Haiti to rehabilitate the currency of the nation. The monetary reform contemplated calling in all unsecured paper from circulation and the substitution therefor of a guaranteed currency, an operation which must eventually precede any healthy commercial and financial change in Haiti. Repeated efforts to accomplish this reform have met with about the same success as similar attempts made for many years in China. The chief unit in the Haitian currency is the gourde, of a nominal par value about equal to the American dollar. Needless to say, it has never realized par. Its present exchange value is at the rate of 7½ gourdes for one dollar gold.

On January 15, 1915, President Theodor, who had succeeded Zamor, issued by decree 12,000,000 gourdes in treasury bonds of one, two, and five-gourde bills, guaranteed by the acceptances of these bills up to

the amount of 20 per cent. in payment of 40 per cent. surtax payable in gold on imports at the rate of five gourdes for one dollar gold. This frenzied finance was handed to a certain German firm, which took it at an outrageous discount. Theodor took this step despite representations by the United States Government that the issue was not based on any security which it could regard as satisfactory. Two weeks before the issue our Minister, Blanchard, told President Theodor that the United States would refuse to regard as legal any such issues as that contemplated. The French and German ambassadors in Washington were at the same time informed to the same effect. Nevertheless Theodor went ahead and made his issue.

The first bonds issued rapidly, but on account of the war the imports had fallen to so small a figure that they could not be employed for the purpose designated. As a consequence the rate coasted down rapidly until 50 gourdes could be bought for one dollar gold. When the Government tried to force acceptances at par all the larger Haitian and foreign business houses closed up.

MINDING THE BLACK BROTHER'S BUSINESS

At this juncture there were piled up in the vaults of the National Bank at Port-au-Prince $500,000 in gold collected from the customs and held as a reserve against the contemplated monetary reform for which the bank had been pressing for many months. As Theodor's Administration was going broke and the revolt of Guillaume Sam gaining headway, the officers of the bank quietly slipped this bullion one night out of the bank vaults and on to a United States gunboat in the harbor; the gunboat quietly slipped out of the harbor and five days later the money was safely stowed away in the Bankers' Trust Company at New York, where it was infinitely safer and just as much at the disposal of legitimate Governmental demands as it could have been in Port-au-Prince.

Theodor and his counselors protested that this high-handed action on the part of the local officers of the bank was a blow to their prestige and reputation for honesty. It was.

The bulk of the Haitian revenue comes from customs, chiefly from the export duties on coffee, dyewoods, cocoa, etc. No direct land tax can be collected. One or two administrations which tried it in the past sought Kingston, Jamaica, or Curaçao more hastily and sooner than the others. Upon the customs, therefore, the Government subsists, and insists.

Last year the French Government made representations at Washington of their desire to participate in the regulation of the Haitian customs, and a certain official in the State Department represented to the French ambassador in a written dispatch that it was "natural and desirable that one of the three officials in charge should be a Frenchman."

Although the State Department promptly repudiated this semi-official statement as having no authority, still we find that in July, 1914, the French chargé d'affaires, still maintaining that the French have some right to join in control of the Haitian customs because of the magnitude of French investments in that country, maintains that neither the United States nor any other nation ought to be accorded preferential treatment.

THE GERMAN MISTAKE

In the same month, July, 1914, Germany also made a proposition for customs control in Haiti. In this case, the note from the German embassy pointed out that, even though the American Government believes it is inadvisable to have interested European Powers participate in the control of Haitian customs, nevertheless the Imperial Government must give heed to public opinion in Germany. The German note goes so far as to state that the simplest solution of the difficulty will be to include Germany, and that Germany will not understand any other arrangement that may be made.

Much more emphatically than the Department answered the French representations did it define its position in regard to this extraordinary German document. In the most unequivocal terms it stated that its policy was not subject to any variation; that neither foreign mercantile interests nor any other interests proceeding from

outside of the American hemisphere could be so extended as even to constitute a joint control in whole or in part of the government or administration of any independent American state.

CONTRAST IN FRENCH AND GERMAN METHODS

The interchange of notes between this Government and the Governments of France and Germany illustrates vividly the characteristic differences in the diplomacy of the two European nations. The interchange with Germany resulted in a flat contradiction and a deadlock. The French Government in February, 1915, in renewed representations made it clear that France would like to be taken into partnership in shaping measures toward the rehabilitation of Haitian finances, on the ground of the extensive Haitian securities held in France. Observe that the French Government, tactful and courteous in expressing this wish, impliedly recognized the position of the United States on the Monroe Doctrine. It goes further in expressly denying that the election of the then chief executive of Haiti (Sam) was in accordance with any previous understanding between French and Haitian representatives, and assures the Department of State that all negotiations in Haiti on the part of the National Bank which are seconded by the French Government are only for the legitimate protection of private interests. Accordingly the United States in its last communications to the French Government assures it of no discrimination being made against France; most cordially expresses its appreciation of the French Government's position, while at the same time emphasizing that the Monroe Doctrine precludes active partnership on the part of any European nation.

While thus patiently the United States Government has dealt with France and Germany, it has had similar troubles of its own in Haiti. After the spiriting away of the $500,000 to New York, Guillaume Sam's Government removed the Treasury service from the Bank of Haiti and established its own agencies for the collection of import and export duties. Consequently, it had for several months appropriated the whole of the national revenues in their depleted state, not paying a gourde of interest outstanding bonds such as the Central Ra road, electric light, street improvemen etc., all of them American enterprises.

In an attempt to deal with this situati in a coöperative way, a commission co sisting of Messrs. Fort, Smith, and Blanc ard went to Haiti last winter in an effo to arrange a joint customs regulatio The commission failed, and after its wit drawal the United States made anoth attempt, sending this time Mr. Pa Fuller, Jr., as special envoy and represent tive of this Government, who had t powers and prerogatives also of diplomat minister. Mr. Fuller arrived back in Ne York early in June with no apparent accor plishment of his mission. While the effor of the commission and the special envo were going on, President Theodor a sconded with all he could collect to Curaç and his successor, Sam, was "elected" pre dent. In the same month Bobo started h revolution against Sam, attacking Ca Haitien, on the north of the island, May 6t

In Haiti administrations change by process of revolution in preference to ele tion. The casualties are about the sam

On June 18th, this popular form of co vention becoming more and more diso derly, and no one else apparently bein disposed to do anything about it, th French armored cruiser *Descartes*, part o the allied Caribbean fleet, happened alon and put marines ashore at Cape Haitie on the following day, June 19th. Th jarred the State Department into atte tion and a few days later the *Washingto* under Admiral Caperton, arrived an took charge of the situation, the Frenc marines reëmbarking on the *Descartes*, an one officer and twenty marines from th *Washington* going ashore to guard Consu Livingston and his official family.

On July 27th the *Washington* was o Cape Haitien watching the Bobo revolu tion when the news came of the uprisin in Port-au-Prince. She went at full spee to the capital, but she did not reach it i time to save the President from the mob which dragged him from the French Legi tion and murdered him. The indignit offered the French representative make the affair all the more serious.

The situation points plainly to American control of the customs in Haiti such as is now in operation in Santo Domingo, the other two-thirds of the same island, to the vast economic and political benefit of the majority of its population, to the discomfiture of the professional revolutionists and revenue leeches, and without any real disparagement to the independence of the people.

JAPAN'S HAND IN CHINA

THE "FIVE GROUPS OF DEMANDS" AND THEIR SINISTER SIGNIFICANCE — HOW JAPAN HAS TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF CHINA'S WEAKNESS WHILE EUROPE'S BACK IS TURNED

BY

CARL CROW

THOSE who have been watching the trend of Far Eastern politics and intrigue for the last few years were justified in feeling some surprise at the wording of Japan's ultimatum to Germany which preceded its attack on Tsingtau and its entry into the world war. The declaration was delivered on August 15, 1914. It contained two demands, which were to be accepted within one week. The first demand concerned the withdrawal of German warships from the Far East. The second one read:

"The German Government, with the object of its return to China, shall hand over the leased territory in Kiao-chau to the Japanese Government on or after September 15th, without condition and without compensation."

The tone of the ultimatum was provocative, and there was no surprise in any quarter when the week of grace elapsed without a reply having been received. Passports were then handed to the staffs of the German and Austrian embassies in Tokio, and the attack on Tsingtau began.

That Japan should enter the war was not surprising to those who know the strength of the military party in Japan and the long-cherished ambition of all Japanese statesmen to dominate China and the Far East. But that it should enter the war with such an unselfish purpose as that of taking Kiao-chau from the Germans in order to return it to China—that it should at the beginning of a fight pledge the prize for which it was fighting—was not consistent. There have been many little incidents in the last few years, the Nanking affair, the revision of China's unjust tariff, and a half dozen others, in all which Japan has shown anything but a friendly spirit toward its big neighbor and good customer. It has demanded everything and given nothing in return. The wording of the ultimatum to Germany indicated a change of this policy and Japan's friends and well-wishers were elated. "At last," they said, "Japan is going to abandon its old policy toward China, will champion China's rights, and will bind its neighbor to it by ties of gratitude and friendship."

The plain wording of the ultimatum was enough to justify the belief that it was an unqualified promise to restore Kiao-chau and that Japan was entering the war as a champion of China, but, as if this were not enough, the Japanese Foreign Office made every effort to give wide publicity abroad to this interpretation. The Japanese Government has a very efficient press bureau with ramifications in all parts of the world and is always able to present its views of a question in an effective way. On this occasion the press campaign was unusually vigorous and transparent.

Premier Count Okuma, on August 24th, cabled to the editor of the *Independent*, New York, a statement in which he said:

"As Premier of Japan I have stated and I now again state to the people of the world that Japan has no ulterior motive, no desire to secure more territory, no thought

of depriving China or any other peoples of anything which they now possess.

"My Government and my people have given their word and their pledge, which will be as honorably kept as Japan always keeps promises."

The public was quite justified in believing that Count Okuma's statement meant that China had nothing to fear from Japan's entry into the war and that his reference to a pledge referred to the promise Japan had made. This statement, it should be noted, was cabled to the *Independent* two days after the ultimatum to Germany had expired, and at a time when it was apparent that Tsingtau would not be surrendered peacefully.

On the following day, when the blockade of Tsingtau had been begun, a remarkable semi-official statement regarding Japan's policy was sent out by the Kokusai Tsushin-sha, a Japanese news agency which has close official connections and is allied with Reuter's and the Associated Press. The cable, printed in many newspapers in America and Europe, began:

"On the highest authority Reuter's correspondent is able to state that it is the settled policy of Japan, approved by the Emperor, the Genro, the Privy Council, the Cabinet, and leading business men, that Japan under all future conditions will act strictly in accord with the terms of the alliance with England and the treaties and agreements with America and her pledge to China. She will restore Kiao-chau and will preserve the territorial integrity of China. The ultimatum will be adhered to, whether Tsingtau is taken by force or otherwise."

Any one who lives in Japan or who has kept in touch with recent events there knows the peculiar relationship which exists between the Kokusai-Reuter news agencies and the Japanese Government and needs no assurance that any statement like this, made by Reuter's, is officially inspired. It may also be pointed out that at this time there was a very strict censorship on all cables from Japan, and that all press messages not acceptable to the Japanese Government were refused transmission. While press cables assuring the world of Japan's good faith in the promise were allowed transmission, others which expressed doubt concerning Japan's intention to restore Kiao-chau or her motives in entering the war were censored.

This Japanese press campaign had its effect, for newspapers all over the world commented on the magnanimity of Japan's move, and a number of officials in Europe and America made statements in praise of her disinterested motives. As I write this I have before me a file of Tokio newspapers for last autumn, and it contains column after column of this praise for Japan, most of which was cabled to Tokio by Japanese diplomatic agents and made public by the Japanese Foreign Office. There is in none of this comment of last autumn any hint from a responsible quarter that Japan's participation in the war was prompted by any motive other than a desire to carry out what she believed to be her obligations under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, to secure peace in the Far East, and to restore to China a territory which rightfully belonged to her. Japan's rewards would be apportioned at the peace conference at the end of the war.

CHINA'S NEUTRAL WAR ZONE

At the beginning of the war in Europe China had declared her neutrality, which was respected by the combatants, who withdrew their warships from Chinese waters and interned the Yangtze River gunboats. But with the certainty of fighting at Tsingtau it became apparent that it would be impossible to maintain a strictly neutral position, that is, to prevent fighting on Chinese territory. Tsingtau was so fortified as to make an attack by sea alone a long and expensive undertaking. It was evident that Japan, in order to secure an early victory, must make a land attack as well, and to do that would necessitate moving troops over Chinese territory. The situation was much the same as in the Russian-Japanese War, which was fought out on Chinese territory.

At the suggestion of one of his foreign political advisers, a Japanese subject, President Yuan Shih Kai followed the precedent established in the Russian-Japanese War and marked out a zone which, according to all neutral opinion,

enough for any operations which ıight carry on against Tsingtau. led the port of Lunkow, at which anded troops, and extended far west of Tsingtau to afford Japan reedom in her military operations. y protested against the establish- :he zone, insisting that if Japan was : Tsingtau she should do so without ; China's neutrality. China's es- ent of the zone offered every ad- to Japan and none to Germany, as :ion of the latter would have been strengthened if Japan had been d to confine her operations to a :k.

's position was exactly the same as Belgium. She had no part in the nd was not even suspected of sym- r either side, but it was expedient n to cross her territory in order to attack on Tsingtau, just as it was t for Germany to cross Belgium to rance. China was not able to en- r neutrality and, unlike Belgium, ɔk to no powerful friends for help. r admitting the situation, she o escape from it as easily as pos- he war zone was established as a ɔ that end; and in order to avoid ibility of a clash, all Chinese troops ɔnce withdrawn from the zone.

N'S VIOLATIONS OF THE ZONE

st Japanese troops landed on Chi- at once took possession of a section German railroad which connects with Tsinan, the capital of g province. This force, instead of ıg on Tsingtau, faced the opposite and proceeded west. It soon Weihsien, the location of a large garrison, 100 miles west of Tsing- vell outside the war zone as marked hina. The Japanese troops occu- Weihsien railroad station, and tentatiously located their camp in distance of the Chinese garrison. ampment of Japanese troops on soil under the very noses of a garrison was such a patent chal- t it appeared for a time that trou- not be avoided. Soldiers on each e itching for a fight, but China averted trouble by removing a large part of her troops.

The Chinese Government at once called the attention of Japan to the fact that troops had been sent outside the war zone. Japan's reply was that she did not recognize the war zone and would not be bound by it in any way. She contended that China's neutrality had already been violated by the Germans who had used the Shantung Railroad for the transportation of supplies to Tsingtau. The contention was a bit of sophistry, for the Shantung Railroad had been used only as any railroad in the United States might be used to ship supplies destined for combatants.

Japan continued to push her troops farther west, and some time before the main attack on Tsingtau was begun had occupied the entire line of the Shantung Railroad, had stationed troops in Tsinan, 260 miles from Tsingtau, and had taken possession of the German coal mines in Shantung. In all these military operations, as well as in her diplomatic dealings with China, Japan exhibited none of that spirit of friendliness toward China the existence of which was suggested by the promise to restore Kiao-chau, proclaimed by Premier Okuma and by other responsible spokesmen for Japan. She in no case showed any appreciation of the painful position in which China was placed, but on the contrary her actions were brusque and provocative. During the entire time of the operations against Tsingtau, clashes between the Chinese and Japanese troops were averted only by the great caution of the Chinese commanders, who were instructed by President Yuan Shih Kai to avoid the conflict which Japan seemed to be inviting.

KIAO-CHAU A JAPANESE GRAB-BAG

When Tsingtau fell into their possession the Japanese exhibited almost indecent haste to make the most of their new property. They at once claimed ownership of the Shantung Railroad and of the German coal mines in the province. In fact, experts to operate the railroad and to work the coal mines had accompanied the expeditionary force.

The coal mines and the railroad had been operated by a few German executives,

all the other employees being Chinese. When the Japanese took possession of these properties they replaced the Chinese by Japanese employees. Formerly all the trainmen on the Shantung Railroad were Chinese but now no Chinese are employed by the railroad except as coolies. On the railroad and in the city Chinese currency was replaced by Japanese. In Tsingtau the street names were at once changed, the German street signs being taken down and new Japanese street names put up in their place. A large and beautiful monument which had been erected to commemorate German occupation of the place was defaced. Even the name of the place in its Romanized version was changed and it is now referred to in all Japanese official publications as Sei-tou.

It was announced that the German noncombatants would not be interfered with in any way and would be allowed to continue in business as before. However, in a short time after their occupation the Japanese officials began announcing the discovery of evidence that certain business men had taken part in the defense of the place, and these, a few at a time, were sent to Japan as prisoners of war. Out of a former population of several thousand, less than one hundred German men remained in the place four months after its surrender, and most of the business enterprises they had built up had passed into Japanese hands. A similar procedure was followed in regard to German factories, residences, and real estate. Investigations carried on by the Japanese officials purported to disclose the fact that certain buildings had been used for military purposes, and these have been confiscated. An instance of this is found in the Prince Heinrich Hotel, formerly a popular tourist resort. It was confiscated because it was the residence of German officers during the attack, and it is now in the possession of a Japanese. The confiscated property includes the principal buildings and factories of Tsingtau, the Shantung Railroad, the German bank, and the German coal mines in Shantung. For several months after the surrender of the place none but Japanese steamers were allowed to call at the port, and severe restrictions were placed around any foreigner who attempted to go to Tsingtau. On the other hand, the Japanese were allowed free entry, and so great was the rush to secure the rich pickings afforded by the confiscation of German property that more than five thousand Japanese took up their residence there within a few weeks after the surrender. The cost of Japan's war operations was about $25,000,000, and at the very lowest estimate the value of the confiscated property is easily twice that amount. The German Government had spent $100,000,000 in the improvement of the place, and much of this money was spent on buildings, etc., which are now the property of Japan.

"RESTITUTION NOT CONSIDERED"

The world at large, despite many circumstances which gave it reason to be skeptical, had continued to believe in the sincerity of Japan's promise to restore the colony to China, until the early part of December, when a new statement was made. The Japanese Diet was then in session and Baron Kato, the Foreign Minister, was bombarded with Opposition questions regarding Japan's war policy. A report of these interpellations was sent out on December 9th by the Kokusai news agency, the same news agency which had, less than four months before, assured the world "on the highest authority" that Japan would restore Kiao-chau no matter under what circumstances the place was secured. The opening paragraphs of the Kokusai report of December 9th were:

"The first interpellations in the new session of the Japanese Diet referred to the subject of the return of Kiao-chau to China. The Opposition asked whether Kiao-chau would be returned, whether the Government was pledged to China or any other Power in the matter of the final disposal of the territory, and whether the clause in the Japanese ultimatum to Germany referring to the final restitution of Kiao-chau to China did not bind the action of Japan.

"Baron Kato, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, replied that the question regarding the future disposal of Kiao-chau could not at present be answered, but it could be definitely stated that Japan had never committed herself to any foreign Power on this point. 'The purpose of the ultimatum,' he

ıed, 'was to take Kiao-chau from ıy and so restore peace in the Orient. ıtitution of Kiao-chau after a cam- 'as not thought of, nor was it referred ıe ultimatum.'"

SEEKING A QUARREL WITH CHINA

ıis time the Japanese were in secure ion of Tsingtau. The German com- ; had surrendered, and all except the :d in hospitals had been removed to ıs prisoners of war. There had been nan war vessels in the Far East for months, and there were no German ıearer than Poland. Apparently the ıu campaign was a closed incident. a's futile war zone, which had never except on paper, no longer had any for existence even there. Accord- :arly in January a Chinese Govern- ıotice announced that it had been ed. Japan was at this time in ex- he same position as Germany was time the attack on Tsingtau was

She was in secure possession of the nd it was to her advantage, as it had the advantage of Germany, to limit ssible attack to the sea. From a / standpoint the abolition of the war as to the advantage only of Japan, its establishment had been.

ll be remembered that when the war ıs established Japan had refused to ze it, and all her actions had been 'ithout any consideration of the zone. l carried out her military operations assumption, apparently, that she ıse any part of Chinese territory that hed. She had even established a ı at Tsinan and exercised a cen- over telegrams at that place. But developed that though she had re-) recognize the zone, she would not k the fact that it had been abolished. apanese soldiers remained within its ries, and it was assumed that the)f China in abolishing the zone was hat these soldiers should be removed. ıs construed as an insult to Japan. the first act on the part of China :ould possibly be construed as un- ', and that portion of the Japanese hich is in close touch with the For- fice raged and raved over the inci- dent. They insisted that China pay dearly for the "insult" and pay at once.

China, alarmed at this unexpected development, immediately cancelled the order abolishing the war zone; but this failed to mollify Japan. She had been seeking cause for a quarrel too long to overlook this opportunity and the result was the presentation of the now well-known demands, which revealed for the first time the programme with which Japanese statesmen entered the war. It was the opportune time for Japan's ambitious plans. China has been protected in the past largely by the jealousies of the Powers, for though each might wish to close the open door none will allow any other to close it. With Russia, France, England, and Germany fighting in Europe, Japan was left with practically a free hand —Germany powerless, England silenced by Japan's pretensions of a sacrifice in support of the Alliance, Russia satisfied by a secret agreement with Japan which gives Russia a free hand in Mongolia, and France too hard pressed at home to pay any attention to affairs in China. There remained only the United States, which, though the originator of the policies which have preserved China, is pledged only to pacific means to support them.

Such a situation had been provided for by the many treaties guaranteeing the open door and the independence and integrity of China, but these Japan ignored by placing on her own demands and on the treaties what a Chinese statesman ironically referred to as an "extratextual interpretation." The demands, if accepted in full, would have made China a dependency of Japan. Yet the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance itself preclude such action, for it declares as one of its objects: "The preservation of the common interest of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China."

One involuntarily recalls the preamble to the earlier Anglo-Japanese Alliance, signed in 1902, which began: "The high contracting parties, having mutually recognized the independence of China and

Korea, declare themselves to be entirely uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies in either country." Only a few years after signing that Alliance, Japan approached Korea with demands similar to the demands on China with the result that Korea is now a Japanese colony.

In a half dozen other treaties and understandings Japan was pledged not to do the very things she attempted, and partially accomplished, by forcing these demands on China. In the American-Japanese understanding of 1908 the fourth article reads:

"They [Japan and the United States] are also determined to preserve the common interests of all Powers in China, by supporting, by all pacific means at their disposal, the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire."

The demands were presented on January 18th, and during their discussion, which lasted more than three months, Japan abandoned all pretense of a friendly attitude toward China. The negotiations were carried on as between a victor and a fallen and helpless foe. The military forces established at Tsinan and Tientsin, within easy striking distance of Peking, were strengthened and Chinese mails and telegraph service tampered with. Large bodies of troops were sent to Manchuria, ostensibly to relieve the garrison there. According to the official record of the conference held on the demands, the Japanese Minister to Peking was asked when the retiring troops would be withdrawn and replied that they would remain until the satisfactory conclusion of the conference. Later, when Japan's final ultimatum was delivered to China, I was traveling between Seoul and Mukden. Except for the daily passenger train, all traffic on the Japanese railroad between these two cities had been stopped and large bodies of troops were massed just below the Chinese border ready for an immediate invasion in the event China's reply was unsatisfactory. Japan had gone to war with Germany and was ready to go to war with China—to preserve the peace of the Orient!

On May 9th the long negotiations came to a close with China's acceptance of a part of the demands. As a result Japan has secured from China many valuable rights and privileges which close the door to other nations and threaten the existence of China.

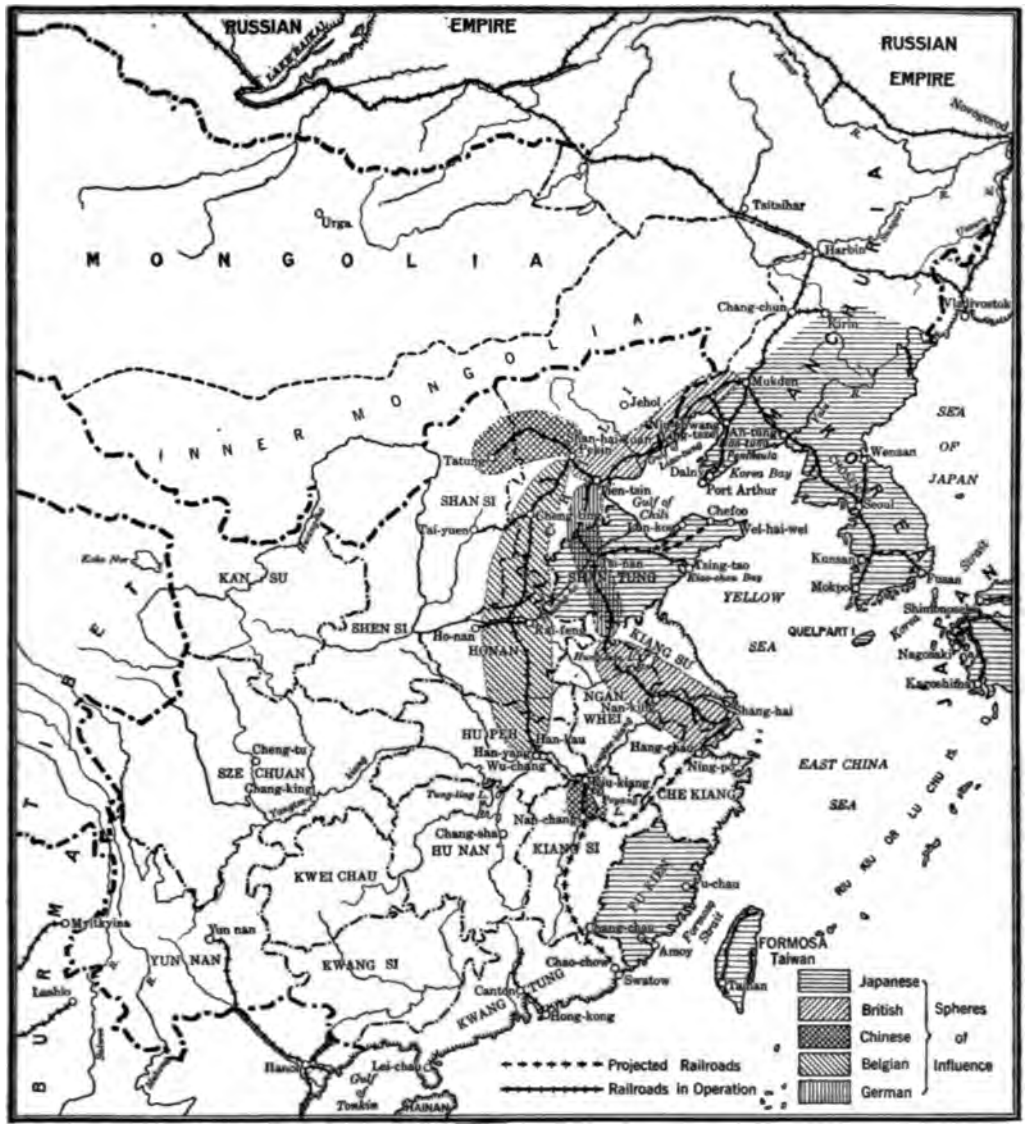
China agrees in advance to assent to any arrangement which may be arrived at between Germany and Japan regarding German rights and concessions in Shantung province. This debars China from a hearing at the peace conference when the disposition of Shantung will be decided.

China agrees not to cede or lease to any Power any portion of Shantung and to give to Japanese capitalists a monopoly of railroad building in the province.

New treaty ports are to be opened in Shantung and Eastern Mongolia for the residence of foreigners. These places are to be selected after consultation with the Japanese Minister to Peking and will naturally be places so located as to be favorable to Japanese trade.

The leases of Port Arthur and Dalny, which were to expire in 1923, are extended to 1997. The lease of the South Manchuria Railroad is extended from 1938 to 2002 and of the Antung-Mukden Railroad to 2007. It was possible that China, at the expiration of these leases or at some time soon thereafter, would have found it possible to redeem this property and thus accomplish one part of her great ambition to regain her complete sovereignty. The new terms put this beyond the possibility of accomplishment in this or the succeeding generation.

Japanese subjects acquire the right of free residence and travel in South Manchuria, also the right to lease land for business and agricultural purposes. This is one of the most vicious of the agreements wrested from China, for while the Japanese have gained the right of residence and practical land ownership they also retain the extra-territorial rights possessed by all foreigners in China. Under its terms they will be required to submit only to police ordinances and tax regulations which are approved by the Japanese consuls and in both civil and criminal cases are subject to trial before Japanese officials only. This serves to extend the Japanese



JAPAN'S NEW "SPHERES OF INFLUENCE" IN CHINA

With Fukien, Shantung, South Manchuria, and Eastern Inner Mongolia under definite Japanese "influence," and with the Japanese in control of the construction of the great systems of railroads reaching east and south to the coast from Wuchang

administrative machinery from the zone of the South Manchuria Railroad and a few ports, where it is now confined, to all parts of South Manchuria. The residence of a single Japanese in a district of the province gives the Japanese officials power over the local police and tax system. The resilence of Japanese in remote parts of the province where the Chinese police system s not able to protect them from the hosility of the natives, coupled with the extraterritorial rights the Japanese retain and the energy and persistence with which the Japanese Government prosecutes injuries to Japanese subjects, makes constant trouble in South Manchuria unavoidable in the future. With the increase of Japanese residents there it is easy to foresee the development of complications which will lead Japan to demand still further rights and privileges and still further curtail China's sovereignty. Taken in

conjunction with other rights and concessions, this right of residence goes far toward making South Manchuria what the Japanese hope it will some day be—an actual province of Japan.

Japanese subjects are to be allowed to open gold, coal, and iron mines in nine districts in Manchuria.

Japanese capitalists are granted a monopoly in all railroad construction in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia and in all loans with South Manchurian and Eastern Inner Mongolian taxes as security.

Japanese are to be employed by the Chinese Government as advisers or instructors on political, financial, military, or police matters in South Manchuria.

The complete control of the Kirin-Changchun railroad (an important feeder of the South Manchuria system) is given to Japan.

The Japanese are promised ultimate domination of the Han Yeh Ping Company (the Krupps of China). Hitherto Chinese control of this important steel mill with its valuable coal and iron mines has been assured by certain legal restrictions as to the ownership of stock, and there have been several proposals to make it a state enterprise. China now pledges herself in advance to consent to any agreement "for coöperation" which may be reached between Japanese capitalists and the owners of the company. China also agrees not to make the concern a state enterprise, not to confiscate it, and not to allow it to use any foreign capital other than Japanese. It is quite conceivable that Chinese revolutionists, some of whom have intimate Japanese connections, might gain possession of this plant and use its vast resources against the Chinese Government, yet under the agreement wrested from China she would be powerless to retaliate in the most practical and usual way- by confiscation of the property.

China agrees not to cede or lease any bay, harbor, or island along the coast of China to any Power, and agrees not to use foreign capital in the construction of a dockyard, coaling station for military use, or a naval base on the coast of Fukien province. As in the present state of China's finances she cannot carry on c struction of this sort without foreign c tal, this agreement compels her to k defenseless the coast of this important vince, which can be reached in a few h from the Japanese colony of Formosa.

The other demands, which China not accept, have been, according terms of Japan's ultimatum, p for future negotiations, which means that they will be brought again by Japan as soon as it opportunity to push them throu cessfully. These demands includ

(1) Employment of influential J as advisers to the Chinese Governm

(2) Japanese churches, schools, hospitals to be granted the rights of ow land in the interior of China.

(3) Joint administration by Japa and Chinese of the police in import places in China.

(4) China to purchase 50 per cent. more of her war munitions from Japa establish in China a Sino-Japanese arse which is to employ Japanese techn experts and purchase Japanese mate

(5) Japan to have the right to constr railroads, which with existing lines wo establish a system from the Wu-h cities (the location of the plant of the H Yeh Ping Company) with coast outl at Hangchow and Swatow.

(6) A monopoly for Japanese capital in the development of Fukien provinc

(7) The right of Japanese missiona to propagate Buddhism in China.

Aside from the actual privileges wh Japan has wrested from China in th extraordinary negotiations, and the ot privileges for which she is still contendi there is left a sequence of evil of which generation will probably not see the e Of the many evil results probably the m immediate and most important is tendency to weaken the prestige of Chinese Government at home just a time when its position seemed m secure. Under the firm hand of Yi Shih Kai the disorders which follo China's recent revolutions had dis peared. White Wolf and the other pow ful brigands had been put down and country had been extraordinarily peac

WHERE JAPAN VIOLATED CHINA'S NEUTRALITY

During the siege of Tsingtau the Japanese quartered some of their troops near these buildings of the Shantung University at Weihsien, which was well outside the "war zone" which China created to preserve its neutrality

or some time. The work of exterminating the growth of the poppy and the use of opium was going on relentlessly and successfully despite the discouraging opposition of powerful foreigners interested in the sale of the drug. The confidence of the Chinese people in their Government had been shown in the payment of the new taxes which had been imposed, such as the marriage tax, inheritance tax, income tax, etc. Despite the deep aversion of the Chinese to the payment of any taxes not

THE RAILROAD STATION AT WEIHSIEN

The character of the lettering on the station wall and the architecture of the building indicate the German ownership of this railroad from Tsingtau to Tsinan

THE BISMARCK BARRACKS, THE FORMER PERMANENT

established by old custom, these new taxes brought in an amount of revenue surprising to the most optimistic. Still another remarkable achievement of the Government was the successful flotation of a voluntary domestic loan of 30 million dollars, an achievement unprecedented in the long history of the country. All of China's obligations, including the military bonds floated during the republican revolution, had been paid in cash when due, and the old policy of paying off old loans by floating new ones was abandoned. These accomplishments silence those who have predicted a break-up of China through her

BEFORE

The tablet at Tsingtau commemorating its occupation by the Germans in 1897

TSINGTAU, LOOKING TOWARD KIAO-CHAU BAY

Part of the European residential section of the former German city. The native quarter and the business district are on the waterfront behind the hill on the right

POST OF THE GERMAN GARRISON AT TSINGTAU

own weakness. They prove that if left to herself China, instead of falling apart, would grow stronger.

The Chinese, until a few years ago so apathetic regarding their government, were beginning to take a pride in it and to feel that they were being led out of the old hopelessness and helplessness into a new strength which would prevent future encroachments by foreign Powers. Now the Japanese demands have revealed the weakness of Peking and broken its prestige. It has furnished the discredited revolutionists with new arguments and made easily possible revolts more serious than that which shook the foundations of the

AFTER

The Japanese inscription over the German, commemorating the capture by the Japanese in 1914

TSINGTAU, FROM SIGNAL HILL

As a result of the wholesale confiscation of business property by the Japanese, any future political disposition of the city (except its recapture by Germany) would leave them in practical control

PORT ARTHUR, WHERE JAPANESE AND RUSSIAN

This great port and fortress, "leased" from China by Russia, was one of Japan's spoils of war of road, and is, with Dairen, the key to the commercial suzerainty of Manchuria. The Japanese com-

Upper photograph copyrighted by Underwood & Underwood

THE OUTPOST OF THE "OPEN DOOR"

The United States Consulate-General at Mukden, the inland centre of commerce in Manchuria, the province in which the policy of Japanese monopolization of trade led to Secretary Knox's abortive proposal for the neutralization of the South Manchuria Railroad. Upper picture: a birdseye view of Mukden

AMBITIONS CLASHED AND JAPAN WON

the Russian-Japanese conflict of 1904-5. It is the southern terminus of the South Manchuria Railpelled China, in the recent negotiations, to extend their "lease" of Port Arthur to A. D. 2002

Lower photograph by George Marvin

WHERE RUSSIAN INFLUENCE YIELDED TO JAPANESE

The building erected by Alexeieff, the Russian viceroy of the East, as a residence, now occupied by the Japanese president of the South Manchuria Railroad. Upper picture: the docks at Dalny, which, under its new, Orientalized name of Dairen, is one of the chief ports of Manchuria

AN AMERICAN LOCOMOTIVE IN SOUTHEASTERN MANCHURIA

On the Antung-Mukden Railroad, which is Japan's extension into Manchuria of its system of railroads in Korea. Japan's successful demands included an extension of the lease on this railroad for ninety-nine years

Government two years ago. Following immediately on the close of the negotiations have come rumors of rebel activity in many centres.

The evil results do not end there, for Japan has reopened the old game of scrambling for concessions and rights and special privileges. She has upset the nicely adjusted balance of power and established new spheres of influence, setting an example of greed as brazen as that which John Hay's open door policy stopped

Photographed by George Marvin

A TOUCH OF AMERICAN TRADE IN MANCHURIA

These railroad cars were bought from an American manufacturer by the Japanese for use on the South Manchuria Railroad from Port Arthur to Chang-chun, and they were paid for out of British capital. Much of the political intrigue of the Far East centres in railroad concessions

Photographed by George Marvin

ON THE LINE OF JAPAN'S ADVANCE INTO MANCHURIA

A scene in the agricultural lowlands of the southern province of Sheng-King, near the border, where the Japanese railroads in Korea connect with the Antung-Mukden Railroad

fifteen years ago. Already Russia, despite the distractions of the European war, has begun negotiations to consolidate and strengthen her position in Mongolia in order to counterbalance the position which Japan has secured for herself in Manchuria. This is but the prelude of what may be expected later when the European Powers can give their usual attention to China.

In the meantime the old promise to restore Kiao-chau, of which so much had been heard at the beginning of Japan's

Photographed by George Marvin

WHERE RUSSIA, JAPAN, AND ENGLAND'S INTERESTS CLASH

A station on the Peking-Mukden Railroad, at the junction of the branch line to Newchang. The railroad was built with English capital but it penetrates Manchurian territory in which both Russia and Japan claim commercial predominance. The railroad sign gives the station's name in three languages

THE OUTSKIRTS OF TSINAN

Which is the junction of the German railroad from Tsingtau with the railroad from Shanghai to Peking. It was occupied by Japanese troops during the siege of Tsingtau and during the negotiations over the Japanese demands in China

entry into the war had, apparently, been forgotten. But it was again referred to, after the conclusion of the negotiations, by Baron Kato, who said in the Japanese Diet that if at the end of the war the Peace Conference gives Kiao-chau to Japan she will return the colony to China under certain conditions. What these conditions are to be will be decided later, but in view of the events which followed Japan's first promise to restore the place no one can be surprised at the statement of the Japanese Minister to Peking that "even with regard to the offer of the Japanese Government to restore Kiao-chau to the Chinese Government, the latter did not manifest the least appreciation for Japan's good will and difficulties."

THE HARBOR AT CHEFOO

The sea terminus of the proposed railroad which Japan insisted should be under Japanese control. This city is probably the most important Chinese port for the entry of American commerce, and its control by Japan has a most serious relation to the future of our Oriental trade

WHERE THE CONVENTION HAS HELD ITS SESSIONS
The State Capitol at Albany

MAKING OVER NEW YORK'S CONSTITUTION

A GATHERING OF POLITICAL GHOSTS WHO, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF MR. ELIHU ROOT, ARE SHOWING A MODERN SPIRIT IN MAKING THE SIXTH REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION SINCE THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR—PROGRESSIVES TURNED CONSERVATIVE AND CONSERVATIVES BECOME RADICAL

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

NEW YORK STATE, America's greatest and richest commonwealth, is revising its constitution for the sixth time since the Revolution. The state that most people regard as the great headquarters of capital and corruption, the most reactionary of the forty-eight—the home of Tammany Hall, Wall Street, the Standard Oil Company, the Steel Corporation, the Tobacco Trust, William Barnes, Jr., and Charles F. Murphy—is passing under review all the ideas developed by ten years of agitation and political heart-searching. The last constitutional convention, which adjourned in 1894, represented almost the feudal period in American politics. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan were then practically unknown. The great political forces in New York State were Boss Platt,

Lower picture copyrighted by International News Service

THE NEW YORK CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION IN SESSION

This is the sixth time New York's constitution has been revised. Tammany brought about this convention in the expectation of capturing the state politically. The election, however, gave the Republicans control

Copyright by International News Service

MR. ELIHU ROOT

Who is closing one of the most interesting and distinguished of political careers as president of the Constitutional Convention. He is the most influential figure in shaping the new fundamental law of the richest and most populous state in the Union

MR. SETH LOW, A PROGRESSIVE OF OLD-FASHIONED TEMPERAMENT

MR. GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM

David B. Hill, and Richard Croker, legislature represented little more t brokerage office through which law-m was exchanged for campaign contrib "Special privileges" dominated pub in all its branches. The life ins companies, the railroads, the street and other franchise corporations ha head offices in the capitol at Albany. buying was a regulation proced election day. Since then a new day has dawned. The present is of corrupt practice acts, direct pr civil service laws, public utility comm compensation boards, popular ele United States Senators, woman initiative, referendum, and recall. the atmosphere which envelops t capitol, as the elected representa 10,000,000 people gather to write manent form their ideas on gove Ohio held a convention three years produced an essentially modern de New Hampshire recently went thr forms and adjourned after doing no all. Which example will New York

Should William Jennings Bryan miscellaneous gathering at Albany h

MR. HERBERT PARSONS, ONE OF THE "LIBERAL GROUP" AT ALBANY

MR. LEMUEL E. QUIGG

have many uncomplimentary say. In Baltimore he introduced tion demanding the expulsion of "reactionary" elements. He could enty of men in Albany to-day to a extinction. Probably the most ished New York constitution maker rouse his disapproval. The fact e convention had almost unan- elected Mr. Elihu Root as its t would in Mr. Bryan's eyes ly condemn it. What could the expect of a constitution which 's greatest corporation lawyer had in framing? The attitude of the ion makes the situation worse. Mr. is not forced upon the members; nbraced him with enthusiasm. the outside world of progressivism nk harshly of Mr. Root, this New nvention reverences him. In him d their ideal statesman. As Mr. ay, somewhat bent—he is 71 years nds before the gathering, presiding vhat hesitant fashion, speaking in a , falsetto voice, now and then regis- sapproval with a deprecating rap of l, on one occasion, in the absence of

Copyright by

EX-PRESIDENT TAFT

Who made a very interesting and delightful address before the convention on the short ballot reforms. A strong advocate of the budget system of expenditures

the clergyman, making the opening prayer himself, there can be no question that, in the eyes of the members, he is New York's leading citizen. As president of this convention Mr. Root is making his last public appearance. He is closing a public career begun half a century ago. He first acquired prominence forty years ago, as the legal defender of Boss Tweed; his present attempt to give his state a new and modern constitution closes the chapter. The career that stretched between will furnish the political controversialist a
unending debate. As a political
he fought Tammany, Mr. Platt
rotten Republican state organiza
lawyer, he made possible the c
career of Mr. Thomas F. Ryan
William C. Whitney; as a stat
made over the United States A
placed American diplomacy in a p
world leadership. His latest a
as presiding officer was as perman
man of the Chicago Convention

Copyright by International News Service

MR. HENRY L. STIMSON

r. Roosevelt's candidate for governor of New
in 1910. Next to Elihu Root, whose law
ner he was, Mr. Stimson is the strongest force
e convention

MR. WILLIAM BARNES, JR.

The former New York Republican state chai
who recently sued Mr. Roosevelt. He introd
amendments that would repeal all the progre
legislation of recent years

inated Mr. Taft and split the Re-
lican Party in two.

The greatest man of my time, on either
of the ocean"; this was Mr. Roosevelt's characterization of Mr. Root. "The
who faithfully and dispassionately se
his clients," is a somewhat hackne
interpretation. Mr. Root's present o

MR. EDGAR T. BRACKETT

former progressive now turned conservative.
most picturesque and eccentric figure in the
ention, where he fought the short ballot

MR. JOHN LORD O'BRIAN

A Roosevelt leader from Buffalo. He is o
the "liberal group" who are fighting for the
ballot and the budget system

MR. JOHN J. FITZGERALD

Not a delegate but an adviser on financial provisions. He explained the necessity of centering responsibility for appropriations

DR. JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN

President of Cornell. His energies are all devoted to an unavailing attempt to get a one-chamber legislature

MR. MORGAN J. O'BRIEN

A Tammany man of the more respectable kind. He made an unsuccessful fight for a larger representation in Albany for New York City

MR. DE LANCEY NICOLL

An old-time Tammany orator of the kid-glove type. He was also attorney for the American Tobacco Company in the great Government suit

ion emphasizes this latter viewpoint. s client now is his native state. His yer's and statesman's job is to give it an al system of government. Probably . Bryan and Mr. La Follette would stion Mr. Root's disinterestedness; no s in New York, however, not even the gressive element, does so. That Mr. ot is the convention "boss"—and boss the sense of enlightened leader—strikes st people as eminently fitting. He tainly typifies New York conservatism, haps one may even say its exaggeration privileged rights; he typifies also its in-igence, its leadership, its sanity, and its l developed political sense. Outsiders o sneer at New York as the natural ting ground of political corruption for-that it has produced three of the four atest political leaders of the last thirty rs—Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roose-t, and Charles E. Hughes—the other, of rse, being Woodrow Wilson; and Elihu ot, contradictory and disappointing as career has been in certain aspects, will bably show, before this convention es, a real innate capacity for unselfish lic service.

ther members of this convention, how-r, will shock the reformer even more n Mr. Root. Glancing down at certain iliar faces, one might well despair of any ful result. Public life has moved idly in New York in ten years and ed into retirement many powerful sonalities. Strangely enough this con-tion has brought many of them back to . "Blue-eyed Billy" Sheehan, a great l sinister influence in New York twenty-years ago, is here once more champion-causes dear to Tammany Hall. John Stanchfield, David B. Hill's favorite tenant in the dark old early 'nineties, kes a ghostlike reappearance. Ten rs ago Lemuel Ely Quigg, chief lobbyist l accelerator for the Metropolitan Street lway, vanished from public knowledge. w, white-haired, wrinkled, but mentally physically alert as ever, he seeks once re to occupy the centre of the stage. De ncey Nicoll, who, in the prime day of hard Croker, was one of the greatest torical ornaments of Tammany Hall, is r playing in Albany his last part on the political stage. Here, too, is Morgan J. O'Brien, Ryan attorney and Equitable trustee—another of the distinguished citizens whose life-work has been to lend respectability to Tammany Hall. Tammany is represented here in its less distinguished aspects also. As offsets to Mr. Nicoll and Mr. O'Brien, here are Louis F. Haffen and John F. Ahearn, both of whom Governor Hughes removed from office for maladministration; A. E. Smith, the Tammany leader in the Assembly, rough, uncouth, but intellectually vigorous; Robert F. Wagner, the Senate leader who conducted the impeachment proceedings against ex-Governor Sulzer; and then about twenty or thirty other of the familiar stripe—district leaders, aldermen, saloon keepers, most of whom fulfil their functions when they vote "right" and pocket their $1,500 fee and mileage. A familiar Republican group who gained fame by fighting Governor Hughes have also experienced a political resurrection. William Barnes, Jr., fresh from his unsuccessful libel suit against Mr. Roosevelt, is here once more loudly championing the constitution of the fathers. Ray B. Smith, who used all his unquestioned abilities in blocking Mr. Hughes's administration, ably seconds these efforts. The most picturesque figure is that of Edgar T. Brackett, the dictator of Saratoga Springs. Mr. Brackett reverses the usual rule. He won great fame as an opponent of Boss Platt and as a powerful lance for Governor Hughes; in this convention, however, he is giving all his talents to fighting progressive measures. He inveighs on all occasions against the short ballot, the budget, and other popular reforms; displays great energy as the defender of the farmer and the "people"; has introduced amendments to add the insurance commissioner and prison wardens to the state ticket, and denounces the suggestion to give the governor a four-year term as "high treason."

Indeed, this gathering at first resembles a political morgue. When it came together some one remarked that New York had not only a constitutional convention, but would probably have a conventional constitution. Still the assembly chamber has its distinguished figures. There is an academic group—Seth Low, ex-president of Columbia

University, and ex-mayor of New York; Jacob G. Schurman, president of Cornell University and ex-Minister to Greece; and Rush Rhees, president of the University of Rochester. Other conspicuous figures are George W. Wickersham, attorney-general in Mr. Taft's Cabinet, Henry L. Stimson, Mr. Taft's Secretary of War and candidate for governor of New York, Herbert Parsons and John Lord O'Brian, other Roosevelt men, Frederick C. Tanner, Mr. Barnes's successor as state chairman of the Republican Party, and Edward E. Franchot, another young Republican, thoroughly imbued with modern ideas. These men represent not only the brains and character of the convention, but—what is more for practical purposes—they represent its leadership. Some of them strike the reader as standpatters; with Mr. Root at the head, however, they are known as "the liberal group" which is working for really public spirited things. And they control the convention. Mr. Root has given them all the important chairmanships. He works through them in his attempts to control the situation. These men are constantly advising and planning; whatever good the convention accomplishes will be their work. Tammany, numerically strong as it is, exercises no influence. Even its "big" men have been placed in obscure places. A Republican like Mr. Brackett, one of the ablest men at Albany and one with one of the best records, holds no position commensurate with his standing, simply because he has eccentrically set his face against progress. Unfortunate as the convention is in a considerable part of its personnel, it has at least one comforting characteristic, and that is that its most public spirited and ablest men have the upper hand.

Another fact is that other members, usually regarded as implacable partisans of old-fashioned type—represented best, perhaps, by Mr. Charles H. Young, ex-president of the Republican Club in New York City—are working faithfully and intelligently in the interests of all the people of the state, and are by no means impervious to new ideas.

These constitution makers have met at an interesting period in the Nation's history. Students of American affairs in recent years have observed two apparently contradictory developments. The forefathers founded our state and national commonwealths with one fundamental idea: to obtain a better, freer, and more efficient government than the world had ever known. Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, as well as the great men who framed the New York constitution in 1777, were, above all else, political leaders. The governmental frame that resulted from their labors represented, in their eyes, a model for the world. Only the professional American optimist believes that these expectations have been realized. Americans have shown wonderful ability, amounting to genius, in the practical affairs of life. They have manifested this, however, not in public but in private business. They have shown this organizing talent most recently in relief work in Belgium: it is hard to say whether Europeans have admired most the philanthropic spirit back of this performance or the amazing executive capacity shown. This is the same ability which has produced our great railroad systems and our great industrial corporations. We can accept all the harsh things said of the Standard Oil Company, but still one fact is unquestionably true: that as an efficient business organization it is one of the masterpieces of all time. Hardly any one would so characterize our governmental machines, Federal, state, or municipal. Senator Aldrich, certainly an acceptable authority on this point, declared that an efficient corporation could do our Federal Government's business much better than it is done now, and save $300,000,000 a year in the process. No more terrible indictment was ever passed on any form of government. And the Federal system is economy and efficiency themselves compared with the cities and states. Our forefathers did not foresee that we would develop great practical genius in the development of private business; they did believe that we would teach a weary world how to govern itself.

And the necessary association of private with public business inevitably produced great political evils. Private business, finding in weak governments an impedi-

to its own aims, practically abolished
. This is no figure of speech; it is a
ive fact. Recent New York history
es it. Many years ago, for example,
tate established an insurance depart-
to protect the interests of policy
ers. The insurance investigation
ed that the insurance companies them-
s dictated the personnel of this de-
nent and controlled its activities.
Equitable Life and the Mutual also
ed practically all insurance legislation
even had a veto power upon it. Again
was something called a railroad com-
on supposed to safeguard the interests
e traveling and shipping public. The
opolitan Street Railway disclosed
the railway interests had annexed this
nmental agency. Similarly the banks
trust companies dominated the bank-
lepartment. This sort of thing was
cal corruption in its most corroding
, for it signified the negation of govern-
. A wonderfully efficient and un-
ulous force, known as private busi-
had come into contact with another
, disorganized, unintelligent, weak in
and morals, known as state govern-
, and had simply obliterated it.
is situation was not the peculiar in-
of New York; it existed in all state
nments. The frantic politics of the
en years have represented merely an
ipt to restore the natural order of
s. Everywhere we have been seeking
ve back political power to the people.
ain Western states, in which political
ption had ruled in even more brazen
than in New York, have sought to
the problem in one way. Oregon led
movement. Certain homespun re-
ers here, the chief of them a really
rkable personality, Mr. William S.
n, believed that they had put their
on the real solution. The trouble,
said, was not that we had too much
cracy, but that we did not have
gh. The cure for the evils of a sick
cracy was to make it more democratic.
this conception there developed a
form of government, known as the
n system, which, in whole or in part,
pread over a considerable part of the
. Big Business controlled affairs,
these political philosophers urged, because the people, the only legitimate source of power, were separated from political control by a kind of screen which had been erected between them and their governmental agencies. The voters, for example, did not nominate candidates for office; an elaborate machinery of delegates and conventions performed this office for them. They did not themselves control legislation; their representatives, elected in this roundabout method, passed all their laws. Big Business, armed with money and all the ability that money can buy, controlled delegates, conventions, legislatures, and governors. They did this through intermediaries, popularly known as bosses, whose business it was to steal power from the people and sell it to corporations. Such being the evident facts, the remedy seemed apparent: the people must abolish this elaborate machinery and seize immediate powers themselves. Mr. U'Ren and his disciples, therefore, extinguished the party convention. Under their plans, the party voters selected by ballot all their own candidates. This was the direct primary. They did not destroy the legislature, but they seriously curtailed its powers. In the first place, after electing a member, they reserved the power to remove him in case he misused his office. This was the recall. The voters could also, by popular vote, pass laws independently of the law makers: this was the initiative. They could veto any law of the legislature by a majority ballot at election: this was the referendum. In other words, the people directly ran their own government. And this direct participation was the solution, formulated in the West, for the great evil of corporation control of American public life.

New York's convention meets at a time when this Oregon system appears to be somewhat losing ground. No accurate observer denies that it has considerably improved conditions. The public life of Oregon, though by no means ideal—an electorate that could select Jonathan Bourne, Jr., as a United States Senator has not yet achieved the political millennium—has been wonderfully cleaned up in the last fifteen years. The votes on initiative and referendum measures disclose few mistakes.

The direct system has given Oregon many excellent laws, particularly a corrupt practice act that has largely eliminated the abuse of money in elections. Other states, though they have the Oregon system, have not used it so extensively: in many places, however, it has accomplished much good. Still, the American people do not regard the direct system as a permanent method of conducting government. It may be a useful expedient in political crises; it may serve the purpose of breaking up evil political conditions and bringing in a new era. But it is not likely that Americans will permanently govern themselves in mass at the ballot box. If the present age has taught us one thing it is the need of experts. All sciences and all professions are specializing; efficiency consists in seeking out the men who are best fitted to do a particular thing and then setting them to do it. This will hold good of government as of everything else. Direct primaries will probably become a permanent part of our election machinery; but when it comes to making laws, the human mind has, up to the present time, evolved nothing better than the representative system.

One of the humorous aspects of the New York convention was the appearance of the apostles of direct legislation demanding the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. Mr. W. J. Sullivan, the man whose book on the Swiss system, published twenty-five years ago, inspired the movement in this country, had generously coached the main spokesman, Samuel Gompers. These advocates had to plead before the Committee on Legislative Powers, of which Mr. William Barnes, Jr., is chairman. Barnes, who regards direct primaries and direct legislation as the vilest of political abominations, exploded with wrath:

"I don't believe in the rule of the majority!" he shouted, pounding the table. Barnes had already introduced an amendment which would prohibit the legislature from passing any laws regulating primaries, providing for widows' pensions, a minimum wage, or almost any kind of "social legislation." Though he has no great influence in the convention, his attitude toward direct legislation fairly registers the prevailing idea. That is not New York's solution of our political problems. It has definitely planned a way of making state government really efficient, however, and that is what makes this convention so interesting. The exuberant West has offered its panacea; the liberal group at Albany, headed by Elihu Root, Henry L. Stimson, George W. Wickersham, and Herbert Parsons also has a programme of his own.

As New York is the Nation's great business headquarters, this proposed scheme not unsuitably draws its inspiration from modern business practice. The conduct of private business, as already described, is far more efficient than the conduct of public business; why, therefore, not incorporate its fundamental ideas in our scheme of government? Let us drop all preconceived notions about the wickedness of the Standard Oil Company and recognize the fact that its principle of organization, of centering responsibility, of placing the most efficient men in charge of the places demanding the greatest efficiency, would probably work enormous improvements and economies in the business of New York State. Now the Standard Oil Company—and this is true of American efficiency everywhere—does not buy and sell oil by the machinery of the initiative and referendum. Its stockholders—corresponding to the voters in the state—cannot gather in mass and pass resolutions outlining its detailed policy. Neither can they undo, by a referendum vote, things the men in control have done. One preëminent idea controls the organization of modern industry: that is centred responsibility. Business gives certain men certain work to do and clothes them with full power to do it. If these men "make good," they hold their jobs; if they do not they disappear into outer darkness. A sane organization does not give half a dozen men power to do the same thing. There is one head, who chooses his subordinates, who, under his direction, pilot the craft to success or failure. If the administration succeeds, we know where to place the credit; if it fails, it is easy to apportion the blame. This system, which works so well in business, works equally well in public affairs. There is only one civilized nation of importance which has not made it the guiding principle of govern-

it. That is the United States. The constitution makers feared to give any- ly supreme power and distributed it ong a variety of agencies. In the Fed- l Government power is concentrated to ie extent, though the system is still y imperfect. Most of our state govern- its are almost devoid of concentration. : Federal Government is notoriously far re efficient and honest than the state; ; is probably because it does centre re- nsibility to a considerable extent. ericans stand in awe of only one of ir created officials, the President; that ecause he consolidates in his own person rmous power and thus wields a tre- idous influence.

lew York State, though no more loosely anized than the rest, does excellent rice as a horrible example. Here is tate with 10,000,000 population, and rly expenditures of $49,868,012. The ners of its constitution displayed devil- ingenuity in fixing things so that no- ig could be done. Take the executive artment, for example. In the Federal i, there is only one executive, the sident. The people give him complete er to carry on the Nation's business. ie fails, we know precisely who is to ne. All the Nation's business is or- ized in ten executive departments. : President appoints the head of each,) constitute his Cabinet. The organ- ion is precisely that of a well conducted oration, with a responsible head in rge of all the departments. But now : at New York State. The people do elect one executive, but seven. Be- s the governor (and the heir apparent, lieutenant governor) the electorate oses the secretary of state, the state surer, the attorney-general, the comp- ler, the state engineer and surveyor. these men are executives; they run the e. But the head executive has no con- over them; they are responsible only he people. Thus responsibility is divi- . If things go wrong, as they do con- ially, no one knows whom to blame. this is not all. There are more than departments, bureaus, commissioners, boards in control of important busi- . Each revolves in an orbit of its own. It frequently duplicates the work of others. The governor appoints some of these agencies, the legislature jointly appoints others, the state senate appoints others, the courts others, private organizations others, while some apparently appoint themselves and are self-perpetuating. The whole thing is a hodge-podge. No private business could run this way overnight. New York is not bankrupt only because public taxes pay the freight.

The first aim of the Albany reformers is to bring some order into this confusion. Their plan is to reorganize the 150 and more state departments into ten or a dozen, with a responsible head in charge of each. They then propose that the voters shall elect one man, the governor—with his possible successor, the lieutenant governor—and give him power to appoint all these department heads. In popular language, this reform is known as the Short Ballot. Instead of being called upon to "vote a bed quilt" as some one has called the present bulky ballot, he will simply, in his choice of executive officers, confine his attention to two names. Under present conditions not one man in a hundred has the slightest knowledge of the minor names on the ticket. One of the editors of the New York *World* recently stopped a dozen people in front of his office and asked each the name of the secretary of state. Not one could tell him. This is no reflection upon popular intelligence. It is an office for whom the citizen should not be asked to vote, and his lack of interest is an unconscious resentment at being called upon to do this. He does not vote for the Secretary of State of the United States, a much more important office. If the voter studies the candidate for governor and picks out a good man, he has done his citizen's duty. It is the governor's job to select men for these subordinate places.

If this plan carries, New York State will thus have a responsible executive—one man directing all the state's business. But this will not be reform enough. The constitution must give the governor power; and power, under modern business conditions, means one thing—supervision over expenditures. If New York adopts this reform it will go farther than the Federal

Constitution, for the President does not control the Federal purse, except indirectly. The executives of all other civilized nations do possess this function. Extravagance is historically the vice of republics; certainly our Federal and state governments maintain this character. Pork-barrelism is a characteristic which, unless checked, spells general bankruptcy. It is made possible because so many people, in both state and Federal governments, have access to the treasury. Any legislator at Albany can introduce a bill calling for an appropriation. He is constantly seeking ways to obtain public money for local purposes. He wants a bridge or a hospital, or some other improvement, and his strength with his constituents frequently depends upon his success in securing it. As all the lawgivers are after similar favors, there results that process known at Washington as log-rolling. As a result of this and other evils, the appropriation bills usually go through, in a welter of haste and excitement and extravagance, in the closing hours of the session. Pork-barrelism is nothing new; it was a great abuse in England two hundred years ago. In 1713, however, parliament passed a law that ended it for all time; it provided that the law-making body should act on no motion for a grant of public money except on recommendation of a Minister of the Crown. From this period dates the budget system.

The liberal group at Albany are now seeking to make this system part of their new state government. If their plan carries, the executive departments, at the beginning of each session, will present to the legislature an itemized schedule of the money needed to conduct the government for the succeeding year. The legislature's duty will be that of investigation and veto. It may call the governor and heads of departments before it, ask all kinds of explanations, and scrutinize the estimates item by item. It may reduce any estimate or all; the one thing it cannot do is to add to them. The fact that the legislature has this power of veto gives the representatives of the people control of the purse strings. The fact that the executive department submits the *estimates* directly places the responsibility *for expenditures*. As it has been, when all members could dip into the treasury, no one knew whom to blame for wastefulness.

Ex-President Taft, President Lowell of Harvard, President Goodnow of Johns Hopkins and Mr. John J. Fitzgerald, Democratic chairman of the Appropriation Committee in Congress, have appeared before the convention advocating this plan. Mr. Fitzgerald's attitude has particular importance. Here is a practical legislator who has struggled for several years against Congressional extravagance. Up to two years ago he opposed the introduction of the budget system. Hard experience, however, has made him a convert. He said that Congress was now annually wasting from $50,000,000 to $100,000,000—all because of its present crazy system of making appropriations. He had the unique experience in pork-barrelism of fighting an appropriation for new post office facilities in his own city of Brooklyn and of having Congress pass it over his protest. He asked the framers of the New York constitution to prohibit any legislator from introducing a money bill, except perhaps by a two-thirds vote. "I would make it so difficult," he said on one occasion, "that it would be done only under the most peculiar and extraordinary circumstances."

Other provisions, such as that granting home rule to cities, aim at the same goal of centralizing responsible government. At present the legislature wastes a large part of its time passing purely local laws. In recent years Buffalo has had to get authority from the legislature to protect its trees by spraying; Newburgh, to close and sell a part of a street; Little Falls, to pave its streets; Syracuse, to use other things than water to sprinkle its streets; New York, to dispose of old school books. This, of course, is pure folly. If the constitutional convention gives the cities home rule and provides for the budget and the short ballot, it will manifest progressiveness in an especially sane and practical fashion. Tammany Hall called this convention, when it controlled the legislature, for the purpose of reapportioning the state and gaining possession of it. But the voters, in electing delegates, defeated this scheme and made Tammany powerless. This is an excellent augury for a real reform.

/ORKING OUT BUSINESS ETHICS

ADVERTISING IS MAKING AND ENFORCING A CODE OF MORALITY AND EFFICIENCY FROM WITHIN — AND HOW, WITHOUT, THE ASSOCIATED ADVERTISING CLUBS OF THE WORLD ARE UNDERTAKING TO SHOW THE PUBLIC HOW IT IS SERVED BY ADVERTISING

BY

HERBERT S. HOUSTON

(PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATED ADVERTISING CLUBS OF THE WORLD)

A NEWSPAPER in Binghamton, N. Y., not long ago received for publication a series of large advertisements from an oil company in Kansas City. nnouncement had been appearing in ıewspapers, but the publisher wanted lefinite information of his own about ımpany before printing the advernt—and he knew where to get it. ɔte to Mr. Merle Sidener, chairman of gilance Committee of the Associated tising Clubs of the World, in Indianand as soon as the mails could bear ' to him he learned precisely what the l stock of the company was, that it) wells that were yet producing oil, ther definite facts in regard to the al condition of the company. No n was offered regarding the value of :urities, and no advice was given the ıer concerning what decision he make about running the advertising. s sent the facts, simply, quickly, and se he formed his own judgment—was to decline the advertising.

; is a typical case illustrating the ınd effective way in which advertisɐeing worked over from within by one most powerful and interesting busiıovements in America. There is no or spectacular commotion about it. d there is the earnestness born of tion. Occasionally a foolish publiparades its virtue, a thing which ıonest people are willing to take for d, but in the main everything about ıovement has been sane and strong asonable. The result has been that and believable advertising to-day ents the great bulk of advertising; the kind that is dishonest is small, and what there is left of it is surely doomed.

One of the things that will help to that end is a great index of business crooks that has been started at the national headquarters in Indianapolis. This will be made the basis of a wide-reaching service to business men throughout the country. This information is coming from the various clubs and is being carefully investigated and then card-indexed for future reference. It has already been shown that a good many of the fly-by-night "fire sale" merchants operate in one city after another under various names. Through the card index list of crooks, knowledge is to be made available that will do much to stop this disreputable business.

In addition to this work of having advertising cleaned up, through moral suasion where it is possible and through legal action where it is necessary, the clubs have gone forward with their endeavor to have honest advertising laws passed in all the states. There are now thirty-one states that have such laws and these have been put on the statute books in nearly every case, as the result of the support of the Associated Advertising Clubs.

This Advertising Club movement, which is embodied in the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, is really a sincere endeavor on the part of business men who are engaged in publishing and advertising to translate business ideals into business methods. The emblem of the order is the word "Truth," superimposed on a map of the world. In a serious, thorough-going way the effort is being made to put that emblem into concrete commercial practice. As Mr. Joseph E. Davies, chairman of the

Federal Trade Commission, who made the opening address at the Advertising Convention in Chicago, put it: "It is to the credit of your profession that you have found within your own spirit the initiative and moral purpose to base your business activities upon the practice of righteousness as well as upon the rule of profit, by exacting and demanding truth as the basis of advertising enterprise, and by exacting and demanding honesty in circulation statements, rectitude in merchandising, and truth in advertising itself." Here is given in a sentence the comprehensive objective which the organization is aiming to reach. It is not merely undertaking to secure believable advertising but it is quite as much concerned with the merchandising system through which advertising works and with the public which advertising serves.

COÖPERATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT

The Federal Government has become greatly interested in the Advertising Club movement. It sees in it a big vital organization that is improving the standards in the whole field of business, and thus definitely coöperating with the Federal Trade Commission, the Post Office Department, and all other branches of the Federal service that are particularly concerned with business. A solicitor of the Post Office Department, Mr. William Sutherland, said in an address at the Chicago Convention: "I cannot too earnestly express the Post Office Department's endorsement of the movement of this Association looking to the suppression of fraudulent advertising. Such advertising is, of course, the very life and breath of the fraudulent schemes which victimize the public throughout the country. The Department records show that advertising is the greatest expense involved in the operation of fraudulent schemes through the mails." He referred to the hundreds of millions of dollars that have been lost through these frauds, but he neglected to say that most of the advertising has been done under the protection of the Government's postage stamp, the concerns sending it out having been driven from all reputable publications. At the convention of the Association in Boston four years ago, resolutions were adopted, calling on the Government to deny the mails to fraudulent concerns, just as they had been denied the use of advertising space in all reputable publications. There is opportunity here for the coöperation between the Government and the association that is being worked out. The size of the task is apparent when it is stated that in the last four years the Government has had more than 15,000 cases of fraudulent use of the mails.

"TRUTH" THE IDEAL

The Eleventh Annual Convention, held in Chicago, brought together the largest company of business men that ever attended a convention in America. There were more than 4,100 registered as being in attendance and there were probably 1,000 or more in addition. And these 5,000 men (and there was a fair proportion of women also in attendance), were concerned during the four days they were together with working out the best means by which they could square their commercial practice with their commercial ideals, which had been embodied in the one comprehensive word, "Truth." They were brought face to face with the mighty challenge of that word in a peculiarly searching address from Mr. Henry D. Estabrook, a brilliant member of the New York Bar, on the opening day of the convention:

"Do you mean it?" he flung squarely at the great group of business men before him. "Is it your pledge, your consecration? Is that word 'Truth' written on your foreheads and in your hearts as well as in your heraldry? Then have you founded a brotherhood nobler than that of Arthur and his Round Table, for their search for the Grail was after all but romantic chivalry. Hope cannot help but spread her wings when men like you, so many thousands of you, and in such solid phalanx, realizing that truth after all is the only thing in life worth living for, have banded together for honest business."

On the printed page this may seem a trifle rhapsodical but it didn't sound so, and the subsequent work of the convention showed that it was not so. From first to last the thousands of men in attendance were concerned with practice quite as much as with ideals. Several hundred newspaper pub-

:rs and managers, from all parts of the ıtry, in the Newspaper Section, adopted e four simple rules that were meant nvisage their conception of the Truth lem: (1) To make none but true ements of circulation. (2) To main- advertising rates as published. (3) reject fraudulent advertising. (4) To ose free publicity. And they selected Lafayette Young, Jr., of the Des nes *Capital*, as president and Mr. G. E. ton, of the Providence *Journal*, as -president of their organization, and ıimously decided to become part of the le Advertising Club movement.

ADVERTISING AND THE HOME

uring the convention in Chicago ad- ses were made by President Van Hise he University of Wisconsin, Bishop dler of Atlanta, President Fahey of the mber of Commerce of the United States, . Julian Heath, president of the House- s' League, and a number of other ple who were not definitely associated advertising; but the bone and sinew ıe programme was made up of several lred papers and addresses that dealt at range with all manner of advertising business problems. Though these red widely in theme they were as one ıterpreting the spirit of service to the ic through making advertising more ient—through better business educa- through better trade practice, and ugh honest and believable advertising. . Heath, in an especially graphic ad- s before the Magazine Section, told of necessity of advertising in bearing to ıomes of the country clear and depend- information about articles of food and ousehold use. The buying power of country, she pointed out, was in the es of the country, and the way to win support of that power was through st advertising. And she laid particu- stress on the fact that the dishonest rtiser was sure to bring about his own shment, for, exposed before the intelli- e of discriminating buyers, disbelief l his advertisements resulted, whether were dishonest or not.

addition to the hundreds of practical interesting papers, there was the hum of effective machinery in all the business of the convention. Plans were initiated for organizing new clubs and carrying on the wide-reaching propaganda of the organization. And it was found that chiefly through the insistent efforts of the retiring president, Mr. William Woodhead, publisher of the *Sunset Magazine*, the association has been placed on a broad and sound financial basis. It now has funds available for a budget of $50,000 a year to carry on its many-sided activities. So it will be possible to go ahead steadily through a well-coördinated organization that has found itself.

AN ASSOCIATION OF MANY INTERESTS

And this club movement, during its ten years of life, has worked out an extremely interesting plan of organization. The movement began with a group of advertising clubs located in various cities. This group of clubs has grown and spread both in large cities and intermediate cities and towns in this country and Canada. The membership of the clubs is made up of all who are concerned in any way with advertising, retail merchants, national manufacturers, publishers, printers, engravers, lithographers, makers of advertising novelties, bill-board and outdoor advertisers—in fact, all who are concerned with buying or selling advertising. But as the movement grew it became apparent that organizations that should specifically represent particular advertising interests would add greatly to efficiency. Two years ago there were formed various departments of advertising. There are now fourteen of these departments, including the national advertisers, the retail advertisers, direct advertisers, the newspapers, the magazines, the advertising agents, the farm papers, the directory publishers, the business press, the Graphic Arts Association, the specialty manufacturers, the Outdoor Advertising Association, the Poster Advertising Association, the Religious Press Association.

STUDENTS OF TRADE PRACTICE

Each department must adopt standards of trade practice that are satisfactory to the National Commission, which is made up of three members from each depart-

mental organization, before it is accepted into the club movement. And these standards of practice are always a straightforward interpretation of the Truth emblem as related to the particular advertising interest concerned. That great word "Truth," like the flaming sword that guarded Eden, stands athwart the path of every organization that seeks to be admitted to the Associated Clubs. But it is not enough merely to adopt these standards of practice. One of the notable things accomplished in Chicago was the decision on the part of the National Commission to appoint a Committee on Trade Practice, made up of a member from each of the fourteen departments, which should see to it that the standards of trade practice were put into effect. This committee has been appointed and it will seek to adjust differences that arise between different departments as well as check up the way in which the standards which have been adopted have been followed. Chairman William H. Ingersoll of the National Commission reported that an investigation among the various departments regarding abuses which ought to be corrected brought forth 111 different complaints. He said that these varied from minor matters of the interrelations between different parts of the advertising field to fundamental things that affected the soundness and honesty of the whole business. For example, advertisers and publishers complain that some advertising agents would give service to fake advertisers. And advertising agents in turn complain that some publishers accepted such copy from unscrupulous agents and gave commissions on it, and that the only reason that such agents could exist was that publishers would continue to do business with them. This new Committee on Trade Practice will take up these and all other similar questions and will accomplish positive results. The fact is that each departmental organization is cleaning house from within and that practices that have been complained of are being steadily eliminated through the spirit of fair dealing that has become so strong throughout the entire organization.

But honest advertising and honest trade practice represent but one phase of the activity in this many-sided organization. Through a far-reaching educational work it has been steadily making advertising more efficient. In practically all the clubs study courses are carried forward under the general direction of a National Educational Committee, which is made up of the chairmen of all the club committees. The leader of the Educational Committee is Mr. Lewellyn E. Pratt, who in twenty years of successful business experience has not lost the enthusiasm for education he gained at Williams College. Associated with him are many other college men who are deeply interested in seeing that advertising is standardized and made more effective in its literary quality and in its artistic appeal as well as in its intrinsic truthfulness. An entire article could be written on the many phases of the educational work. It has now grown so broad that it has been necessary to have it carried forward by a group of committees. There is a Committee on Work in Universities and Colleges which has had a wide and growing influence in having advertising and business seriously studied in institutions of higher learning. One of the direct results of this committee's activity was a successful Conference of College Teachers of Advertising, held during the Chicago convention. And there is a Committee on Schools and Y. M. C. A.'s which has prepared an excellent study course that is being used all over the country; a Committee on Research which made a most important investigation of retail conditions as affected by the war and published a report that has had large commercial recognition. This committee, under the direction of Mr. Mac Martin, a University of Minnesota man, who is a successful advertising agent in Minneapolis, is to carry forward some extremely important commercial surveys this year. It is believed that these studies, particularly of retail conditions throughout the country, can be made of the greatest value.

STUDY COURSES IN MERCHANDISING

Then there is a Committee on Lecture and Study Courses, with Prof. Paul Terry Cherington of Harvard as the chairman; a Committee on Publications that issues two or three books of the highest

character and quality each year. The books announced at the Chicago convention were "The Manual of Successful Storekeeping" by W. R. Hotchkin, for ten years the advertising and sales manager for John Wanamaker; and an Advertising Year Book, which is to contain a vital history of advertising progress each year, by Professor Cherington. The books that have thus far been issued by the clubs have been translated into many languages and gone all over the world as authoritative interpreters of American business and advertising practice.

In building up the educational and general efficiency of the clubs there has come to be a most interesting annual contest that centres in the *Printers' Ink* Cup, which is bestowed each year by the great advertising trade journal on the club that has made the greatest progress in serving advertising. Last year the Los Angeles Club was the winner of the cup, but at Chicago it was awarded to the Minneapolis Club.

The clubs conduct a magazine, "Associated Advertising," that has won a definite place for itself by its vigor and high quality. Plans are under way for its expansion that will result during the year in its becoming probably the most widely circulated advertising periodical in the world.

EDUCATIONAL WORK AMONG MERCHANTS

Probably the most important part of the whole educational work is that which has to do with educating the retailers of the country to be more efficient merchants. This work is carried on primarily in the intermediate cities and smaller towns. It has been established that even small cities can have their whole commercial life quickened by an Advertising Club. One of the notable things reported at Chicago was the work of the club in Neosho, Mo. Through the work of this club the merchants have been shown how to be more effective in their advertising; in store service; in the way they dress their windows; and in their care of their accounts and the general business conduct of their stores. In less than two years this work has increased the market radius of the stores in Neosho by fifteen to twenty miles and added definitely to the prosperity of the merchants of the town. Two towns in Iowa, Hampton and Nevada, have carried on similar experiences. The publisher of *Successful Farming*, Mr. E. T. Meredith, who is a member of the Executive Committee of the Associated Clubs, and two members of his staff, Mr. T. W. LeQuatte and Mr. Hugh McVey, organized three or four hundred retailers from the smaller cities and towns of Iowa and stirred them up to attend the convention at Chicago. This educational work along the line of better retailing and better advertising has gone through experimental stages to complete demonstration. It has now been taken up as one of the greatest elements in the activities of the clubs. In fact, the clubs have gone bravely forward and attacked the problem of making the retailers of America efficient and thoroughly modern in their knowledge of approved business practice. The clubs are arranging to support actively the Federal Trade Commission in the plan outlined by Mr. Hurley, a member of the Commission, looking to the education of the retailers in better accounting and credit practice. The clubs are the best possible points of contact with the commercial communities of every town in the country. They bring the publishers of the local papers and the retailers together in a friendly spirit of coöperation, and, what is even more helpful, they are all part of a great international system through which the best methods and the best practice learned any place in the world are at once distributed among the business men of every community that has an Advertising Club.

HOW ADVERTISING CHEAPENS COST

But this club movement does not stop even here. It is not content in having all advertising made honest and believable, as most advertising has come to be; nor is it satisfied with building up fair trade practice among all the elements in its great field; nor even with educating the retailers to become efficient merchants. Beyond all these things, it seeks to educate the big consuming public as to the service which advertising renders. Business men have long since been convinced that the

cheapest means to use in distributing their goods is advertising; but the public has not been fully convinced on this point. Indeed, there are many who believe that advertising adds to the cost of living. The Advertising Club movement has the positive conviction that this is not true and it also has the conviction that all portions of the public will share its view when the evidence is considered. So a committee is at work on a great campaign to advertise to the consuming public the economies that are effected and the service that is rendered through advertising. Mr. W. C. D'Arcy, an able advertising man of St. Louis, is the chairman of this committee, and he is bringing to his aid the best writers and artists in the whole advertising field. The result will be a nation-wide campaign that will put simply, but with clearness and force, the big facts which experience has demonstrated are true of advertising. And it is believed that when the convention of the clubs meets next June in Philadelphia in the University of Pennsylvania, founded by Benjamin Franklin, the first American advertiser, it will be reported that much has been done to bring the consuming public to the knowledge that advertising is a great public servant.

WHY THE UNITED STATES MUST FINANCE THE WAR

BY

THEODORE H. PRICE

THE war has wrecked many of the previously accepted theories of political economy. One that will soon go into the discard has hitherto found expression in the belief that a nation could live its economic life unto itself alone.

Out of this has grown the American faith in a protective tariff that would shut the rest of the world out of our trade, and the American attitude toward investments in foreign countries, which seems to assume that the United States is the only place in which the money of its citizens can be safely employed.

If Europe had maintained a similar attitude toward this country our development would have been much slower, and it is only because we have had the use of foreign money that we are now in a position to profit by ministering to the needs of the countries at war.

As a result we are rapidly paying off the debts accumulated during the last century and are becoming the world's creditor instead of the world's debtor nation. One of the consequences of this change is that we must accept the creditor's responsibilities and lend our money upon equitable terms to those by whose trade we prosper.

Portia maintained that Shylock could not collect his pound of flesh to the physical injury of Antonio, and thus fancifully developed the doctrine of mutuality between debtor and creditor that is to-day almost universally recognized in law.

Shylock's insistence upon being paid was his undoing. The harsh creditor is never the successful merchant, and if we are to be commercially international we must show ourselves financially international. Just now our international commerce is decidedly one-sided. We are selling much and buying little.

The machinery of international trade was so disarranged by the first shock of war that it almost ceased to function from August 1 to December 1, 1914. By the latter date it had been put in partial order, and during the seven months ending June 30, 1915, the United States exported goods worth $1,840,510,211, imports during the same period being valued at $950,825,492. The resulting balance of trade in our favor was therefore $889,684,719.

It seems probable that these figures will be greatly exceeded for the six months ending December 31, 1915.

The wheat crop is estimated at 963,000,000 bushels. Of this we shall consume about 600,000,000 bushels, leaving:

363,000,000 bushels for export. Two thirds of this, or 242,000,000 bushels, will probably be shipped before December 31, 1915. It is now worth about . . .	$242,000,000
The exportable surplus of cotton, including the "carry-over" from the previous crop, will be about 8,500,000 bales. Sixty per cent. of this, or 5,100,000 bales, will probably go out before December 31, 1915. It is now worth about	204,000,000
Exports of corn, oats, and other cereals to December 31, 1915, will be worth.	150,000,000
The war material to be shipped by December 31, 1915, is estimated as worth	700,000,000
If other exports are equal in value to the previous six months they will be worth .	1,290,825,826
Total estimated value exports, June 30 to December 31, 1915,	$2,586,825,826
If imports are equal in value to those of previous six months they will be worth . . .	836,168,947
Leaving balance of trade in favor of United States, June 30 to December 31, 1915 .	$1,750,656,879

For the calendar year 1915, therefore, the excess of exports will not fall far short of $2,500,000,000. Obviously such a one-sided trade cannot keep up very long, but it may continue during the war. If it does how is the balance in our favor to be adjusted?

It is plain that Europe cannot send us gold in any such amount, and the supply of American securities held abroad is nearly exhausted.

The aggregate stock of gold held by European banks is only about $3,500,000,000, and if any substantial portion of this is surrendered the entire European credit fabric will topple. If those who are to ship the goods are not paid exports will cease and the resulting congestion will utterly check the distributive processes of both domestic and foreign trade in the United States, thereby precipitating a disastrous decline in prices.

The problem thus presented is the most important financial question that confronts this country to-day.

There is a fatuous and widespread belief that Providence takes care of the United States and that, since Europe must quit fighting and starve unless she can get the things that America has to sell, she will somehow find a way to pay for them.

This article is written to show the danger of relying upon any such assumption and to make it clear that self-interest compels a popular acceptance of European securities, or promises to pay, in temporary settlement of the bill probably due the United States before the war is over.

There are many cogent political and sentimental considerations that might be urged in support of such an investment for the large fund of unused credit now held by our banks, but it is not necessary to emphasize them. Neutrality is essentially a selfish and inglorious rôle that is an abstraction for most Americans, but it is best to consider questions of international finance from a neutral standpoint.

As shipments to Germany and Austria are in very small amount the balance of trade in our favor with these countries will not amount to much, and, therefore, need not be taken into consideration.

As England is bearing the financial burden of the Allies it is probable that we shall be asked to accept her securities or promises to pay for the balance due us against the great volume of goods going to England, France, and Russia.

If we decline so to extend the necessary credit what will be the result?

Even to neutrals it must be evident that a collapse of the national credit of Great Britain would be followed by a worldwide deluge of bankruptcy for which there would be no Ararat even in the United States.

The magnitude of such a catastrophe is unthinkable. The national debts of Great Britain, Russia, and France are now approximately $30,250,000,000. The other debt of English cities and dependencies is about

$10,000,000,000. The Governmental Banks of England, France, and Russia have deposits estimated at $2,337,720,000. The private banks hold a much larger sum.

Superimposed upon this credit structure, there is a mass of commercial and corporate obligations created in connection with the business and service of three Empires having an aggregate population of about 650,000,000 people.

The world's trade depends upon the fluidity of this stupendous volume of credit, and if it were congealed, as it would be by England's defeat, commerce would be practically at an end and all mankind would revert for a time to barter.

It is idle to suppose the United States can put itself outside the range of such a debacle should it occur, and self-interest therefore dictates that the people of this country should do everything in their power to avert it.

To that end it is necessary that through the various trade and investment channels America should absorb a sufficient amount of English obligations to offset the net balance due on merchandise account.

After making allowance for the "invisible credits," which represent the interest, freight, insurance, and other items with which the United States is debited, the resale of any American securities still held abroad, and any gold that can be expected from Japan and China, it is probable that a balance of from $400,000,000 to $500,000,000 will still be due us.

Even if we should never collect this sum we could better stand the loss than an interruption to our trade that would cause a panic and a depreciation in values that would cost us many times the amount.

But can it by any possibility be lost if invested in the obligations of the British Government? Is it conceivable that the British Empire, upon which the sun never sets, and which embraces a population of 450,000,000 souls, can be so crippled by any nation or nations that it would be bereft of credit and have no market for its obligations? This is a purely hypothetical question, for up to date it seems absurd even to suggest such an idea.

Capital is, however, proverbially timid, and at times requires an insurance against the impossible before it can be induced to take risks that are negligible.

It is just as well, therefore, to inquire deliberately whether there is any serious risk of loss in buying a 4½ per cent. obligation of the British Government in the face of existing conditions.

There are those who seem to believe that the day of Macaulay's New Zealander on the London Bridge is at hand; that the English are already decadent and that the decline of the British Empire has commenced.

Even if this were so the disintegration of such a ponderous structure would require centuries.

Any one who has watched an unopposed gang of housewreckers pulling down an old but substantial building will realize that demolition is a slow process.

The England of to-day has required a thousand years in the making and cannot be destroyed in a night.

Even if she has reached her climacteric, England's decline will be punctuated by long periods of prosperity when the hope of recovered greatness will find expression in commercial and financial expansion.

In his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" Gibbon says that thirteen centuries were required to undermine that "fabric of human greatness" and that during this period, which commenced with the Antonines and ended with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, there were many long intervals when the strength and glory of Rome seemed about to become greater than ever.

Forty-five years ago France lost Alsace and Lorraine and paid an indemnity of a billion dollars, yet she is to-day invincible.

The processes of national disintegration are so slow that they are not discernible except to the eye of the historian, and this fact gives to governmental obligations an element of value that is very important.

There is always a market for them. They can always be sold at a price, and the changes in their value are likely to be exceedingly deliberate.

Taking this into consideration, is there any security in the whole list of American investments paying 4½ per cent. that is less hazardous than an obligation of the English Government?

)ur favorite investments are state and nicipal bonds and railroad mortgages.)f the 36 states in existence at the time the Civil War 17 have at some period their history repudiated their debts or aulted in some of their obligations. The includes not only most of the seceding ıthern States and West Virginia, but) Pennsylvania, Maryland, Minnesota, ssouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan. he number of defaulting cities is much ger and will probably soon be increased he present extravagance in municipal rowing is not checked.

he history of American railroad int-tments is even more checkered.

here is a bonded debt of about)00,000,000 on 226,000 miles of railroad the United States. Of this mileage rly two thirds has been in receivers' ıds within the last twenty years.

he railroads to-day in receivers' hands e $1,815,900,000 of securities out-ıding.

his is a somewhat melancholy record, certainly the comparison is not to the ıdvantage of the obligations of the glish Government, which since the days Charles the Second have always been mptly and honorably met.

he right of entail and of trusts for more n two lives in being, which are the con-se of a national debt in perpetuity, were lished only in the last century and there those, the writer among the number,) believe that after the present war is r a way will be found to restrain the ıg from mortgaging posterity that the ld may be depopulated by costly ıghter. Should this come about it only result in checking any further ease in government obligations and ancing the value of the issues already standing.

here remains, of course, the remote risk ocialistic repudiation, but while this is e considered in the case of Germany it egligible in so far as England is con-ıed, for she has already possessed her-of more than 1,000,000 square miles of man colonial territory, and the main-ınce of her world-wide trade will de-d upon the integrity of her national gations.

But whatever the risks of the venture we are practically forced to accept them, for we must export to prevent depression. We cannot export unless we are paid. Our customers cannot pay us unless we lend them the money. Consequently we must lend them the money.

What folly it would be for America, who is the chief and almost the only beneficiary of Europe's military necessity, to hesitate ungraciously in giving our foreign customers the credit that we shall ultimately be compelled to grant, because if we refuse it we will destroy ourselves!

Dr. E. E. Pratt, chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, is reported to have said in a recent speech before the West Virginia Bankers' Association:

"In lending money to European nations we are enabling them merely to keep up their wasteful warfare, and if we continue to lend money to Europe for reconstruction purposes after the war is over we shall simply be building up our most active competitor. If, however, this money is lent to other countries of the world, countries which are not our competitors, but which are our customers and also the customers of European nations, we shall be building up our customers, we shall be strengthening them, and we shall be strengthening the ties between them and ourselves."

Surely such talk as this is to be deplored from a man who is supposed to be an economist and is an official of a Government whose President is pleading the cause of humanity.

It is the very quintessence of national selfishness and it seems to assume that the meridian of Boston marks the Eastern boundary of the universe and that the trade of the four or five hundred million of people in Europe is of no value to the United States.

Happily for us, such ideas are not likely to find wide acceptance, for the very evolution of our own Government from thirteen separate colonies, jealous of each other, into an indissoluble union of forty-eight states, unfettered in commercial intercourse and friendly rivalry, is an augury of "a confederation of the world and a parliament of man" that may be hastened rather than retarded in its coming by the present war.

MACKENSEN'S DRIVE

THE EASTWARD ROLLING GERMAN TIDE IN POLAND—RECENT OPERATIONS IN THE EASTERN THEATRE CONSIDERED AS A MILITARY ACHIEVEMENT AND IN RELATION TO THEIR CONTRIBUTIVE STRATEGIC VALUE

NAPOLEON in 1812 made a great drive into the heart of Russia. Ahead of him the Russians conducted a masterly retreat. Winter and the Russians beat Napoleon and forced him back from burning Moscow, the object of his campaign, with nothing but an exploit accomplished.

Mackensen, during May, June, and July, 1915, made a drive into Russian Poland, less deep than Napoleon's, but along a much broader front. His objective, contrary to popular impression, was not any city—not Przemysl, Lemberg, or Warsaw. His object, the object of the German General Staff, was the annihilation of the Russian field army. Therefore, in Mackensen's great drive the military beauty is not all in the driving, terrific and irresistible as that has proved. Its value lies, and as a military accomplishment it will eventually be judged, in the part it plays, in connection with German operations from the northwest, toward hemming in the Russian army between its contact with the German lines west of Warsaw and the line Brest-Litovsk-Bielostock.

For many weeks Mackensen's end of the great German vise was closing into its preconcerted position, which it reached only in the first days of July. Not till July 16th did we hear the first distant rumblings of Hindenburg's corresponding movement from the north, toward which General Mackensen's long drive was a complementary prerequisite.

Each day, during the last two months, we have heard that the Germanic allies have been pushing their Russian adversaries back farther and farther into eastern Poland. This persistent advance has come as a good deal of a surprise to the general public who, in the majority of cases, *thought* that the German offensive would be greatly curtailed during the summer of 1915, especially after the entrance of Italy into the war. The facts as they stand speak for themselves to the contrary, and at no time since the war began, with the possible exception of the first weeks in August, has the star of victory shone so brightly on the Germanic standards.

Why has this great flood followed the ebb of the German tide? From a military standpoint the reason is easy of comprehension. It is due to the fact that all Germany's military resources were so organized in peace that they could be converted into military strength in an incredibly short time. That is, all the national stores of men and material either had already been put through the military mould or were so situated that they could soon be put through it. With large nations this is a stupendous process and requires years of preparation. The nation that is not thoroughly prepared at the beginning of a contest at arms has a tremendous handicap to overcome.

It takes two years to make a soldier in peace, one half of this time with good officers in war; one year is required to make a heavy howitzer, and a great many years to create out of raw material a corps of officers. Germany has been creating a corps of officers for more than one hundred years. Trained men are the determining element in war. Appliances and devices, many guns, and quantities of ammunition make a great difference, but no matter how many or how good the material supplies may be they cannot produce results without a trained personnel to use them. There are only two countries in Europe that begin to approach Germany in military preparation. One is France which, in proportion to her population, is a close second, if not fully equal, and Austria which, under the conditions of diversified races and popula-

THE EASTERN THEATRE, MAY 1ST–5TH

Due to the complexity of the operations in the Eastern theatre of the European war the strategic diagrams have been simplified as much as possible in order to give a clear idea of the strategy employed by both Russians and Austro-Germans to attain their objects. The Russians, after their severe defeats in the Mazurian Lakes area during the winter, abandoned their former idea of making their main line of operations run through East Prussia. They decided to attack their enemy by way of southern Poland, northern Galicia, and Silesia, with the object of "turning" the line of the Oder River and penetrating into Germany, where they hoped to destroy the German main army. As a preliminary they advanced successfully to the Donjec River and, to cover their left flank for a further advance, bent their energies to a great attack on the line of the Carpathian Mountains south of the Przemysl area. The German strategy aimed to destroy the Russian main army by forcing it into the area between the Pripet Swamp and the East Prussian frontier, then to threaten to cut its communications behind it in the vicinity of Bielostock and Brest-Litovsk and force it to a battle where it could not get away without fighting to a decision. Accordingly during April German troops were assembled in East Prussia, and Austro-Germans in the area south of Cracow. The tactical and strategic offensive was begun on May 1st and resulted in the great battle for the line of the Donjec River. This took about five days and was a great Teuton victory. The pursuit was then taken up by the Austro-Germans. The heavy line indicates the centre of gravity of the Teutonic advance, practically where the Archduke Frederick's army's right and General Mackensen's left touched each other. From East Prussia General Hindenburg launched columns into Russian Courland

tions incident to her make-up, has an excellent system. Russia, on the other hand, has an abundance of natural resources still largely unorganized. The active army with which Russia entered the war was by far the best which that nation has ever had in its history. It had been kept with the colors for an extended period of training and the corps of officers had been carefully selected and improved, especially during the last ten years. Behind this active army, which numbered, in fact, less than two millions, the reserve material both of men and equipment was and is poorly organized.

With such conditions thoroughly understood Germanic strategy has been consistently exerted to cause Russia to use up her active army in offensive battles while fighting second-line German and Austrian troops. The result has been that the late spring of 1915 saw Russia's active army practically a thing of the past. It lay buried under the sods of the Mazurian Lakes region, mouldering in the ground of western Poland and the Carpathians, or filling to overflowing the prison camps of the Germanic allies. The gist of what remained with the colors were the names of the old organizations which retained all too few of their old soldiers and even officers.

The Russian losses have been tremendous. When the Germanic attacks developed in early May it was not a superiority in munitions alone that won for the Teutons, it was soldiers. Russia had and still has plenty of men, but she has few soldiers. Between men and soldiers there is a vast difference. Never again during this war is Russia apt to have as efficient legions under her eagles as at the start of the contest, while on the other hand although the Germanic troops will lose some of their quality it will be, because of their system of training and organization, a comparatively small deterioration. Of material and food they may become short if the war lasts for a period of years, but of soldiers it will be difficult to exhaust them at the present rate of consumption, as compared to their opponents. As things stand to-day, unit for unit, the efficiency of the Austro-Germans as compared to the Russians appears to be about two to one at least.

In other wars Russia's great protection has always been the vastness and inaccessibility of her great domain, her many rivers, her vast swamps and forests, and her few and poor communications. Heretofore these geographical obstacles, much more than Russia's armies, have held back the invader or ultimately have forced him to a disastrous retreat. How does automobile and steam transportation affect this condition? This remains to be seen, but it can be definitely affirmed that the new transport renders Russia much more accessible than it has been in times past.

With this short survey of the condition of the Russian and Germanic armies let us glance at the strategy of the operations now taking place and try to form an accurate idea of what the Germans are trying to accomplish. Briefly they are trying to destroy the Russian main army which at this writing lies with its centre of gravity west of the cities of Bielostock and Brest-Litovsk in central Poland. Cities, towns, and positions are important in a military way only as they affect the existence or non-existence of an army. In themselves they have only a remote political importance. Once a mobile hostile army is destroyed, a company or battalion can thereafter easily disperse unorganized rabbles of minute-men hastily gathered together for the defense of towns, and a whole country lies prostrate at the feet of the conqueror.

Now the object of the Austro-German strategy—we are emphasizing this point again as we have done before because it is all-important—is to destroy this Russian main field army. To do so the Austro-German staff must not only force it to fight and whip it, but they must be in such a position, if they succeed, to get behind it and cut off its means of obtaining supplies, thereby preventing its retreat. To drive it back on its communications means only that the beaten but unrouted army will wait a while, rehabilitate itself, and then again come back into the fray. The harder the knock administered, the longer it will stay out, but unless it is destroyed as an army and made incapable of renewing the offensive for the rest of the war any victories obtained might be merely Pyrrhic.

It is often said that all Russia has to do,

THE EASTERN THEATRE, MAY 21ST–JUNE 13TH

By May 21st the western bank of the San River had been reached and Przemysl captured by the Teutons. In some places the stream had been crossed. The Russians had rearranged their forces as best they could along the eastern banks of the San River and from that stream across to the Dniester River. For practically twenty days the Austro-Germans rested their troops, realigned them, and waited until their railroads had been sufficiently repaired up to the line of the San River. For the last few days of this period the battles of the Teutonic allies against the Russians grew into a general engagement. It was an important one for the Russians because if they lost it the result would be that their army would be divided and the southern part (south of Lemberg) would be practically cut off from the main force in central Poland. The victory rested on the Germanic Eagles, and the Russians were compelled to fall back after a continuous series of violent engagements. The main Russian army retreated toward Lublin and Cholm, which lie on the main Russian railroad system. During this time considerable bodies of German troops made their appearance in Russian Courland, threatening Riga and Windau both by land and sea, while considerable engagements took place northwest of Kovno. Along the East Prussia-Poland frontier the German troops showed renewed activity, which reached its maximum at Ossowiec, the strong Russian fortress

if she suffers misfortunes, is to withdraw within herself where no one can follow. This is a plausible theory providing Russia is able to withdraw, but sometimes even a withdrawal is a serious question.

It will be remembered that when the

Teutonic offensive was begun in May the centre of gravity of their movement went along the line Tarnow-Jaroslaw (20 miles northwest of Przemysl). From this place it turned northeast and struck for Cholm. It was within 15 miles of that city on July 17th. It is, therefore, directed straight at Brest-Litovsk, the heart of the Russian army in Poland. To be sure there were, and are, great battles in many other places, but this is the main movement from the south, and all the actions in southern Poland and eastern Galicia are being fought to further this main operation. The fights for Lemberg were for the purpose of controlling the communications of the Russian left wing in eastern Galicia and preventing it from being able to rejoin the central army in the north. When Lemberg and its environs were taken by the Teutons this strategic object was accomplished and the Russian army's extreme left wing was clipped. The parts still remain along the Zlotalipa and Dniester rivers, pressed back by the armies of General Linsingen and his Austrian colleagues, Pflanger and Baltin, to keep them occupied away from the main conflict to the north. These dislocated armies have still a means of getting up to the north, that is, through Tarnopol and Rowno to Brest-Litovsk, but they cannot let go as long as they are being pushed. The possession of Cholm controls this last line of retreat.

So far so good, then, from an Austro-German point of view. But, it may be said, all that the Russians still have to do is to retreat further. Perhaps they can, but there are certain limitations. In the first place the great strategic centre of Russian concentration in Poland is Brest-Litovsk, and next to it, seventy miles to the north, Bielostock. These, with the exception of one railroad north of the Pripet swamps, are the only places through which all the Russian communications run. These Pripet swamps are an obstacle of the utmost military importance at this time, because they enclose an area 250 miles long from east to west and about 150 miles from north to south. They are absolutely impassable to large armies; there is only one railroad traversing them from east to west, and only one from north to south. One railroad does little good to armies of masses of the present day.

This great swamp, then, divides northern from southern Poland, and should the Russian army be forced back upon it the swamp would likewise divide it. Napoleon depended on this swamp to protect his right flank on his advance to Moscow. This is exactly what the German drive from Galicia is attempting to accomplish and this again depends on the possession of Cholm. Nor is this all. The Teutons advancing north from Galicia at best will merely split the Russian army, drawing a great part of it south in front of them and even forcing the Russians to evacuate all the territory they now occupy west of the Vistula. But they cannot by those manœuvres, even though they be entirely successful, completely destroy the Russian army. Up to the end of July they succeeded in drawing the bulk of it southwest toward the Vistula and almost jammed it between the Pripet swamps and the East Prussian frontier.

Up north in East Prussia, watchfully waiting, sits the old man of the lakes, Field Marshal Von Hindenburg. The psychological moment for him to move is whenever the battle for Cholm and Lublin is decided. Should Von Hindenburg be able to break through the Russian lines anywhere on the East Prussian frontier, and seize either Vilna, Kovno, or Bielostock, the Russian main army would be taken "in rear."

The Germans occupy the strongest offensive strategic position against the Russian army that they have held since the war began. This position has been of their own making and due to strategic combinations which have consistently held this end in view since the war began. As things stand now, it appears that the Russian General Staff must fight a decisive series of battles, which they must conclusively win to be able to extricate their army. They cannot, with the facilities at their command, get that army out by simple retreating, for the reason that the Germans appear nearer to their main depots of Bielostock and Brest-Litovsk than is the centre of gravity of the Russian field army. The battles for Lublin and Cholm began during the first days of July and resulted

THE EASTERN THEATRE, JULY 4TH–10TH

On June 13th the Teutonic allies had completed their victory for the "line of the San" and began the pursuit. The Russian army was now separated, but also the allies had to separate and hold both their flanks securely, that is in the direction of Lemberg and also in Poland west of the Vistula River. They were approaching the same positions and shape of front which the Austrian army had in August, 1914, when they captured the railroad between Lublin and Cholm. What enabled the Russians to defeat them at that time was the fact that both their flanks were enveloped. This the allies are careful to avoid at this time. By July 4th the allies had reached the line of the Bug River, captured Lemberg, and fought and won a battle for the high ground north of Krasnik (about twenty miles south of Lublin), which is in the nature of the outer Russian line for the protection of the Ivangorod-Lublin-Cholm railroad. The allies had now left their railroads (west of the San River) about 60 miles behind them, and another pause was necessary to replenish their stocks of men, munitions, and equipment. During this time the Russians, who had brought down the heaviest reënforcements available, delivered an attack on the Austrian army of the Archduke Frederick. This was maintained strongly for about three days, at the end of which time the attacks were beaten off, but not without severe losses to the Austrians. During this time the demonstrations of the Germans opposite the East Prussian frontier grew in intensity and number. By this time it was plain that the Teutonic allies had gotten nearer the Russian base than were the Russian armies west of the Vistula themselves. The Austro-Germans opposite Lublin and Cholm were only about 80 miles away from Brest-Litovsk. At Ossowiec the Germans were only 35 miles from Bielostock, while the Russians west of the Vistula were from 120 to 150 miles away from these same places.

in a local success for the Archduke Ferdinand's army in the vicinity of Krasnik, Poland. During the next few days the Russians counter-attacked, while the Teutons were engaged in rearranging their lines and bringing up supplies. The Austrians suffered heavy losses but managed to hold their positions.

THE DETAILS OF A GREAT MOVEMENT

The first great battle of this campaign was fought along the banks of the Dniester River in the early days of May. The Teutons then pursued for a hundred miles, fighting with the Russian rear guard meanwhile, wherever the Russians were able to find delaying positions. The second Russian main position was along the east bank of the San River. On this line a delay occurred because in northern Galicia automobile transportation is able to supply the troops for no more than about one hundred miles distance from the railheads. The railroads, therefore, had to be rebuilt from all directions up to the armies, for the retreating Russians had torn them up and destroyed them as much as they were able to in the time given them. The rate at which the Teutons were able to repair railroads averaged about three miles a day.

On the banks of the San, when the railroads were completed, the Germanic allies had at their disposal an excellent railroad system, not only of those lines running north of the Carpathian Mountains in the area between Tarnow and Jaroslaw, but also of those crossing the Carpathian Mountains from Hungary. These lines were successively opened up for use as the advance continued. The repairs on them were completed during the first part of June and sufficient supplies were rapidly accumulated for the next advance. When it is remembered that one train load of ammunition for field artillery carries only 16,000 rounds, a train load of heavy field artillery ammunition only 8,000, while the projectiles alone for their mammoth howitzers weigh half a ton each, the tremendous nature of the transportation problem becomes apparent. Not only ammunition, but food, forage, clothing, and a thousand different kinds of equipment and spare parts, besides endless streams of men to replace the losses in the ranks, must come forward in ever increasing number. The counter current carries to the rear wounded and disabled men, horses, prisoners, and damaged equipment. These great armies, therefore, are practically tied to their railroads and cannot operate much farther than one hundred miles beyond them, the distance depending in large measure on the character of the roads over which motor-transportation can be used.

Having arranged everything on the line of the San in the way of supplies, the Austro-Germans again began their forward march. This time, however, along their main line of operations—that is, from Jaroslaw toward Cholm, the territory traversed by General Mackensen's army—no direct line of railroad was available. In fact, from the railroads behind or east of the San to the Russian railroads running from Ivangorod through Lublin and Cholm, a stretch of about 60 to 80 miles in a straight line, there are few good roads, the country in many places is marshy, there are many small streams and great stretches of forest. To these hardships and handicaps Mackensen's army is the most exposed of all, as the Archduke Ferdinand's forces have their left stretching out to the Vistula River, on whose waters supplies are being carried by innumerable barges and boats. As the Germans' communications have become attenuated, so much more have the Russians gained, because they now are along their own main railroad line, with a good system of roads behind them. In fact, the railroad net in central Poland is the best existing in any part of Russia.

Here again, accordingly, the Teutons have been forced to wait until the roads in their rear are thoroughly repaired and field railroads constructed before again pushing forward. By the middle of July the German main force, that is, General Mackensen's army, was scarcely one hundred miles from Brest-Litovsk. It was aiming at the destruction of the Russian main army. Warsaw, for its own sake, was not the German object. With one army to the north and the other to the south they hoped to catch the Russian main army, cut it off, and destroy it. This was the second great German offensive of the war.

THE RAILROAD SYSTEMS OF THE OPPONENTS IN THE EASTERN THEATRE OF WAR

This diagram shows the railroad lines that were in operation at the beginning of the war in August, 1914. Since that time the Germans especially have extended their railroads, particularly into the western part of Poland which their armies occupy. If the reader will take a sheet of note paper and cut a small square in it, then run it over the map from the German side to the Russian side and count the number of lines in each area which his small square encloses, he will gain an idea of the superiority in rail power which the Teutonic allies possess. These railroads give the Germans the ability to shift their troops from one side of Poland to the other more quickly than the Russians can march across it, although they have the shorter distance to go. The Germans, then, combine the strategic advantages of the "inner line," given them by their railroads, with the great military asset of the "enveloping frontier," from which to attack any Russian force that may be found in Poland. These advantages alone are the equivalent of several hundred thousand troops. The tremendous difficulties under which Russia labors can easily be appreciated.

Many Americans see in the Germanic advance into Poland an operation similar in many respects to the offensive taken by the Army of Northern Virginia of the Confederacy in 1863 which culminated in the battle of Gettysburg. To appreciate the difference, mention must be made of the strength and positions of the opposing forces at that time. Grant was attacking Vicksburg with 60,000 men, Pemberton was in Vicksburg with 30,000 men, Johnston was at Jackson, Miss., scarcely 100 miles from Vicksburg, with 24,000 men and showing no disposition to attack Grant. Bragg, with 45,000 Confederates at Murfreesboro, Tenn., confronted Rosecrans

with 80,000. Hooker's Army of the Potomac had just suffered the huge defeat of Chancellorsville at the hands of Lee. The former had, at Fredericksburg, Va., an effective strength of scarcely more than 90,000 after this defeat, and the Confederates, with the accession of Longstreet's and other detachments, had not far from an equal number.

The Union strategic front was concave, with its right at Vicksburg, its centre at Murfreesboro, Tenn., and its left at Fredericksburg, Va. The Confederates possessed the "inner line," not only from the mere fact of holding the inside of the 1,000 miles and more of total front, but they also possessed the Richmond-Chattanooga-Atlanta-Jackson railroad system and connecting lines, which gave them the rail power in addition. This great strategic advantage was the single one which the Confederates possessed over their adversaries. They could, by utilizing these lines, shift troops from east to west or in the opposite direction in a much shorter time than the Federals could move them by their much more roundabout routes.

Sound military strategy, then, would have dictated that the Confederates "contain" Hooker's defeated and dispirited army with a much smaller force, and with the remainder of the Army of Northern Virginia concentrate on Rosecrans at Murfreesboro and destroy him before he could be reënforced. If successful the Confederates could then concentrate on either the western or eastern main Federal army groups weeks before they could coöperate. If defeated in Tennessee the Confederates would have a broad base to fall back on, the whole front of which was connected by railroads.

Political necessity, however, dictated a different course to the Confederacy. Recognition was looked for from some of the European countries, i. e., England, and possibly France. This in itself would have allowed the Confederates to place loans in Europe with which they could have purchased war vessels and supplies in those countries. To obtain this advantage it was decided that a victory on Northern soil would be all that was necessary.

Hence the Gettysburg campaign. The Army of Northern Virginia left its railroads, crossed the difficult obstacle of the Potomac River, manœuvred the Federal Army of the Potomac into a position, in which it was very much more difficult to destroy it than at Fredericksburg, with the result that all that could possibly be hoped for by the Confederates was a tactical victory of extremely doubtful consequences from a strategic standpoint. If the Confederates lost the tactical battle they would have great difficulty in retracing their steps, as their communications and line of retreat ran to a very small line along the Potomac.

Tactically Gettysburg was pretty nearly a drawn battle, but that Lee was able to withdraw his army at all was not only due to his genius as a commander but also to the deliberation with which the Union forces took up the pursuit. These armies had not yet reached the efficiency of well oiled military machines. They were still in a state of development. Hence the possibility even of withdrawal under the circumstances.

Now in Poland the conditions are very different. The Russian army has pushed itself into the Polish "salient." While it has the shorter distances to traverse across this salient in point of miles it has the longer distance in point of time, as the Germans have the rail power all around them, as may be very clearly understood by examining the chart on page 575. If the Germans attack and are defeated they have several points of the compass to fall back on, whereas if the Russians are defeated they must retire on the base Bielostock-Brest-Litovsk. Consequently German strategy has always been directed to draw the Russians into the Polish salient, then get behind them and cut their communications at the key points mentioned above. The great armies of to-day are lost if their communications can be seized and held by an enemy, as they are entirely dependent on their magazines for supplies and cannot live from the country as the smaller armies of Napoleon, for instance, did.

The object of the Germans in the present campaign, then, is essentially military.

The political aspect of it is entirely secondary. Their object is to destroy the Russian army and keep it out of the con-

for the remainder of the war. They not run one half the risk if they not succeed that the Confederates ran he Gettysburg campaign even had they won a tactical victory. This is due to the shape of the Polish frontier and superior rail power combined with superior motor transport and superior aërial reconnaissance.

HE TEUTONIC CONVALESCENCE OF TURKEY

W GERMAN MEDICINE HAS RESTORED THE "SICK MAN OF EUROPE" TO MILITARY HEALTH—REASONS FOR THE ALLIES' FAILURE AT THE DARDANELLES AND AN ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY SITUATION IN THE LEVANT

THE military efficiency of Turkey has constituted thus far one of the great surprises of the war. And there can be no question that the regalvaniz- of a nation which is at heart essentially tary back into effective military func- has been due to elixir Teutonicus. effect of immediate German super- on of the Turkish army has been to e Turkey to the rank of a military Power he second class. Her military system, blished by the German mission several rs ago, is now working smoothly under nendous pressure and grinding out ned soldiers with steady precision. material has always been there. It military organization that the Turk hitherto lacked. That military organi- on is now almost complete.

1 August, so far as trained men are con- ed, Turkey had not yet even strained resources. She is, however, somewhat t of many of the appliances of war essed by the Powers of Western Europe, her reserve of ammunition has run dan- ously low. At the beginning of August as, despite every effort, far below what Turks needed, but a great deal was g received from Austria, and recently- t Turkish mills are constantly turning an increasing proportion of the total unt of ammunition used.

1 so far as the Turkish theatre is con- ed the principal focus of attention cen- on the Gallipoli Peninsula, where the s, after their fruitless attacks of the three months, have accomplished noth- ing of permanent value and are literally holding on by the skin of their teeth to a few miles of Turkish soil.

From a military standpoint a main attack across the Gallipoli Peninsula unsupported from any other areas is open to very serious objections either as a means of rapidly opening up the Dardanelles themselves or of destroying Turkey's military power. When it became evident that the allied ships, unsupported by land forces, could not force a passage through the Straits it should have become perfectly evident that the next consideration was the reduction and destruction of the Turkish field army. Until this army was destroyed the shores of the Dardanelles could not be occupied nor could the Turkish batteries controlling the mine fields and adjacent waters be taken.

Now the Turkish field army, which is available in what may be termed the Marmora theatre of operations, consists of no less than six full army corps (about 240,000 men), with all their auxiliaries, their first line troops, and with a practically inexhaustible reserve of fairly well trained personnel. So extremely narrow is the Gallipoli Peninsula at its widest part, that no more than two army corps need be deployed to resist the most determined attacks. In other words, if more than 80,000 Turks are deployed in this area at any one time they merely get in each other's way. Consequently, even if the Turks now in the Gallipoli trenches were destroyed an even greater number of them immediately in reserve would have to be

destroyed later on in order to make the operation a complete success.

Consequently, as a main theatre of operations the Gallipoli Peninsula has the great disadvantage for the Allies of being so small that the main Turkish army cannot be engaged at one time and therefore renders a single decisive battle impossible.

For a secondary operation the Gallipoli Peninsula offers the advantage of the shortest land approach to the great group of Turkish works known as the Kilid Bahr forts. But no matter what theatre or theatres were selected for the main attack, sufficient military strength had to be brought to bear for destroying the Turkish field army. In all that region Gallipoli

THE OPERATIONS ON THE GALLIPOLI PENINSULA

For the last two months, up to July 15th, the Allies have been able to make practically no advance. The Turks on their side have tried hard to drive them into the sea but have also been unsuccessful. The operations have become entirely a "trench warfare" affair in which the advances made by either side are measured in yards. The Allies have about 50,000 effectives in their fighting forces ashore, out of a total of 100,000 landed since the beginning of the operations. These losses the Allies find very difficult to replace and more difficult still to increase largely their total force. On the southern end of the peninsula they have about 40,000 and at Gaba Tepe 10,000. The Turks confront them with 100,000 men. Both sides are well intrenched. The first main position of the Turkish defense is Achi Baba Hill and the ridges near it. It now amounts to a very strong fortress. In fact, all the hills in practically the whole peninsula are carefully prepared for defense by the Turks under their German preceptors.

presents the most difficult locality for the proper development of an attack without absolutely overwhelming numbers and supreme efficiency. Neither of these characteristics do the Allies possess.

For these reasons the Allies had little chance of a reasonably quick success at the Dardanelles.

In their councils the Allies may have taken into account the probability of a Greek expeditionary force joining them. But at best Greece cannot furnish an expeditionary force of more than 150,000 troops of questionable tactical value. Even could such a Greek contingent be provided and transported, they, with the force of 100,000 sent by England and France, would not have been sufficient. Very probably a Russian contingent of 200,000 men was counted upon also. But on account of the unsettled status in the control of the Black Sea, it became evident from the start that Russia could not be depended upon with certainty to add anything except a diversion in the Caucasus.

It was known then, and is well known now, that the whole Dardanelles expedition was a creation of Great Britain, and there is very good reason to believe that the former First Lord of the Admiralty was its moving spirit. In its execution it has been a military fiasco from a strategic standpoint. It is therefore at least fair to suppose that the reasons which impelled the initiation of the expedition and which now inspire its continuance are not purely military. They must be very largely political.

Since England initiated the idea it is reasonable to suppose that the political reason back of it was either the possession of Constantinople, the Bosphorus, and the Dardanelles to have and to hold for herself, or was for the purpose, as has been previously stated, of keeping Russia from being driven into a separate peace with Germany. It will be remembered that the Dardanelles expedition was started at the conclusion of the winter campaign in East Prussia, in which Russia had suffered serious defeats. At that time it was announced by England that the expedition against Turkey was for the purpose of opening up the Dardanelles, thereby allowing Russia to have a free line

›mmunication through which she could ›rt munitions of war and at the same ship out accumulations of wheat in hern Russia for the use of England and allies.

. England's political strategy was to in Constantinople for herself it has ı a failure. If it was to keep Russia ı making a separate peace it has been a ess so far. The whole matter, how- , awaits a final decision on the battle s of Poland, and the future of Tur- will be determined neither on the es of the Ægean nor the Black Sea by the clash of the armed hosts in tern Europe.

he actual landing and subsequent fight- of the British and French contingents :he Gallipoli peninsula itself have ap- ched the sublime. Here the partially- ıed Anglo-Saxon troops have shown ism, self-sacrifice, and devotion never eded in war. In the first place, they ›d a landing under the greatest diffi- /. The first organizations ashore lost tically all their men. They have held narrow strips of land they occupied nst the most ferocious attacks from an nized, brave, determined enemy. As · own ranks have thinned they have d for three months and seen the num- of the enemy constantly grow.

he Allies are unable to advance and Turks have been unable, up to the ent, to drive them into the sea. The s, all told, number about 50,000 men he offensive lines, and the Turks double number. The total losses of the Allies : been about 50,000 out of their original : of 100,000. The Turks' losses also : been heavy, but as they are fighting ome with a great reserve of forces be- them their losses can quickly be made

At the present rate of consumption of personnel the Allies will have to be ·ily reënforced or get out. This is so greater extent now than it has been for last three months because in the first e the number of submarine boats at lisposal of the Turks is being constantly :ased, and also because that part of the nsula where the Allies are now situated very little fresh water on it. The ›r portion of their water supply, consequently, will have to be obtained from water vessels.

. Where are the necessary accessions of men and material coming from to continue the Allied enterprise? They cannot come from Russia at present or for some time to come on account of the military situation in Poland, where Russia needs every trained man she can get. Greece alone will make little difference even if it sho ·d participate. Italy might send troops, but to obtain results in a reasonable time she must send a contingent of at least 300,000 men. Italy may need every soldier she possesses on her northern frontier at any time to repel a Germanic invasion, and to tie up a large army in Anatolia would be to play directly into Austrian hands. A small contingent would be merely like sending good money after bad. Bulgaria, with her efficient army, undoubtedly holds the key and it is therefore evident that the greatest endeavors are being made by England with every means at her disposal to induce Bulgaria to enter the fray. After Bulgaria's experience in the last Balkan war the evidence must be very complete to show her exactly what she would gain by coming in. Bulgaria's eyes, then, are turned northwest toward the battle fields of Poland in an endeavor to foresee the outcome of the gigantic contest now taking place in that unfortunate country.

In addition to the theatre centering around the Dardanelles there are four other theatres in which the Turks are playing their part. These are the Caucasus, the Tigris and Euphrates valley, the Egyptian frontier, and a small region near the British naval station at Aden.

Of these campaigns the one in the Caucasus engages the greatest number of men, approximately 200,000 on the Russian side and an equal number on the Turkish side. In this theatre fighting of a desultory character is taking place in the same areas that have been the scenes of operations for the last five months. The forces are distributed along the international frontiers. One side takes the offensive in a small way and then the other. Nothing approaching a decision or even the seeking of a decisive battle has yet been manifested.

Small demonstrations are still being

WHERE TURKEY'S ARMIES ARE OPERATING

In the Dardanelles Turkey is fighting against the British and French expeditionary forces. These have their main eastern base at Alexandria, and an advance base on Lemnos Island.

In the Caucasus Turk and Russian face each other in much the same position that they have for the last three months. The Turks are based on Erzerum, which has no rail communication with the rest of the empire. The Russians are based on Tiflis and Kars, which have railroad communication with Russia.

On the Egyptian frontier, the Turks, after being thrown back by the British from the Suez Canal itself in February, are merely keeping small parties of troops in observation. Railroads are being built from the Damascus-Mecca railroad toward Egypt for the purpose of supplying a future expedition should the Dardanelles campaign prove successful to their arms.

In the Euphrates-Tigris river districts the British forces have ascended the Tigris River to Amarah, about 200 miles from Bagdad. At Aden, the British naval base at the southern entrance to the Red Sea, Turks and Arabs have attacked the British garrison without success. Turkey has been forced to concentrate her main attention on the Dardanelles and consequently is not able to do much in the other fields of operations. On the other hand Russians and British are unable to develop enough military strength on the Turkish frontiers to force the Turkish armies back or defeat them

made by the Turks in the Egyptian theatre. These for the last few months have amounted to little more than an attack of the hostile patrols. The Turks, however, under German supervision, are engaged in constructing railroads from the Damascus-Mecca line toward the Egyptian frontier. This in itself is evidence that they have in no way abandoned the idea of ultimately *invading* Egypt. What deters them from *doing it now* is, of course, the campaign around the Dardanelles and the fact that they must hold sufficient troops in readiness in the latter theatre to meet any additional forces which may be launched against them either from the Balkans, Italy, or reënforcements for the Allied troops that are already there.

About 50,000 Allied troops are in Egypt. These are all British with the exception of a French colonial contingent of about 5,000 men. Such contingents are available either to replenish the Allied troops for the losses incurred on the Gallipoli peninsula or to defend the Suez Canal. In addition there are about 30,000 wounded in the Egyptian hospitals that centre at Alexandria. Egypt has served as a main base for the operations against the Dardanelles, the secondary base being at Mudros, on the island of Lemnos, and there is also a small depot on the island of Tenedos.

The British-Indian contingent has advanced a considerable distance up the Tigris and Euphrates and has control of the Turkish province of Amara. The object of this expedition, mainly political, is for the purpose of holding for the British Crown this valuable outlet of the commerce of the Euphrates Valley. It is in this area that German commerce has been so highly developed during the last few years.

At Aden, far down on the southern side of the Arabic peninsula, the Turks, aided by the tribes living in that area, are attacking the British garrison. The port of Aden itself constitutes a strong and important British naval base. It forms a haven for the British warcraft detailed to keep watch over the entrance to the Red Sea, the main gateway to the Suez Canal from the east. It also is a naval control point for the Arabian Sea, which stretches from Arabia to India. If the attack against Aden is considered in combination with the attack against Egypt it is evident that if the Suez Canal were occupied by the Turks and submarines could get through it, with Aden in their hands, they could, in all probability, by the use of submarines alone, entirely control the Red Sea and possibly also the mouth of the Persian Gulf. It is by way of the Persian Gulf that the British troops who are operating in the Euphrates

ey have to go on their way from India. ultimate idea behind the Turkish at- s against Egypt and Aden, then, is to rol the water route to India and pre- Indian troops from getting across to Europe by the Persian Gulf. So the operations have resulted only in l attacks by the Turks and Arabs in which they have easily been driven off by the British garrison.

Though the main issue of the whole European war will be determined in Western Europe, the centre of Turkish interest is around the Dardanelles, and the Turkish operations in the smaller theatres are all being subordinated to that area.

THE HOLDING CAMPAIGN

V FRANCE, ITALY, AND SERVIA, ON DIFFERENT FRONTS, ARE DOING THEIR PARTS IN THE GREAT COMBINATION

WHILE able to do nothing themselves in an offensive way, France, Italy, and even Servia are contributing their share he campaign of the Entente Allies by ing large German and Austrian armies ront of them, thereby preventing the tons from adding to their forces in nd. The number of Germanic forces kept away from the Russian theatre unts to about 1,500,000 men on all ts. Now that Germany and Austria : turned their whole attention to Russia desire to leave merely enough men on French and Italian fronts to hold back armies of those countries.

he situation in France is and has been st the same since the beginning of the ent year. During all this time the ges which have occurred in the loca- s of the opposing lines have been so l as scarcely to show on a map of ordi- ' size. Continued and stubborn fight- however, has taken place in many locali-

The French have attacked strenu- y, particularly in the section around north of Arras. All these attacks have for the main purpose of keeping as y Germans in their front as possible, eby preventing their use in the eastern tre of war; also to gain local vantage ts which might help any general offen- move in the future. The British ps in their section have also done 'y fighting and their losses during the two months have averaged about 2,000 a day. Each time the Germans launch a new attack against the Russians they habitually precede it by an attack against some portion of the French lines. This is done so as to get in the first punch against the French and to gain a little ground to the front over which they may retire when the next French attacks are inaugurated. These are always forthcoming as soon as the French find out that the Germans are sending masses of their troops into the eastern theatre.

Beyond these complementary stabs there is no more sign of a general French offensive campaign at this time than there has been for the last six months. If such a campaign is initiated its prelude will undoubtedly involve a simultaneous attack from one end of the line to the other. In other words, the French lines as one man will burst into a continuous sheet of flame, under cover of which the main columns, previously assembled for attacking the weak points in the German lines, will be launched.

In modern battles the density of the men in the front lines is the same on all portions of the front itself, but behind these the great columns for the decisive attacks are assembled. In some cases they are from sixty to ninety miles deep and involve as many as a half million men.

Due to the continuous local attacks which the French have maintained for so long, their losses have been very heavy. Though no official statistics are available, conservative estimates place the French losses from all causes at an average of about

5,000 men a day. All modern devices and appliances of war have received their application along the French-German front: liquid fire, asphyxiating gases, and artillery capable of firing projectiles, weighing nearly a ton, a distance of twenty-two miles. Such artillery has been used by the Germans for shelling Dunkirk at this range and its effect has been greatly to restrict the use of this port as a base for the British army in Europe. The French are still waiting for the German military strength to diminish sufficiently for them to take up the offensive with hope for success.

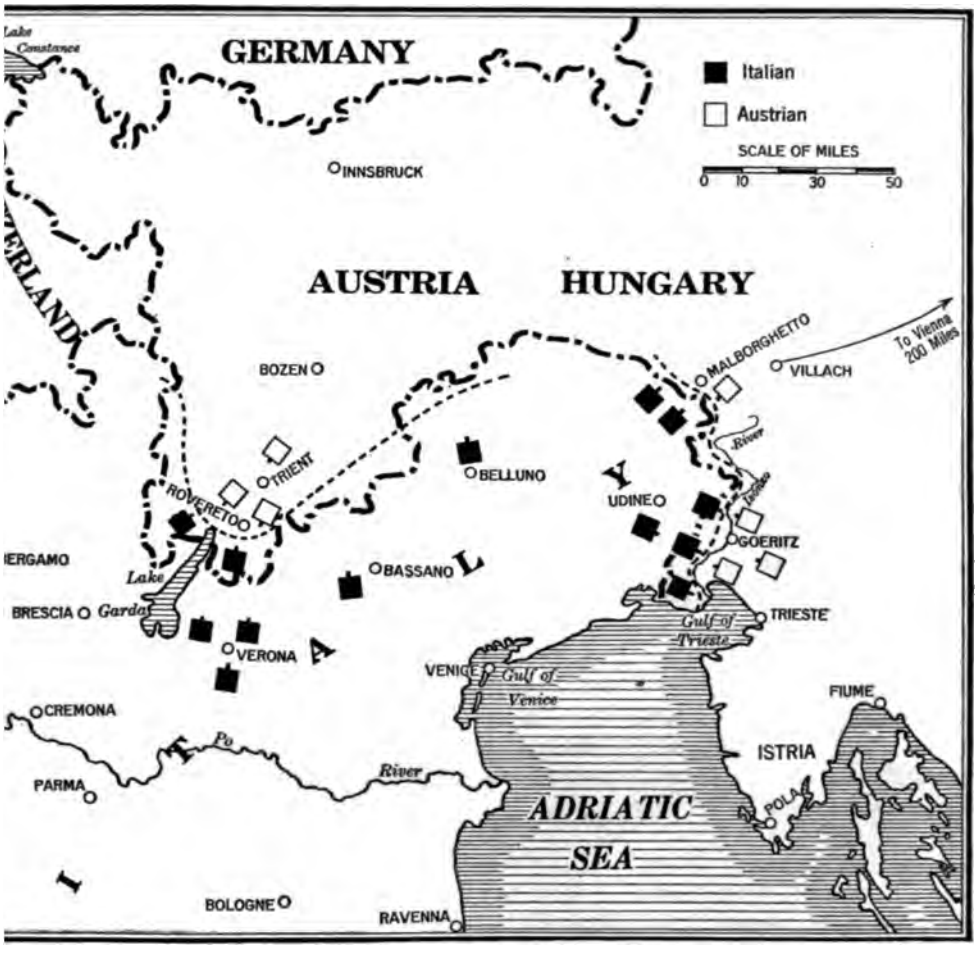
THE WESTERN THEATRE, JULY 15TH

There has been practically no change in the position of the opposing forces in this theatre for many months. During May and June and the first days of July the French attacked vigorously at many points in order to force the Germans to reënforce this theatre at the expense of the Russians. These attacks have had no appreciable effect in this regard. The British and Germans have attacked and counter-attacked on their section of the line. The heaviest French attacks have been in the area north of Arras, and those of the Germans have been around the Verdun lines and near St. Mihiel. Near the latter place the Germans have two bridges across the Meuse River. The main body of the French army lies in the triangle Verdun-Rheims-Epinal. The bulk of the German forces lie west of St. Mihiel. The total length of the line amounts to about 450 miles, of which the Belgians hold about 7 miles, the British 31, and the French 412. Of the Allies altogether there are about 1,500,000 men on the line, with an equal number of French troops behind them. Opposed to these are about 1,000,000 Germans, with reserves dependent on the operations in Poland

When Italy rushed into the arena of the European war her troops, very soon after crossing her own frontiers, ran squarely into the Austrian permanent fortifications. These had been constructed by Austria for exactly such an eventuality. So far the Italians have been unable to make any impression on them that is of much military value. The Italian campaign may be considered as consisting of three parts, namely, the operations against the Trentino, with the city of Trent as the immediate objective; the campaign from Venetia, with Tarvis and Villach as objectives; and the campaign along the Isonzo River, with Göritz as the immediate objective. This last operation is being directed, of course, with the idea of occupying Istria and the cities of Trieste and Pola.

The centre of all these operations is Verona, while for the operations in the province of Venetia, Udine holds the centre. Strategically the Trentino area is the most important because through it flows the Adige River, along whose valley the Austrians have an easy means of ingress into the fertile plains of northern Italy. Very little headway has been made along this line by the Italians, and also very little in the Tarvis area. The Italians during the latter part of June and early July, launched a determined attack against Gorlice with three army corps, but were thrown back with heavy loss by the Austrian forces in that vicinity, without accomplishing anything important.

The Italians have their whole field army concentrated in northern Italy. It is equipped with the most modern field artillery of any force in Europe. This consists of the famous De Port model field gun, invented by the distinguished French artillery engineer of that name. The gun has a split trail and is capable of firing at a 45 degree angle of elevation. It is especially suited to warfare in the very mountainous country over which the Italians are fighting. The Italian field army contains about 800,000 men. Due to the extremely mountainous and difficult country over which they have to attack, the Austrians have been able to hold them with less than half this number up to the time of writing. The Austrians have also



THE ITALIAN THEATRE OF WAR

ɔn the declaration of war on May 23d, Italy ıtrated her armies and took the offensive against ia. Except for delaying actions by small ı, the Austrians offered little opposition until alians approached their main positions. Along in every case the Italian army has been stopped. eaviest engagement of the campaign so far has ought along the Isonzo River with its centre at ɔrtified town of Göritz. The Italians were n back with heavy loss. The Italians have d the political frontier at nearly all points. The Austrians have adopted a passive defensive rôle and are awaiting the outcome of the operations in Poland, which for the moment are more vital to them. The Italians have about 800,000 men in northern Italy while the Austrians oppose them with about 400,000. The Italians are fighting not only the Austrians but also against natural features of the terrain, that is, the line of the Alps Mountains, which history has proved to be as difficult military obstacles as any in Europe. The Italians continue to bombard the Austrian positions

gns, so far, of taking the offensive, and probability will not until the present ıtions in Poland are brought to a close. effect, then, of Italy's entrance into ar has been to keep 400,000 Austrians ır front.

rvia has shown a little more activity ıg the last two months, which has been fested by an invasion of Albania and ɔccupation of the port of Durazzo, the Montenegrins, not to be outdone, have once more occupied the city of Scutari. The Allies have tried hard to rehabilitate what remains of the Servian army, and both England and France have sent small contingents of officers and enlisted men to Servia for that purpose. Aside from some small artillery bombardments along the Servo-Austrian frontiers nothing has taken place, and the Servians are being watched by about two army corps of Austrian third line troops.

THE GREAT RIVER

IV. NAVIGATING THE MISSISSIPPI

IN THE WAKE OF MARK TWAIN FROM ST. LOUIS TO THE GULF—SIXTEEN T SAND MILES OF UNREALIZED WATERWAYS IN THE HEART OF THE CON NENT—TRANSPORT PROBLEMS OF THE OHIO AND THE MISSOURI—THE RIVER, THE RAILROAD, AND THE MAN ON THE BANK

BY

GEORGE MARVIN

FORTY-FIVE years ago there were 470 steamboats plying regularly on the Mississippi. You would have hard work to find 47 now, even if you were to count in a few Government snag and dredge boats to make up the total. Enough ocean-going shipping comes up the 110 miles of deep-draught channel from the Gulf to make New Orleans the second largest seaport in the United States. But not enough river-borne traffic comes downstream to New Orleans to justify its existence as a first-class seaport.

In the spring a few big coal tows do descend the stepping stones of the Ohio from Pittsburg to Cairo and then on down the main river to the Gulf. Near Vicksburg, Memphis, Baton Rouge, and one or two other towns a few relics of by-gone steamboat days still come and go on local routes over the waters. Now and then a lone towboat shoving a barge ahead of it disturbs the desolation of the Missouri, and sometimes dwellers along the banks of the Red River or the Arkansas hear the wheezing of a laboring stern-wheeler as she paints their blue skies black with coal smoke. Through packet service between St. Louis and New Orleans ceased with the passing away of the Anchor Line in the early '90's, and about ten years later through freighting ended when the line of barges and towboats operated by the Mississippi Valley Transportation Company went out of business. The average receipts of cotton by river at New Orleans are less than 5 per cent. of the total and in Memphis about 10 per cent. Only once since 1908 have the receipts of water-borne wheat at Cincinnati reached one per cent., and neith that city nor at St. Louis has the shipped by water ever reached more 1.6 per cent.

There is not now a single through pa ger or freight line regularly running St. Louis to New Orleans. The only such a voyage is continuously made the semi-annual inspection trip of Mississippi Commission, or when, as i recent Republican past, a Roosevelt or junkets down the river on a flag-bede argosy, exhumed for the occasion, to a some millions of riparian voters of ber to come.

Two generations ago the Mississippi its main tributaries were alive with w traffic. Now their chief occupation is estate, destroying the market in one p to make it somewhere else. What is reason for this stagnation? What has come of navigation on the Mississippi?

There is no one reason. Like the co of empire, navigation on this as on o American rivers has had its rise, dec and fall. Some of the causes of its dec were inevitable. They go back to Civil War, which ended slave labor and economy of its employment on river bo destroyed the prosperity and overtur the political economy of the South. caused the burning or sinking of hund of steamboats with the consequent poverishment of that large class of pe who had depended upon steam naviga for a living.

Shortly after the War a railroad for first time followed the Mississippi's co southward through the Delta, breaking

"LOADED TO THE GUARDS"

What a Mississippi steamboat looked like in the days before the railroads carried all the cotton

river's old monopoly, and another railroad cut across it, linking the Western wheat-fields with Eastern ports by bonds of steel.

Such are, very briefly, the causes of the decline of Mississippi navigation. They are not in themselves sufficient to account for its continued stagnation. Other reasons exist for the present atrophy but, unlike the causes of the decline, these reasons are not inevitable. They are removable. And their removal will mark the beginnings of a healthy renaissance in river traffic.

We cannot go on blaming the Civil War and the railroads for our deserted rivers. We must make our waterways fit for their work. It would be wasteful to compel trade to follow water-channels without providing such facilities as will enable traffic to move by water economically in time and in money. We cannot perpetuate and impose upon modern times the methods in river transportation of fifty years ago. What we can do is to stop throwing money away in floods and invest it in navigable channels. The same kind of American ingenuity and enterprise which have made in the last forty years two generations of railroads, if directed toward the creation of water terminals and types of vessels for inland navigation, can restore the Mississippi and its tributaries to life.

But perhaps the best way to indicate at once the real material reasons for the stagnation of navigation in this great system of rivers, and the character of the changes prerequisite to a new order, is to give some specific instances of present conditions.

WHERE RIVER NAVIGATION FAILS

Lack of terminal facilities and proper Government control of the river combining with discriminating rates force the cotton growers to ship their product by rail

The *Stacker Lee*, belle of the middle Mississippi, tacks from bank to bank down the river as a postman makes deliveries down a city street. Between Cairo and Memphis she makes forty-odd

THESE PEOPLE CARE ABOUT RIVER NAVIGATION
A crowd assembled at Cairo, Ill., to greet the Roosevelt party. Landing stage being lowered from its boom to the levee

landings on both sides of the river. She rams her nose into the soft mud with nothing at all in sight but a blank brown wall of caving bank over the top of which a solitary warehouse pokes its corrugated-iron ridgepole. Out in front, like a long proboscis, the pendulous gangway hangs as though feeling around in the air for a way ashore, and balanced on it four "roustabouts" cling with a big keg of nails slung on poles from their shoulders. The end of the proboscis hits the edge of the bank, the rousters poise a second, then stagger up the almost perpendicular cleats, drop their keg, and slide back down the gangway. As the paddle-wheels begin to turn backward a red-turbaned Negress with a bag in one hand and a big umbrella in the other shoots over the sky line and toboggans dustily down the bank, hailing the steamer as she comes.

"Gotta dollar an' a half?" yells back the captain from the hurricane deck.

"Yass, suh."

"Git aboard," the captain commands.

The gangway gropes back for her and she makes it, bag and umbrella, like a circus trick. Late the same night, in a round patch of white bank created for her by the searchlight out of darkness blacker than herself, she climbs ashore somewhere in Arkansas, precipitating a small landslide of that state on to the *Stacker's* deck.

At another landing below the abandoned keg of nails some children are gathered under a clump of poplars whose leaves turn back quivering silver in the upstream breeze. On the sandy beach at the water's edge a shrunken dead cow lies, with one leg in the river. A few barrels and boxes are rolled ashore and cached in a pile near the cow, while the children watch from afar.

Diagonally across we head, then, where a column of dust stands up in the air over a squadron of motor cars assembled at the levee with wagons and saddle horses sprinkled among them. Here cargo is

THE WAY THE LEVEES USED TO LOOK

The Mississippi steamboat, with all its picturesqueness, is ill adapted to meet modern transportation problems and must go

lofted up and slid down at 45 degrees to and from a cliff horizontal with the *Lee's* pilot house. And up with the traffic I swarm ashore to walk the short fifty yards of dry grass and sand which divide the river bank from a green rampart of levee hiding all beyond from the river.

I have turned my back on a muddy stream flowing through hot, bare banks, rimmed here and there with sandy bars and beaches, and peopled with the noise of mates and roustabouts getting cargo on and off the boat. To my complete surprise I find another world on the far side of the levee, unexpected, smiling, noiseless. Cotton fields, as far as eye can carry, reach away south and westward with white houses and sheds sprinkled over them. Hundreds of cultivators are silently at work. Far on the horizon I can see a deep green tree line surmounted by the blue of hills. Peace and plenty come down to my feet; back of me the arid trench dug by the river.

When we shove off we leave stacked on the bank sacks of wheat and oats and bales of hay. All down the Mississippi and Arkansas river country, in the richest kind of agricultural territory, the boat keeps putting ashore, at almost every landing, baled hay, wheat, and oats.

Those rich lands of which one catches glimpses behind the levees are all planted in cotton, tobacco, corn, or sugar cane. Negro labor cannot deal with other crops such as hay and wheat. The plantation system on which the agricultural prosperity of the South has so long been based depends upon Negro labor. A very sparse white population lives on the plantations behind the levees. And until better boats shall put ashore, on sounder levees, the new white population which shall turn the old wasteful plantations into new, intensively cultivated farms, baled hay and oats will continue to be stacked in monuments of inefficiency by the wasted river's brink.

AN ACTIVITY THE RIVER SHOULD HAVE

But which it cannot have until the Government does its work in making a channel and until a new type of river boat supersedes the old stern-wheeler. These relics of another day are not carrying freight but merely a Presidential excursion

By and by we pass through green shores where the forest tumbles down both sides to the crumbling river bank just as it did in La Salle's time, three hundred years ago. Over the brink cottonwoods, willows, and big gum trees struggle and fall in matted ruin as though forever hopelessly assaulting the river's trenches. Here and there the whole bank has slipped perpendicularly into the water and the tops of the trees, from their submerged level, protrude above the surface like thickets of bushes. Through these long miles of jungle no landings are possible. The rousters sprawl out asleep on the guards, soothed by the soft-drawn, contented breathing of the *Lee* as she settles down to make up time.

"At Hannibal, now," says the old steamboat man, "you will find the best terminal facilities on this here part of the river." Hannibal is a city in Missouri with a population of about 18,000 inhabiting a fairly flat, low bank of the Mississippi River. As in many river towns the railroad separates the station and the town from the "terminal facilities" and the river. Sticking out into the stream at about 25 or 30 feet is a wharf-shed. On the shore end a bank of loose stones leads up to the railroad track. On the river side several rotten piles rise out of the water. Over the stony bank and out across the wharf 200 tons of cement are to be delivered on a 1,000-ton barge for transport at a reduction in rate from the railroad tariff of 50 cents a ton. Nobody is on the bank or wharf to direct a landing or catch a rope. The cement is in box cars on the track.

After the barge has been tied up to the piles, the rocks, and the wharf, several horse-drawn dump carts are forthcoming. Into these the cement is loaded from one car at a time, and carried across the 80 feet of bank to the wharf, where it is dumped. Then it is loaded on hand trucks and rolled over a ten-foot gang-plank on board the barge, to be there finally stowed. As only the first box car is parked on a level place in the bank where the dump cart can back up, it becomes necessary to get a locomotive to shunt the others down. In half an hour a switch engine appears and remains all day comfortably on the job until the cement is loaded. The cement comes on board at the

THE OLD AND THE NEW AT CLOSE QUARTERS

A self-propelling barge, with lighter draft and ten times the carrying capacity of the steamboat behind it. Some such type of boat must take the place of the obsolete stern-wheeler before the river can come into its own as a carrier of traffic

rate of 28 tons an hour. During these long hours the engineer of the switch-engine sleeps at his throttle or thinks long thoughts out of his cab-window. His fireman sits on the embankment examining cinders with great care and throwing them into the river.

The wages of these two men foot up to about 84 cents an hour and so on their account alone the cost of loading is increased three cents a ton. On the total amount of cement moved out of Hannibal on to the barge this long day their idle time would pay interest for the entire year on $100 worth of real terminal equipment.

The *Georgia Lee* is transshipping cargo to the *Lightwood* at the mouth of the Arkansas River, both vessels rammed deep alongside each other into the mud on the Mississippi side of the main stream. To transship it takes the united efforts of two mates, four quartermasters, and 20 roustabouts all talking or singing at once in a kind of river comic opera. This is the way the libretto goes, built upon an intermittent voodoo chorus, and drowned out now and then by the applause of escaping steam:

"All ri'. J. S. Fergus & Co., Pine Bluff. Case o' apple vinegar."
"Go ahead."
"Give 'em another one.
"Go ahead."
"Same. Box o' Snowdrift."
"Go ahead."
"Give 'em another Snowdrift."
"Go ahead."
"Give 'em another vinegar."
"Go ahead."
"All ri'. Asa A. Frazee, Silver Lake. Ee-leven wagon tongues."
"Go ahead."
"Giv' 'em a Cream o' Wheat, one case."
"Go ahead."
"Same. Crate Meadow-farm eggs."
"Go ahead."
"All ri'. Jonas S. Mills Co., Silver Lake. Box o' Sunshine prunes."
"Go ahead."
"Give 'em another."
"Go ahead."
"Another prune."
"Go ahead."
"Another egg."
"Go ahead," etc., etc.

THE OPEN RIVER HIGHWAY

Which, with its navigable crossroads, reaches 16,000 miles inland

THE "KATE ADAMS"

The best passenger boat on the lower Mississippi

DAVID AND GOLIATH

A new type tunnel-propeller towboat shoving a steamboat upstream against wind and current

THE END OF THE GREAT RIVER

Where it meets the Gulf of Mexico at the end of South Pass Jetty

A GOVERNMENT LAUNCH

In which the district engineer inspects his river defenses

A BIG COAL TOW IN THE OHIO

Pushing the equivalent of sixteen freight train loads down the water road from Pittsburg to New Orleans

LOADING COTTON AND FLOUR AT MEMPHIS

Despite every disadvantage some of the Delta's products are still shipped by water. The expense of loading by "roustabouts" is another picturesque ingredient in the passing of river navigation

Not a breath of wind draws up the Mississippi Valley. The 12:30 P. M. sun hits the *Lee* and the *Lightwood* with a sincerity peculiar to that Valley. The antiphonal chant just indicated originates down below on the main deck of the *Lee* and its exact counterpart echoes faintly from the bowels of the *Lightwood*. Between the two duets shuffle, single-file, the black chorus of roustabouts.

Every Mississippi steamboat carries its own crew of these tatter-de-malion stevedores, paid by the month or week or day, as long as they will work, at the rate of two to three dollars a day and found. One quartermaster loads them, one reads and checks the freight tags, another sees the stuff properly stowed, and a fourth sometimes stands at a corner of the route to exhort flagging members.

Under no circumstances will a "nigger rouster" carry more than one parcel at a time, so you will see a rickety little deckhand grunting up the gang-plank under a sewing machine, a pump, or a big sack of flour, while just behind him steps a burly Jack Johnson with a paper package or a half-dozen coat-hangers balanced on his head. The whole procession moves in a continuous cake-walk, most of the rousters keeping in the same rhythm, with a crouching, shuffling step, and after ducking from under their loads go rolling back on to the levee with the same crouching shuffle as those still carrying burdens. They look more like gorillas than men, but there is about their movements the curious, ugly grace of the colored race.

To transfer from one boat to the other a light cargo of prunes, eggs, wagon tongues, Snowdrift, etc., takes this well-paid opera company one hour and forty minutes. They are handling a kind of cargo, which ought to go by rail or parcel post, precisely as all kinds of cargoes have been handled on the Mississippi since 1820. By modern terminal machinery the *Lightwood's* whole consignment could have been transshipped on

SAVING EXPENSE IN TRANSSHIPPING

odern barge can lie alongside ocean-going steamships at New Orleans and load or unload direct tons of cargo to or from St. Paul, St. Louis, or Pittsburg

modern barge in twenty minutes by fifth the number of men.

iver faring on the *Kate Adams* brings some of the departed grace and flavor ther days like an old tune. She is in ne architecture and habits precisely other steamboats still in commission on river, albeit cleaner, larger, faster.

eople in Memphis and Arkansas City k of the *Kate* with obvious pride, and engers as they come aboard nod and k to one another in a family kind of . An orchestra plays conscientiously e saloon, an inclined plane from bow to meeting amidships and lined on both with staterooms—bridal suite and dry aft, purser's office, barbershop, and forward. White paint, green carpet, spotless linen, with white-coated, ogrammed stewards hovering around ables, all combine to impress a voyager has come downriver on barges, coal , and other steamboats as though he suddenly struck the Waldorf or the *Mauretania*. This is an entirely different canto in the song of the river from previous ships of boiling memory.

There must be forty or fifty first-cabin passengers aboard, a big list. Mostly they sit on camp chairs on deck, the boiler deck they call it, possibly because the boiler is on the main deck down below. Here are some owners of big timber tracts over in the St. Francis Basin, two or three levee contractors, the mayor of Memphis and some of his friends going down to their fishing club over Sunday; three Government engineers, a cotton planter, a steel manufacturer, several commercial travelers, and many "captains." Any one who has had in the past anything familiarly to do with a steamboat, any one who holds a responsible or proprietary relation toward one, is a "captain" on the Mississippi, just as elderly citizens of Kentucky are "colonels" and most members of the Haytien army are "generals."

The actual commander of the *Kate*

Adams is all captain, and on the "riveh" that billet has a very rich definition. He has been brought up on the river. He is every officer rolled into one, all the way from a maritime Chesterfield to a boss stevedore. He jollies the roustabouts by name, talks soothingly to old ladies, smokes and swaps stories with the other "captains," and introduces eligible young to dance-hungry and partnerless women. Children and spinsters are shi from port to port under his charge.

THE OLD, EXPENSIVE, OBSOLETE, AND PICTURESQUE WAY

all over the boat cept in the pilot h entirely respon and entirely wit any appearance o ing so.

By and by the per of the *Kate A* lights a new c puts on his coat, goes and stands o hurricane (top) as the sabbatical tolls the signal fo gangways to hoisted in.

The *Kate* is a passenger ship fo conditions she h contend with, but freight carrier, in petition with the road, except in matter of sli higher speed, sh just as obsolete a other steamboat the river.

If navigation come back to the river to stay, adeq terminals must before it and—th this be sacrilege old Mississippi fr and passenger st boat must go.

Along the river older generation not hear of any idea. Last sum two Southern str ers were leaning the railing Grant's tomb on Ri side Drive in York City as the *Daniel Drew* moved sile and majestically upriver on her nig run to Albany.

"That don't look like no steamboat

' said one. "It ain't a steamboat with-
niggers and cotton."
Stranger," said the other man, with
in his eyes, "I want to shake hands
you."
o more, to many people in the Missis-
Valley, is a vessel a steamboat and en-
d to navigate their river which doesn't
n forth dense clouds of soft coal smoke
exhaust through her funnels. There
be those four ingredients; black
ke, cotton, niggers, and an exhaust
ble at least four miles away.

cursion boats packed with dancing people go wheezing and groaning away upriver, their orchestras meanwhile carrying on a plucky losing fight with the exhaust.

The handling of these river boats, although well adapted to the lack of terminal facilities with which they must contend, and necessitated no doubt by their own peculiarities of construction, often impresses a salt water sailor as clumsy and wasteful of time. The *Henry Marquard* from the Iron Mountain terminus near Cairo scuttles dissolutely backward alongshore, broaches

THE NEW, CHEAP, AND UGLY WAY OF HANDLING RIVER FREIGHT
A coal barge with transportable crane

ave you ever heard a Mississippi steam-
get under way? As a commercial
eler said to me: "Say, it is fair cruel."
like the sighing of some pessimistic
n or the sobbing of a forsaken whale.
first time you hear it you think it must
mistake, that something has gone
ly wrong with the machinery. But
distinctly understood that that noise
essential ingredient in the Mississippi
eption of a steamboat. It is dear to
Delta, wrapped up in tradition and
smoke and memories of Mark Twain.
would think such a wailing would spoil
nere pleasure trip, but out of Memphis
St. Louis on summer evenings big ex-

beam on to the stream, and finally gets straightened out, the way a floating log swings in a current. Coming back from Cairo with a mile of Ohio to go before turning up the Mississippi, the *Henry* simply backs all the way from the levee down to the turn.

The *Stacker Lee* would go forging absent-mindedly right by a landing as though to fool the people waiting patiently on the levee. About a quarter of a mile downstream he—nearly all the boats on the river with the exception of the *Kate Adams* are men—would remember or repent, stop, and reverse laboriously back again.

The Government quarter boat, where the

THE RENAISSANCE OF MISSOURI RIVER NAVIGATION
The barge and towboat line recently started between Kansas City and St. Louis

engineers lived who were doing the revetment work 30 miles below Memphis, was neat and clean as a hospital. After many hot nights in river hotels I looked forward to a cool night at last. But in the middle of the night a steamboat coming downriver nearly washed us off our mooring reefs and then, scuttling around in the same riverine way I had so often found humorous in the daytime, calmly rammed us full amidships as she made her landing. Looking out through my window into the blinding glare of her searchlight I sympathized with the "cracker" who had pulled a gun a few days before in his nearly swamped houseboat and shot at our pilot.

Between decks the *Stacker* and the *Georgia Lee*, the *Kate* and the *Henry Marquard*, and all the rest of them—this type of boat—are ill adapted to carrying bulk freight. They have no hold. Cargo has to be stowed on the main deck, around the machinery and among the trusses which support the boiler deck above. On heavy trips freight overflows on to the guards almost flush with the water. To get cargo in and out of such vessels requires a lot of handling and a lot of time; there is no possibility of receiving or delivering it except by hand or trucks.

In the old days the great freight profit for these river boats lay in carrying baled cotton. The regular load was five thousand bales, though sometimes enterprising captains would get away with six or seven thousand and go on their way rejoicing like one big floating cotton bale emitting smoke from its top. In the Hotel Cowan Greenville, Miss., hangs an old photogra of a record load of "9,200 bales."

Such capacities were made possible staying out broad "cotton guards" w hog chains 16 or 18 feet on each side beyo the regular guards and piling up the cot on these verandas clear over the hurric deck and around the "texas."

Nowadays this bulky freight goes by railroads. Big cotton cargoes have saken the river, and the big fleets wh carried the cotton have gone with the pilots, gone into the limbo of "T Sawyer," "Huck Finn," and "Life on Mississippi." Old Horace Bixby, the of the classics, immortalized by that ot Mississippi pilot whose humor has m him more famous than his navigation, d two years ago. He was piloting a Gove ment snag-boat a week before his dea

Those old pilots in their heyday used get $500 and $600 a month, a great d more money in those days than it is n And they spent every cent of it. Th ships were noble, too. The *Richardso* stacks reached 80 feet from boiler deck to t The *Natchez*, built in '69, was of 1,547 gr tons, and the *Robert E. Lee*, built in ' was 300 feet long. And they were fa some of those old-timers. They carried pounds of steam pressure (of the 1,0 steamboat casualties in the Mississi River a very fair proportion were plosions) and even before the War some them made as high as 20 miles an ho The *Robert E. Lee*, in the famous ra

TERMINAL OF THE KANSAS CITY NAVIGATION COMPANY
At Kansas City, Mo. Facilities such as these would help bring back traffic to the rivers

nst the *Natchez* in July, 1870, covered 1,278 miles from New Orleans to St. is in three days, eighteen hours and teen minutes, a sustained average speed etter than 14 miles an hour against the ent.

t opposite ends of the long river high- between Kansas City and the Gulf, o miles apart, the beginnings have been le of a new navigation which must ıtually supplant the antique packets their methods which I have been de- ɔing. Both ends of the line are pioneer- each in its different way; each has a ıd theory but neither one has yet ıonstrated conclusively anything prac- l and profitable enough to bring back to the river.

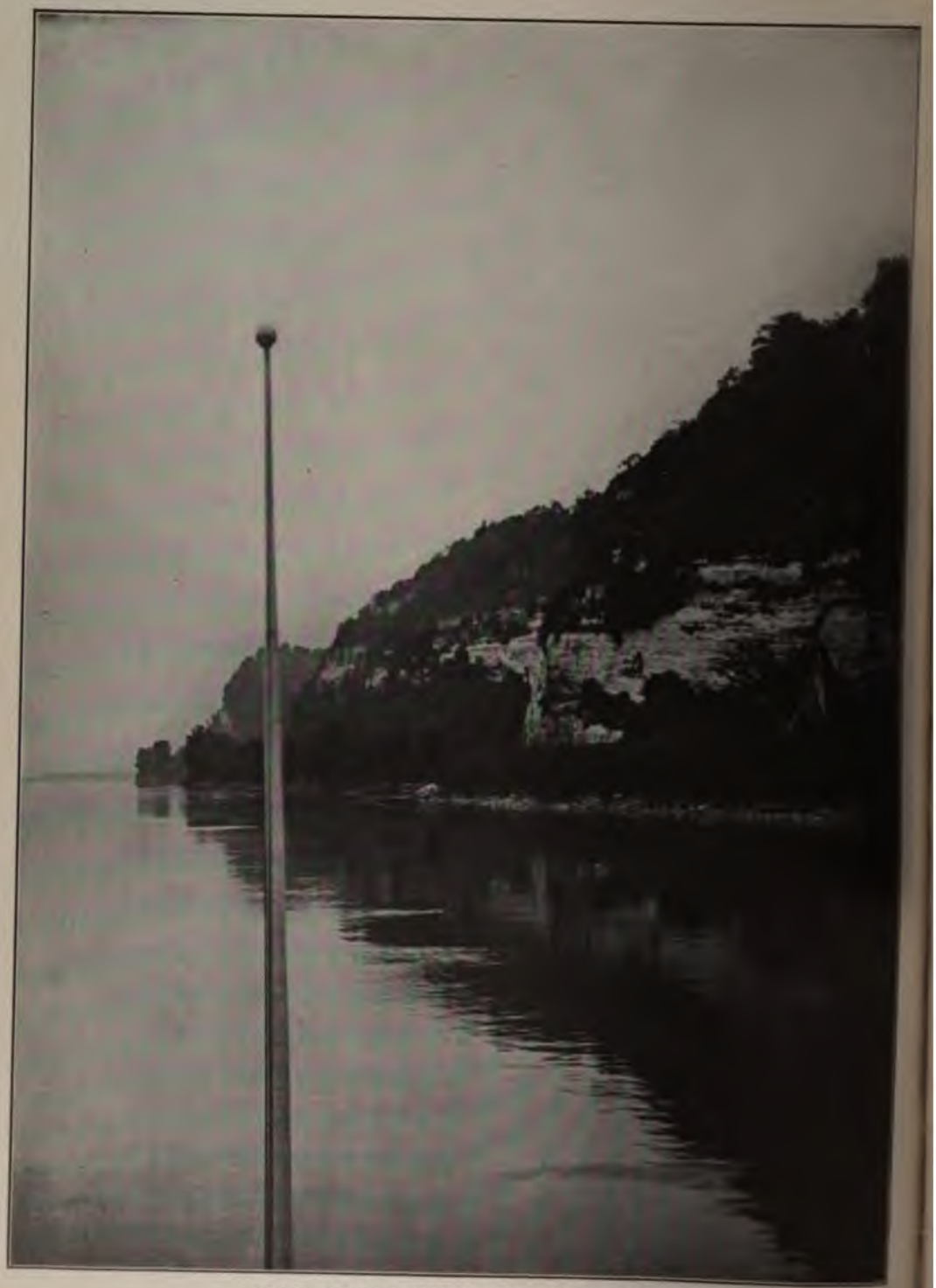
he Kansas City Navigation Company called into existence about four years partly as a boom city's protest against oad freights and partly to obtain and l a Government appropriation of ooo,ooo, in $2,000,000 annual instal- ıts, for the improvement of the Missouri er, which stream, at the time of the ınization of this company, was almost pletely destitute of all navigation.

ansas City began to boom in 1909, and t boomed and developed it found itself gested and handicapped by what it d unsatisfactory and unjust railroad s. In this state of mind it turned its and its interest to the muddy river ing through its gates to the Mississippi, miles away. Up to that time the souri River had been for Kansas City chiefly a flood proposition. They began to think of it as a traffic element. A committee was organized, headed by Mr. Walter S. Dickey and the late Colonel Nelson, of the Kansas City *Star*. Subscriptions totalled $1,200,000 from more than 4,000 patriotic firms and individuals in one month, and in 1911 the line was actually put in operation.

From the proceeds of a $75,000 bond issue a municipal wharf with a fireproof warehouse of steel and concrete, thoroughly equipped with electrically operated freight handling machinery, was constructed at Kansas City. At the other end of the line the navigation company has constructed a modern wharf and warehouse on the waterfront of East St. Louis. Both of these docks are connected by switch tracks with the railroads, and together they constitute the best terminal facilities between Kansas City and New Orleans.

It so happened that I was on the record trip between Kansas City and St. Louis made last summer by the towboat *A. M. Scott*, of the Kansas City Navigation Company. We left Kansas City at 2 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, June 3d, pushing the steel barge *Gamma* ahead of us in a five knot current and, after running aground four times and tying up to the bank two nights en route, reached St. Louis at 7 P. M. on Friday, June 5th, an elapsed time of a little more than 52 hours.

The Kansas City pioneers have discarded the old steamboat in favor of a much smaller twin-screw towboat. The *Scott* drew only 3 feet of water, although the



RIVER NAVIGATION AT ITS VERY BEST
No Government regulation needed here

ully loaded, drew nearly 6 feet. e hit bottom, therefore, it was the at hit. The *Scott's* light draught ounted for by the device of tunnels her screws turned, projecting thus out half their diameter below the the water being sucked up into the o as to give a thrust equal to that pany. It was also clearly demonstrated that if navigation is to develop any further on the Missouri something very radical must be done to the Missouri.

What must be done to the Missouri is to hold the banks thereof. This is not a flood and levee proposition so much as it is a revetment, navigation, and land-rescue

KEEPING NINE FEET IN THE OHIO
e 54 steps in the long stairway of dams which keep the Ohio navigable from Pittsburg to Cairo

ordinary propeller. An excellent ration of the power of such a boat n by the *James Rumsey*, the *Scott's* ship, which, in a much advertised pushed an old type Mississippi teamboat of greater tonnage and against her full stern-wheel power, n and against the wind.

eight which we pushed downstream nsas City was carried for 80 per the existing rail rate, including in- and warehouse delivery. It was demonstrated on the particular trip made that cargo could be carried at e at a substantial profit to the com- undertaking. Even if Mr. Dickey's company can pay no interest to his stockholders he is conferring a great benefit upon the agricultural population of his state that lives along the river in decoying the Government into saving their riparian acres. There being no navigation worthy of the term prior to 1910, Congress would not appropriate until something had been started as a tangible navigating beneficiary within the narrow accepted definition of interstate commerce.

The general improvement in the Missouri River, therefore, during the last three years is directly attributable to this

FIVE AND A QUARTER CUBIC YARDS AT A GULP
A dredge bucket which keeps channels open and makes land

City company. But it will take several years at the present rate of $2,000,000 a year before a 6-foot channel can be maintained in the Missouri below Kansas City during the months that the river is open to navigation. On the Missouri, then, the emphasis is to be laid on revetment work. As a matter of flood prevention this river territory must be clearly distinguished from both the Mississippi Delta region, with its tributaries, and the Ohio. Damaging floods in the Missouri Valley are of nothing like annual occurrence, the last serious overflow dating back to 1903.

Accordingly there is, down through this long valley, a correspondingly milder care about what is being done to the river. The chief towns and cities are built high out of water on rock foundations, and a good many of the farmers in the lowlands, like the fellaheen along the Nile, rather welcome an occasional overflow with its rich deposit of fertilizing silt.

What the farmers do not welcome is losing several acres a year into the river. Coming down on the *A. M. Scott* the pilot showed me a barn toppling into the water which, on his upstream trip a week before, had stood 200 feet back from the b The plowed fields, where they came d to the waterfront, looked in cross sec like the end of a corrugated iron roof, sh ing how the river had cut into the estate and the labor of the owner wh plow must in the spring have follo every one of those severed furrows where the river now flowed. The " Muddy" delivers the largest amoun deposit into the Mississippi of any ol tributaries, and keeps filling up old chan and making new ones even faster than Father of Waters.

Last year an enterprising group of me New Orleans sent a thousand-ton s propelled barge from New Orleans up to Paul, Minn., and back, in an attempt prove that water transportation on Mississippi may be a profitable enterp As it left the dock in New Orleans on J 6th an old Mississippi bird-cage from berth just ahead of it was being to across the river to be laid up in a shipya The cost of transportation by means of t barge was estimated at just one sixth of cost by means of the old-fashioned stea boat. The entire crew of the barge c

d of seven men, and she was propelled wo gas-producer engines at the rate of nts an hour, as against a fuel consumption on the average Mississippi River steamer of $4 an hour, at the same speed of t miles an hour. The total cost of ating that pioneer barge, including 6 cent. interest, insurance, depreciation, footed up to $2,100 a month. On a flight Mississippi steamboat the cost run up to between five and six sand dollars a month.

e have considered some causes for the nation of Mississippi navigation. We found them in the lack of terminal ities, in the obsolete type of transporn still employed, and, in this and in eding articles of this series, we have d a continuing obstacle in the conn of the channel and banks of the s. But most of the people on the consider that the chief cause which has o the decline of water transportation is ailroad.

subject so vast as this controversy canappropriately be treated as a subion of another article, but a few facts t the relation between rivers and rails may give additional light to the ct of Mississippi navigation.

the first place, no one is going to ship ht, no one, as a rule, is going to ship r himself or the members of his family, more expensive rate if he can find a per one. Even if there were not to-day a single boat on the Mississippi River, that river nevertheless would have been the chief element in the present low rates for shipping merchandise to and from points along its banks.

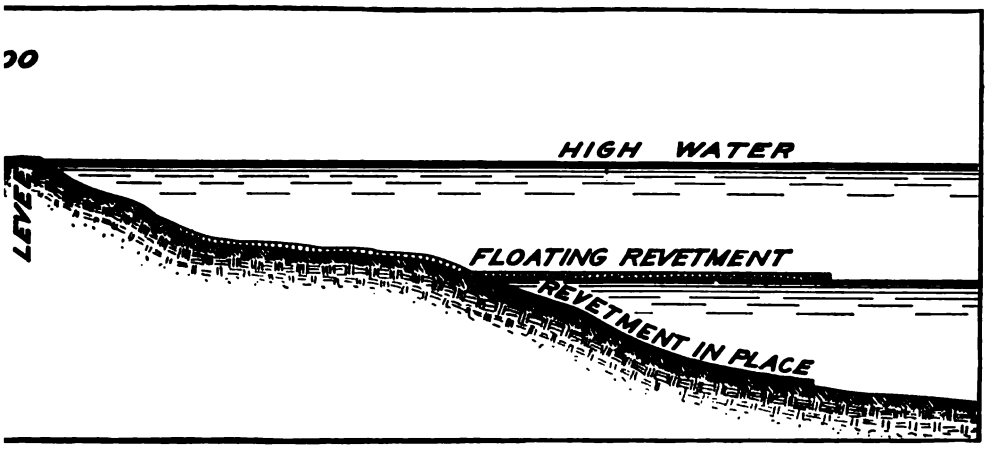
In his testimony before the Nelson Committee in 1897, Mr. Charles Pillsbury, the great flour man of Minneapolis, said:

"We consider the presence of the Mississippi River the great regulator of railroad rates; that the benefits should not be measured by the tonnage as much as by the possibility of sending freight by water."

Much of the flour milled at Minneapolis would actually be transported to the sea on the Mississippi River but for the fact that railroads, on account of this competition, are obliged to give low rates.

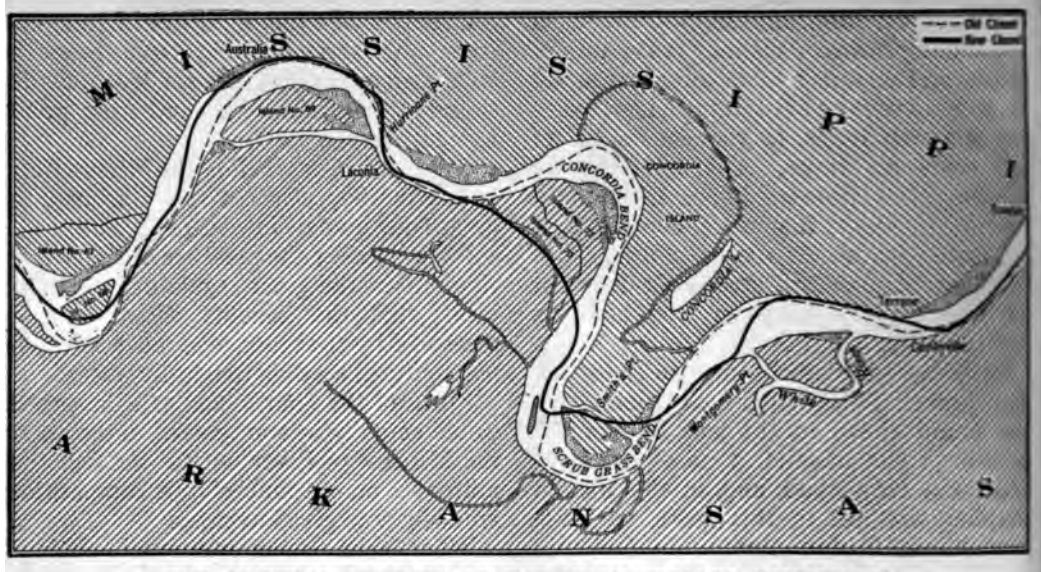
What, then, is the grievance? It is, in brief, twofold. The railroads are enabled to make their low rates between points where the river may be a possible competitor because of their ability to recoup on freight and passenger traffic to points which cannot be reached by water transportation.

The following are examples of the widespread discrimination: On a bale of cotton weighing 500 pounds the rate from Vicksburg on the Mississippi to Memphis is $1.35. From Rolling Fork, which is not on the river, to Memphis, the rate is $1.75. Rolling Fork being 44 miles north of Vicksburg, the haul, therefore, is shorter, though the rate is 30 per cent. higher.



HOW AN ARTIFICIAL BANK HOLDS THE RIVER

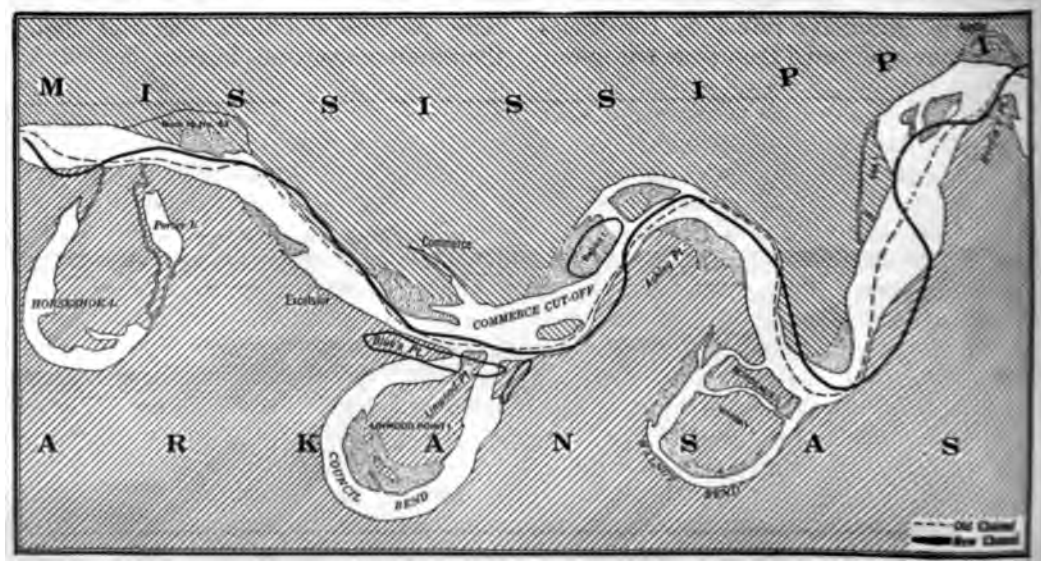
drawing shows the way in which a revetment mattress is sunk in place beneath the surface to stop erosion of the banks of the river



THE SHIFTING CHANNEL OF THE UNCONTROLLED MISSISSIPPI
The present-day channel (indicated by the black line) on a Government map of thirty years ago

From Friar's Point, which is on the river, to Memphis the rate is $1.10. From Clarksdale, southeast and inland from Friar's Point and almost the same distance south of Memphis, the rate on a bale is $1.37½, or 25 per cent. higher. In addition to that grievance there is the growing conviction, growing in the minds of some railroad men as well as in the supporters of inland navigation, that there is plenty of room side by side for a profitable traffic on both railroad and river.

The producing power of the country in agricultural raw materials and manufactures multiplies much faster than the facilities of rail transport can keep pace. The annual products of the Mississippi Valley amount in value to $15,000,000,000, an unthinkable sum but a sum productive of thought. Of this amount about one half



ANOTHER FREAK OF CHANNEL MAKING
In another stretch of the Mississippi River's course

16,000 MILES OF IDLE WATER TRACK

he map shows the great number of important cities that can now be reached or that can easily be cted by inland navigation. The black squares indicate the head of navigation on each river; the heavy line, the suggested deep-water route from Chicago to New Orleans; and the broken black line, canals. ccompanying article explains why this great system of cheap communication is practically unused ow it can be made to serve the commerce of the Nation

: value of farm products in the Delta. y dollar of this stupefying total is ed by the transportation rate by ı the surplus can be delivered to the ıming markets, and this total increases ally by leaps and bounds.

nsequently, in great centres like as City, St. Louis, Memphis, and Orleans, there have come in the past ıs car famines and consequent con- ɔn. The European war and its South ican by-product calling to us through anal are going to force the producing r of this country to a greater multiple any other influence that has been ght upon it during the last century. ıe present condition of the railroads are absolutely incapable of responding ch a development. A fraction of the y necessary to a railroad effort to re- l would lighten that congestion along ivers by taking off the bulk freight. e railroad is not altogether to be ed. It is often more convenient; it go after the farmer, which the river ɔt do except destructively; and it can and does harness up the river's usefulness to its own purposes.

Put yourself in the place of the average farmer in the Mississippi land. It costs him something more than 20 cents a ton per mile to haul his produce in wagons. Thus a given farmer who has to haul four miles to the station has his income lessened by the amount which would pay for loading it on the cars and carrying it 150 miles or putting it on a boat and taking it a thousand miles. For anything like an equal rate he is not going to haul his produce farther to the river than he has to haul it to the station.

The modern railroad corporation, with its enormous resources, is in a position to compete successfully with navigation companies or individual boat owners who generally have very limited resources and facilities. Railroads have also established rival boat or barge lines by means of which competition has been further discouraged, as in the case of the Delaware and Raritan Canal, controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the Long Island Sound traffic, which has been until recently a con-

PRESENT DEFENSES

The black lines indicate the levees designed to keep the river in its present course

DOUBLE-TRACKING THE MISSISSIPPI

A plan to provide two channels for the river and thus control it by dividing the stream flow. This is considered impractical by the commissioner engineers, but it has nevertheless many adherents in the Valley

FLOOD CONDITIONS

Which change the bars and banks of the river and make navigation difficult and expensive

stituent part of both the Pennsylvania and the New York, New Haven, & Hartford Railroad systems.

Whether it be in fighting, controlling, or navigating the Great River, this greatest of material problems now confronting the people of this country must in the future be approached in a manner different from that which has clogged progress in the past.

Before we can handle the problem as it should be handled the public must become conscious of the Mississippi, of its possibilities. We must become nationally conscious of the problem as we became nationally conscious of Panama or the need for an army and navy. It is not enough that the people along the river banks know the problem. The general public must recognize the problem as theirs.

Our national unpreparedness in military and naval affairs is not greater than our unpreparedness to meet this national problem. It is a national tendency to deal with every such big subject by appointing a commission, or delegating authority to investigate, and then cutting the commission adrift, forgetting all about its endeavors, and losing interest in its conclusions.

We have had enough of investigations; we have had enough reports, enough recriminations. The problems of river regulation and flood control are obscured by clouds of controversy and distorted by sectional jealousy. What we need is a settled policy for the Mississippi. It is not a question of how much it will cost to maintain such a policy: it is a question of how much it will cost not to maintain it. What we need is a Panama decision in this matter. What we need are Panama methods in dealing with the Great River.

PUTTING CHARACTER INTO THE COUNTIES

BY

WALTER A. DYER

Probably the most wasteful, inefficient, and therefore almost certainly corrupt governtal organization in the United States is the county. In most cases there is little rest in county government. It runs along without the stimulus of public scrutiny. counties have not in the main found themselves. But they are beginning to do so. bington County, Pa., and Rowan, Stanly, and Davie counties in North Carolina community buildings as rejuvenating agencies. Good roads have brought other ties to consciousness. A county health commissioner awoke another. There are y agencies that can do the work. The two articles that follow show how the county ital and the county library can become the agency of awakening.—THE EDITORS.]

A NEW KIND OF COUNTY HOSPITAL

AN IOWA DOCTOR, WITH A PERSONAL REALIZATION OF A VITAL NEED, TARTED A BIG MOVEMENT THAT HAS ALREADY FOUND EXPRESSION IN A NEW LAW AND THE FIRST TWO PUBLIC HOSPITALS IN RURAL COUNTIES

N CLAY COUNTY, northern Iowa, there is a country doctor with a vision and with the will to do. His name is E. E. Munger, and he lives in Spencer, a city of about 3,000 inhabi-s. He is a general practioner with a rural practice in the surrounding coun-

From him there came a cry out of the erness, and to him has been given the lege of leading American civilization a in advance. He is the inventor of the ty public hospital system now in ation in at least five states.

ke most country doctors he had lost y cases that might have been saved if ountry offered a man as fair a chance ife as the city affords. His sympathy out to these country patients and their lvantages oppressed him. He knew many of these rural deaths would be entable if there were adequate facili-at hand for proper surgical or medical ment. Since these facilities were lack-e was forced to see men and women children die unnecessarily, and he l tremendously.

out seven years ago, heartsore at lost lives that might have been saved, he started a long, hard fight, which he has partly won and partly lost, but in which he is bound to triumph in the end. It was a fight for public hospitals in rural counties.

"If hospitals are good for city people," he asked, "why not for country people?"

His experience had taught him to believe that public county hospitals, readily accessible to the country people, would save lives, make doctors more efficient, prevent malpractice, train nurses, teach hygiene to the community, increase longevity, and lower the rural death rate.

In 1909, Dr. Munger prepared a paper for the State Conference of Charities and Correction held at Davenport in November, entitled, "The County Public Hospital as an Economic and Educational Institution." It was the first presentation of a new idea, the first gun in a campaign not yet ended.

In this paper he called attention to a number of interesting facts. He pointed out, for example, that, of the 12,800 mothers who die annually in the United States during childbirth, a large proportion could be saved by proper care and scientific attention. He spoke of 30,276 babies dying from premature birth, and 10,052

from lack of care. "What do these figures stand for?" he asked. "Race suicide, race murder, or just plain carelessness?"

Since that time these figures have grown materially, and the fact remains that the country districts, where lack of care prevails, are responsible for a large proportion. The death-rate from typhoid is larger in the country than in the city, and typhoid is a disease demanding trained nursing. Appendicitis and other troubles requiring surgical treatment also flourish in the country where facilities are lacking.

The efficient county hospital offered the only hope; that was Dr. Munger's conviction. "There should be developed," he declared, "a public hospital system fashioned somewhat after the public school system, and our national health should be made an ever-increasing national asset"—a big idea for a country doctor to cherish.

Gradually his plan took form. He conceived the idea of a public hospital in every county in Iowa. In the counties not including a city hospital, he proposed a public hospital to be supported by a county tax and controlled by an elected board of trustees.

"There will be neither incentive nor opportunity to make such a hospital a money-making institution," he wrote. "Crime and graft in the form of illegal and unnecessary operations, wrong diagnoses for the sake of prolonged treatment, unwarranted division of fees, and other evils cannot go on undiscovered and unexposed. It will furnish its care at the lowest price requisite for proper maintenance; it will not concern itself with the fees of its physicians and surgeons except in those cases in which patients are subjects for charity. It may, however, frown on exorbitant and extortionate charges. It will be conducted on a strictly ethical basis and be made the health centre for a community—a centre from which health information will be disseminated by both precept and example. Its equipment will be complete with every facility for up-to-date work; it will have a pathological and bacteriological laboratory, which should be auxiliary to the laboratory of the state board of health. An ambulance service will be provided. A necessary and most important adjunct will be a training-school for nurses. An x-ray laboratory will confer great benefits on both patients and physicians." Such a hospital should be open to all who might need it, without regard to nationality, creed, or resources.

The need for such hospitals in Iowa seemed very apparent to Dr. Munger. The city hospitals were overcrowded, and were located chiefly along the eastern, southern, and western boundaries of the state. "For the whole interior of this great commonwealth," said he, "with approximately 2,000,000 people, there are only 799 hospital beds, or one bed for about every 3,000 persons. Authorities estimate that every civilized community requires one hospital bed for every 100 inhabitants."

Most cities of 15,000 inhabitants had hospitals, but not counties of 15,000. In Iowa 80 per cent. of the population lived in small towns and rural districts, and long, difficult journeys, often dangerous to a sick or injured person, separated most of them from hospital aid.

Dr. Munger's chief concern was naturally for a public hospital in his own county, but he discovered that in Iowa counties had no legal authority to build or maintain hospitals. Iowa's hospital law provided for the establishment of hospitals in cities of 5,000 or more people, and there were only twenty-five such cities in the state. To provide hospital benefits for the rural counties an enabling law was necessary; so Dr. Munger was forced to turn his attention to the subject of legislation.

This was a new and untried field for a country doctor, but he had enlisted for the war. He went down to Des Moines, and with the help of the state librarian drafted a bill providing that Iowa counties might, if so voting, establish hospitals, nurses' training schools, and facilities for treating tuberculosis, to the end that county hospitals might be established throughout the state "with equal rights to all and special privileges to none." It provided that the county supervisors might issue bonds and levy a tax for this purpose, not to exceed two mills on the dollar for a period of time not exceeding twenty years.

The bill was introduced into the Thirty-third Iowa Assembly on February 5, 1909. Senator John Foley of Chickasaw County

its sponsor in the Senate and B. F. Felt, of Clay County, in the House. It ed the Senate with comparative ease on uary 19th, but in the House it struck a . In the first place opposition arose in county of its birth. Dr. Munger had red the support of the Spencer Minister- Jnion, the local Woman's Club, and r organizations, and Representative went into the fight with a fixed pur- , but the physicians of Spencer attacked ill. A long, hard fight followed, but at within a week of the end of the session, Felt and Dr. Munger won. The bill was ed on March 31, 1909, and became a September 6th—the first specific lation for rural public hospitals enacted e United States.

nthusiastic individuals in several ities brought the hospital question be- the people, but Iowa conservatism pre- ed prompt action. Dr. Munger and rs saw the need for a campaign of edu- n. They appealed to Mr. Aretas E. ford, official lecturer on tuberculosis ected with the State Board of Health. pread the doctrine of peoples' hospitals ughout the state, but by the end of only one county—Washington—had n favorable action. Warm campaigns conducted in Buena Vista and Chero- counties, but a rural prejudice against s prevented constructive action.

ne county hospital proposition was also d down in Woodbury, Montgomery, t, Story, Decatur, Appanoose, Polk, other counties. Dr. Munger's own ty, Clay, rejected the opportunity.

it the work of Munger, Felt, and Kep- was not wholly in vain. Down in the heastern part of the state, in the older on, there were two counties which d Yes on the proposition and erected the two public county hospitals in America are open to all patients and to all ly qualified practioners of medicine.

Washington County the moving spirit Dr. C. A. Boice. He secured the tance of Mr. Kepford and the backing e County Medical Society. With the of Mr. Marsh W. Bailey, a local at- y, he drew up a plan for a one-mill for four years to produce a building and to be decreased later. The prop- osition was carried by a majority of 784 at the election on November 8, 1910.

A plot of eleven acres was presented to the county by Mr. and Mrs. William Perry Wells, in the southern part of the city of Washington, and here the pioneer county hospital was erected under the direction of Mr. Bailey, who was appointed chairman of the first board of trustees. It was dedicated and ready for occupancy July 15, 1912.

Owing to the generosity of churches, clubs, lodges, and individuals in furnishing the rooms, the board was able to spend the entire appropriation of about $30,000 in construction work. The hospital is 80 x 40 feet, built of reinforced concrete, brick, and stone, and is absolutely fireproof. It has three stories and basement, with nineteen private and two five-bed rooms, accommodating twenty-nine patients. The building is designed to furnish sunlight and adequate ventilation in every room. Every room has telephone and electric fan connections, and an indirect lighting system is used throughout. The floors are of terazzo and easily cleaned. Large, light operating, maternity, and sterilizing rooms are located on the third floor, equipped with the latest and most serviceable appliances, including two portable x-ray machines. On the first floor is a clinical laboratory. Dining-room, kitchen, and storage rooms are in the basement, presided over by a graduate in domestic science. There is also an elevator shaft in which an elevator is soon to be installed. Of the eleven acres of ground, two acres are in garden, which supplies the hospital with fresh vegetables.

On November 7, 1912, a Women's Auxiliary to the Washington County Hospital was organized and has proved most effective in furnishing supplies, etc. It now numbers 196 members.

A nurses' training school is conducted in connection with the hospital. The three-year course of instruction is considerably in excess of the requirements of the State Board of Health. Lectures and demonstrations are given by the nursing staff and physicians from September to June. During 1913-14 there were two pupils; during 1914-15 there have been five. The regular staff consists of the superintendent and two graduate nurses.

The first year, 131 patients and nine infants were cared for at a total cost of about $8,700 to the county; the second year 256 patients and nineteen infants were cared for at the same expense; in two and a half years the total had grown to 526 patients. The first year the deficit was $3,920; the second year it was $1,957. In a year or two more, it is hoped, the hospital will be self-supporting.

Already the Washington County hospital has more than justified its existence. Many patients have received skilled hospital treatment who would otherwise have been deprived of it, and incidentally the physicians and surgeons of the county have been growing more careful and efficient.

In near-by Jefferson County, Dr. James Frederick Clarke started a vigorous campaign with Mr. Kepford's assistance early in 1911 and secured the support of the local physicians. A special election was held on March 27th and the county, by a majority of 493, voted a bond issue and a half-mill tax for ten years. A board of seven trustees—all laymen—was organized April 4th. The tax levy yielded $27,000, and $4,200 was raised by subscription. Equipment valued at $8,000 was also donated.

The building was erected in Fairfield, the county seat, dedicated September 17, 1912, and opened October 2d.

In size and equipment the Jefferson County Hospital is similar to its neighbor. It is a three-story building with accommodations for twenty-five patients. It is not entirely fireproof like the Washington County Hospital, but in addition to its neighbor's equipment in operating, sterilizing, and laboratory rooms it owns a $1,700 x-ray apparatus, an ambulance, an electric elevator, and a sun porch for winter and summer use. Auxiliary societies have been formed and they furnish supplies.

The nurses' training school was organized November 1, 1912, and provides a three-year course leading to a full certificate. A nine-room cottage was rented near by and furnished as living quarters for the two graduate and five pupil nurses. The superintendent lives in the main building.

The report for the first fifteen months *showed 296* patients admitted, and twenty-*six births.* There were 174 surgical cases. The earnings for the period were $10,244 and the expenses $11,392, so that the net expense to the county for maintenance was only a little more than $1,000.

The hospital is open to all legal practitioners in the county on an equal footing. The board of trustees have complete authority, and there is an advisory committee of three physicians chosen by the County Medical Society.

These two hospitals are the only ones thus far that have been established under the Munger Law, except a special county tuberculosis and isolation sanitarium at Davenport, Scott County, established under Mr. Kepford's direction. It was opened July 4, 1914, cost $75,000, and has a capacity of forty patients. Woodbury County has voted $100,000 for a similar hospital at Sioux City, but definite action has not yet been taken. Constructive agitation is now being carried on in other counties.

But despite the tardiness with which Iowa has taken advantage of its county hospital law, the Munger idea is spreading. Indiana, Kansas, Texas, and North Carolina have all passed county hospital laws, and New York has a township hospital law which bears the Munger earmarks. South Dakota and one or two other states are planning to take early action.

In January, 1911, Dr. H. O. Hyatt of Kinston, N. C., started an agitation for county hospitals by writing articles for the newspapers. About a year later the Munger law was passed in North Carolina with some additions looking toward a broad, state-supervised, county health organization, which is now being put into operation by Dr. Rankin, head of the state board of health.

In 1913, after consulting with Dr. Munger, the Texas Board of Health prepared a bill requiring county hospitals in counties which include cities of 10,000 population or more, and permitting other counties to build them. This law was passed and was put into operation July 1, 1913. In one year four counties had taken favorable action—Bexar, Tarrant, Wichita, and El Paso.

In 1913 Representative J. W. Carnahan of Clay Center, Kansas, introduced a bill

ch was passed in March, 1913, by the
ısas legislature. It is almost identical
ı the Munger bill, but applies only to
ıties of less than 40,000 population or all
pt six counties which include large cities.
ıdiana's law is the same as Iowa's law
pt that provision is made for a veterin-
laboratory. At Columbus, Ind., a
'ement was recently launched for the
ding of a $100,000 county hospital.
hus the movement is growing. "I pre-
," said Dr. Munger, "that inside of
ıty years every state in the Union will
ɔt some public hospital system that
offer opportunities to all in the state,
ıding the rural population, and that
be under state supervision."
What is America's health problem?" he
. "Briefly, it is to prevent preventable
ase, cure curable disease, relieve suffer-
and prolong life. Toward the solution
his problem much is being done by
es and cities through more and more
ient health departments. But not-
ıstanding the advantages of natural
ronment, rural people have not the
e opportunity for health conservation
urban residents have. The object of the county hospital law is to make it possible for rural people to provide themselves with the same advantages that city people have in dealing with accident and disease."

The small county hospital offers trained care and good facilities near at hand, the prompt aid that often saves lives, and a short journey for the ill or injured. It offers its advantages at half the cost of equal care at home. It offers sunlight, pure air, freedom from smoke, noise, and dust, and the individual attention of trained nurses.

The public hospital is no longer a charity for the sick poor; it is a public requirement in country as well as in city. It is no longer a house of mystery, but a shelter for its own proprietors. Furthermore, the county hospital may be made the centre of an important work in the dissemination of hygienic knowledge.

This is the big movement that an Iowa country doctor has started. It is in line with the other movements looking toward the better organization of country life in America—in all its social, educational, and economic phases.

THE SPREAD OF COUNTY LIBRARIES

V VAN WERT COUNTY, O., HAS SOLVED THE PROBLEM OF THE DISTRIBUTION F GOOD READING AMONG ISOLATED RURAL COMMUNITIES BY MEANS OF A COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY WITH BRANCHES IN THE COUNTRY STORES AND COLLECTIONS OF BOOKS IN THE COUNTRY SCHOOLS

T IS doubtful if 5 per cent. of our total population ever read books or magazines. In our more progressive cities the percentage of readers has been greatly increased by the efforts of icipal public libraries to serve the ıle, but in the country—representing ıt 55 per cent. of our population—the age often falls frightfully near to zero. Much more than half the men, women, children of the United States live in the ı country and in the smaller towns and s out of the reach of the city libraries," ıres Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States missioner of Education. "Probably 70 per cent. of the entire population of the country have no access to any adequate collection of books or to a public reading room. In only about one third of the counties of the United States is there a library of 5,000 volumes or more. In only about 100 of these do the village and country people have free use of the libraries. In this, as in so many other things, the people who need help most and who would be most benefited by it have been neglected."

Only one hundred rural reading depots in the United States that are really doing their job! One hundred libraries to serve

fifty million people! Is it any wonder that not one American in twenty is a reader? Is it any wonder that publishers find the problem of distribution increasingly difficult? Is it strange that the national Bureau of Education and the American Library Association, not to mention Mr. Carnegie and his advisers, should have awakened at last to the crying need for rural libraries?

In New England, and to some extent elsewhere, endowed village libraries are a common solution of the problem; but they presuppose the existence—or death—of a benefactor, and through them the town becomes an object of philanthropy and paternalism, which is not a system to be advocated or extended if we have at heart the best interests of American democracy The little local subscription library, on the other hand, is too weak and too narrow in its scope to offer a general solution, and the taxable property of most country towns and villages is not sufficient to enable them to support good public libraries unaided.

The answer is to be found in the central library owned by county or township, according to local conditions, and operating an adequate number of rural branches or sub-stations to insure direct contact with all the people. The county has been generally accepted as the ideal library unit, though there are sections of the country where the township or some other unit would be preferable. In Wyoming, for example, there are counties larger than the state of Rhode Island, but their population may be smaller than that of a New York township. It will be understood, therefore, that the term "county library" may be changed to "township library" where local conditions demand the more restricted unit.

"The only help for all," says Dr. Claxton, "is in the county library, supported by taxes levied on all the taxable property of the county, managed by trained librarians, and having branches in all the towns, villages, and schools of the county." For poor counties there should be state aid.

California is at present the leader in this field with twenty-seven active county libraries, most of them established since 1910. County library laws have also been passed in Ohio, Wyoming, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Maryland, Washington, Oregon, Nebraska, New York, and Iowa. All but three of these states provide for a county tax. In New York, Wisconsin, and Minnesota the county commissioners are permitted to make appropriations which in Wisconsin and Minnesota have a limit of $500 annually. The movement has also taken root in Indiana, Illinois, and Texas, and early action is expected in a few other states. Minnesota has eleven county libraries, Wyoming nine, and Ohio eight, the other states following with fewer. School district libraries are receiving the greatest encouragement and most adequate support in Oregon. In Indiana the township has been generally adopted for rural library organization.

Many of these states have passed their laws and started the county library movement within the last four or five years, so that it might be considered too early to form an estimate of the efficiency of the plan were it not for the striking success of three or four county libraries in the Middle West, of which the one at Van Wert, O., was the pioneer and is still perhaps the best example. Started nearly ten years before the birth of the California movement, it has been actively and comprehensively serving an entire rural county since January 1, 1901, and has raised the proportion of readers among its constituency from the deadly 5 per cent. to at least 55 per cent., and probably much more. The population of Van Wert County is about 30,000. In 1914 there were more than 16,000 borrowers. More than 92,000 books were circulated.

How have such results been obtained? Van Wert, though particularly favored in some few respects, has done nothing beyond the powers of the average rural county, South, East, or West. The county lies in the northwestern part of Ohio. Its 400 square miles are divided into twelve townships. Its population, when the 1910 census was taken, was 29,119, mostly Americans of English, German, and Welsh descent, besides about 400 Negroes of the more industrious type. It is a strictly rural county, containing only two towns of more than 1,000 inhabitants, the largest being Van Wert with about 8,000. There is no large city near, and the county is pre-

dominantly agricultural. Of its 259,497 acres, 229,580 are under cultivation. Considerably more than half the population live on farms. So much to indicate the nature of the field.

The library movement had its modest beginnings in 1891, when a dozen ladies in the little city of Van Wert organized a reading-room association. In 1893 this had become a subscription library, and the Van Wert Library Association was incorporated. By 1894 they had accumulated 600 books and a fund of $600 and they decided to throw open their library to the public. A room was hired and was opened in September, 1894, with a librarian in charge.

In 1896 the City Council voted a tax levy of three tenths of a mill for the library, which netted $559 a year, and it was made a free city library. There were still only 1,400 books, and money was needed for more, so that the Library Association continued to raise funds by solicitation and by giving entertainments.

One of the most generous and constant patrons of the library was Mr. John Sanford Brumback, a Van Wert merchant and banker who had grown up and prospered with the community. He became vitally interested in the future of the library and conceived the idea of extending its activities and benefits to include not only the town of Van Wert, but the entire county. He developed the outline of a plan for a county library and considered the erection of a building adequate for this purpose, but failing health made it impossible for him to carry out his intention.

Mr. Brumback died in December, 1897, leaving a will in which he provided for the erection of a substantial library building on the condition that none of his heirs—two sons and two daughters—should raise any objection. They not only voted unanimously to accept this provision, but actively set about to carry out their father's wishes. They drew up a contract to be entered into by the Brumback heirs, the Library Association, the city of Van Wert, and the county commissioners, providing for the erection of the building by the heirs and its donation to the county, an agreement on the part of the county to support the library by a half-mill tax, the turning over to the county of the books and property of the Library Association, and the permission of the city to erect the building in its central park. It further provided for the management of the library by a non-partisan board of trustees, two to be appointed by the Library Association, three by the county commissioners, and two by the Brumback heirs, the Common Council of Van Wert City to make the appointments in the event of any of the parties failing to do so. The trustees were to serve for overlapping terms of three years each.

This proposal was promptly accepted by the city of Van Wert and by the Library Association. The county commissioners were unable legally to do so, and Mr. Orville S. Brumback, one of the heirs and a former member of the state legislature from Toledo, prepared a bill making it lawful for Ohio county commissioners to bind their counties to the support of libraries by taxation. This bill was introduced March 25, 1898. Its passage was vigorously urged by the Pomona Grange and other organizations of Van Wert County and it became a law April 26, 1898. This was the first effective county library law to be passed in the United States.

Some opposition to the tax arose in the county through a misunderstanding of the scope of the plan, but this soon disappeared and on July 30, 1898, the county commissioners voted to sign the contract and to levy the half-mill tax.

The cornerstone of the Brumback Library was laid with Masonic ceremonies on July 18, 1899. It was a big day for Van Wert. Business houses closed their doors and the whole community turned out. The streets were gay with bunting and hundreds of country people drove in to witness the parade and listen to the speeches. And it was a big day for the United States of America, too, for Van Wert laid the cornerstone of an institution that some day will probably extend over the entire Nation.

The building was erected at a cost of about $50,000—a substantial stone structure, with steel-truss, tile-covered roofs. The commodious interior provided space for 40,000 volumes, and included a main reading room, two-story stack, basement, and rooms for the librarian and the trustees, and for juvenile and reference works.

The Brumback Library was dedicated January 1, 1901, and was opened to the public on January 28th. Thus a building and a library of 1,800 volumes became county property before a cent of the taxpayers' money had been spent. The first year $5,000 was available for new books and running expenses. Since then this amount has been increased, but in recent years the county has not been called upon to appropriate the full sum allowed by law. In 1913 the total expenditures of the library amounted to $8,500.

Previous to the opening of the library the trustees engaged a trained library organizer, Miss Janet M. Green of Chicago, to put into operation a circulation system and to catalogue the 1,800 books turned over by the Library Association. After the first of the year 2,700 more volumes were purchased and a permanent librarian was engaged.

The first borrower's card was made out to Mrs. Brumback, widow of the donor of the building. Scores of patrons came in the first day, and in three days about 300 books had been drawn out. One farmer drove in eleven miles with a list of books that he wanted to read.

As soon as the work of the central library was well underway the trustees turned their attention to the task of extending its benefits throughout the county. They found no precedents for their work, no model to guide them. It was their duty to provide reading for all the residents of the county, however remote from the county seat, and they realized that Mahomet would not come to the mountain: the mountain must go to Mahomet.

The establishment of sub-stations or branch libraries was the logical procedure, and the first steps were taken early in 1901. The town of Willshire, one of the most remote points in the county, was the first to receive a collection of books. On February 19th about 100 volumes were installed in a bookcase in a Willshire hardware store. Other branches were established as rapidly as satisfactory arrangements could be made, not only in the towns but at convenient cross-roads points. The books were intrusted to the care of storekeepers and postmasters, who at first performed their duties as branch librarians without pay. In a few months, however, it was decided that the work would be better done and necessary requirements could be more freely exacted of the branch custodians if they should receive a small salary. The trustees consequently voted to pay $50 a year to each in semi-annual instalments.

During 1901 an experimental system was devised for passing on the collections from station to station, and 1,000 books were purchased for the branches, to be returned to the shelves of the central library after going the rounds. This plan was soon modified so that each branch librarian must return his collection to the central library for inspection, repairs, and recording before it was sent to the next station. A date schedule was carefully worked out to secure the best possible results. A total of 2,800 volumes were sent to the nine branches established the first year.

At the end of 1901 the library owned 6,750 volumes, and the average circulation for the year was 107 books a day.

In 1902 other branches were established and an assistant librarian was engaged to take charge of this department. Still more branches were opened in 1903 and 1904, and the system and the schedules of distribution were improved. In 1906 another lot of 2,000 books was purchased for the branches and in 1908 a system of circulating periodicals through the stations was introduced. This system was improved in 1910, so that now the farmers of Van Wert County have the privilege of reading with a fair degree of regularity such publications as Harper's, Scribner's, The Century, The World's Work, and St. Nicholas.

There are now fifteen active branches, geographically well distributed, located at Willshire, Ohio City, Convoy, Middle Point, Venedocia, Cavett, Dasie, Wetsel, Glenmore, Converse, Scott, Dixon, Wren, Elgin, and in the public library at Delphos.

Not to go too deeply into the details of the distribution system and date schedules, it is sufficient to say that sixteen boxes of about 125 books each are kept constantly in service, four of which are renewed each year. At the larger stations these are regularly supplemented by additional collections. Each box contains a balanced collection of juvenile, fiction, and general

rks, for which the branch custodians are ponsible until their return. Each tion is supplied with a bookcase, cards, nted lists, and other accessories.

The efforts of the Brumback Library to ourage reading in the remotest sections the county have borne gratifying fruit. this means scores of isolated families 're been placed in contact with the world's t thought. Hundreds of men, women, l children, previously deprived of the 'antages of good reading, have been ched and influenced by this rational, tax-'ported agency.

Another development of the extension 'k of the Brumback Library has been in nection with the schools. The work of rural schools and the schools of the ıll towns of the county, resulting in a :ulation even greater than that of the nches, is now an important element in the ivities of the library and is cared for in a cial department under a special assistant. n 1902 a request came from the superin-dent of the Van Wert city school for :hers' cards. The request was granted l the privilege was extended to all the :hers in the county. Clergymen and er special workers are now included. By end of 1903 fifty-two teachers' cards been issued.

n 1907 the total number of special cards stered numbered 192, and many of the nty schools used collections ranging n ten to fifty books. A special county ool collection of 678 volumes was ıblished and was supplemented by more n three hundred volumes from the tral library.

'his department became more and more ular, and in 1912 sixty-seven school aries were in use, and the school col-ion had been increased to 3,200 volumes. : circulation showed a gain of 8,500 in year. During 1913 more than 4,200 ımes were lent to teachers in the nty, and by 1915 ninety of the 113 ools outside of Van Wert city had availed nselves of the privilege of obtaining ool libraries, representing more than ıo unregistered borrowers.

A new law in Ohio requires that every rural school in the state shall have a collection of at least fifty books, so that all 113 of the Van Wert county schools will now avail themselves of the advantages of the Brumback Library, affecting 6,000 pupils.

In addition to the rural schools the city schools have been served. The library is regularly used for reference by the 340 high school pupils, and a reading course is now a high-school requirement.

In the other city schools, a carefully selected collection of ten volumes is placed in each of the sixteen rooms representing the first four grades, and the books are lent by the teachers to the children for home reading. These collections are exchanged every two months. During last school year the circulation on these 160 books was 4,332, or twenty-seven circulations for each book.

It has been the policy of the Brumback Library at all times to have a trained librarian at its head. The staff now includes five efficient workers besides the janitor. They act not only as library operatives but as missionaries of good reading throughout the county, answering all manner of inquiries, addressing teachers' institutes, and visiting the schools and branch stations.

The library now owns 25,897 volumes. The total circulation for 1914 was 92,026, including 46,432 for the central library, 15,368 for the branches, and 25,844 for the county schools. The total showed a net gain of 1,173 over 1913. Total number of borrowers, 16,197.

Since the establishment of the Brumback Library Van Wert County has experienced an awakening all along the line. Good county pikes, county parks, a county fair, a county hospital, and a county Chautauqua are among the evidences of its progressiveness. To these are soon to be added an endowed county Y. M. C. A. and an endowed county Y. W. C. A.

Van Wert County has provided for its most isolated citizens an open road to the world of books. Its achievement is an encouragement to the friends of popular education in America.

"COMBINATION SALESMEN" AND RED TAPE IN FOREIGN TRADE

BY

WALTER F. WYMAN

The WORLD'S WORK *will publish every month an article dealing with the concrete problems of the increase in our export trade. The magazine is led to do this by the evident widespread interest shown all over the United States in the possibilities of export trade, and the specific interest in this subject shown by the readers of this magazine in the answers to a circular letter sent to a group of subscribers, most of whom are not directly connected with manufacturing or exporting, in all parts of the country.*—THE EDITORS.

IN A recent letter a manufacturer in Missouri raises the question of red tape in exporting and the advisability of several firms employing one salesman to represent them in foreign markets.

"We have been investigating," he says, "the question of selling goods in South America and have been repeatedly urged to join with other manufacturers in sending a salesman there by various trade institutions of which we are members.

"We had practically decided to do this against our best judgment when we happened to learn through a personal friend that another American manufacturer, who was selling a large amount of goods in these countries, was doing so at a loss, proved by the fact that certain goods, which we certainly can make as cheaply as he can, were being sold at exactly what they cost our factory to manufacture.

"We have always understood that this manufacturer was considered to have a profitable export trade, and this was the main reason why we were willing to consider the joint salesman idea.

"Can you suggest any reason why this competitor (in justice to him it must be said he does not throw away money at home) should see any future profit in selling at present at a loss?" . . .

The answer to this question is simple, and it is only because Americans as a rule envelope export trade in an air of mystery that it did not occur to the questioner.

The goods mentioned consist largely of imported materials shipped in imported containers, on both of which there is a heavy duty. As the duty is imposed on the assumption that the goods are to be used in this country, it follows that when the goods are exported the duty is returned.

By what is known as "drawback," the exporter obtains a refund of 99 per cent. of the duty paid, which permits him to compete on even terms, so far as freedom from duty is concerned, with foreign competitors. While, therefore, the competitor was apparently selling at a loss, he was really enjoying a fair profit.

In considering the use of combination salesmen, as in all export matters, it is important to consider exporting as a purely commonsense proposition. There is nothing dark, deep, or mysterious about it. The very people who make it a means of livelihood will be the first to admit it, but it does require a willingness to employ the best business judgment and as great an expenditure as would insure success at home.

Because it is advisable to know something of the people to whom one is selling (just as a salesman in a big city would not use the same arguments with a corner grocer that he would with the buyer of a huge chain of stores), export trade should never be a plaything. It requires the best intelligence of any business to secure the best results, and unless a firm is willing to train its employees to realize that details are important and the goal worth reaching it had far better confine its endeavors to

territory where they would insist on the correctness of similar beliefs.

Probably no one method of securing foreign sales can claim such ardent advocates and at the same time irate opponents as the use of a "joint" or "combination" salesman. This is due to the fact that the best combination salesmen are jewels beyond price and very often secure for the firms they represent the full possibilities of their goods while keeping the expense down to a minimum. On the other hand, the worst are the most fraudulent of frauds, some of whom not only cause monetary losses to the firms they "misrepresent," but destroy the reputation of the firms as well.

The ideal combination salesman is one who, after repeated trips over foreign territory, builds up a demand for six or eight allied products each of which helps sell the others and all of which appeal to the same general class of merchants.

It is not uncommon for such a salesman to secure a greater volume of business than individual representatives for the six firms, simply because he is able to supply complete equipment and not merely a section. Furthermore, his own reputation is an asset for all the goods he sells, and will ensure trial orders for anything that he recommends.

Of the fraudulent type of combination salesman the most audacious spends the bulk of his time in the United States going from firm to firm and by his knowledge, acquired in one or more foreign trips, is able to put up a convincing and interesting argument for undertaking export trade and for employing him as one of the sales staff. There are two variations at this stage, the first of which is actually to leave the country representing as many manufacturers as possible (in one case ninety) and disposing in the first city of the samples of all except the easiest goods to sell. Later he would present in each city only the goods which particularly appealed, meanwhile making up by voluminous reports any lack of orders for the other products. Thus he would keep up the stream of weekly expense accounts, which, no matter how many firms are contributing, is "one-sixth," as for some unknown reason these fraudulent export salesmen almost invariably claim that they will handle only six lines and divide the expenses equally.

The second variation of the fraudulent system is to refuse any advance for expenses or commission, leaving that to be paid on the return from a year's trip and payable only after the firms concerned have collected the money from goods sold. After the contract has been duly signed the traveler points out the fact that there are commercial license fees in practically every country he will visit, that a modest minimum would be three hundred or four hundred dollars, and that naturally he cannot be expected to advance these besides advancing his own expenses. The argument appears logical and a number of firms have actually contributed from fifty to several hundred dollars to the inventor of this fraudulent scheme.

The defense against a fraudulent endeavor of this kind lies in looking at the proposals in the broad daylight of common sense, unobscured by any "export" dreams.

The references of the combination salesman should be examined and the names of every firm whose goods he has ever handled requested. With these, and the natural exchange of letters, as well as application to the leading export organizations for corroboration, it is almost certain that any illicit endeavor will be detected. In the case of the combination salesman who desires advance for fees, a simple defense could be to advise him that you will cable the amount to the American consul at each port, asking the latter to release the money on proof of identity and proof that payment was requested by the local authorities.

It is not at all uncommon for a legitimate export traveler to report cases of combination salesmen carrying thirty or forty sample trunks, of which they bring into the cities visited only the ones whose contents they find are best sellers after they have made a trip around town.

It is easy to see how such a fraudulent salesman can obtain recommendations from the goods which sell most easily, and it is this reason which makes it essential in investigating a combination salesman to do so most thoroughly.

A manufacturer in Columbus, O., came as near solving the combination salesman problem as is perhaps possible, by converting to the export idea five non-competing manufacturers of goods which appealed to general merchants and offering to secure a capable salesman who was to receive three weeks' training at each plant before leaving on a year's trip to the Far East. He was careful to select goods which did not demand a great amount of time for presentation and ones which would not compare unfavorably with one another in importance. To familiarize the salesman with export matters, he secured the services of an experienced export man in Columbus while each manufacturer attended to the coaching on his particular product. The plan was successful and other combination salesmen are being trained by these firms.

It is generally believed, however, that the individual salesman is the most powerful merchandising force and the most economical for the great majority of firms, but many firms can be well served by a combination salesman, and any firm unable to see a profit on an exclusive direct representative should carefully consider the use of a joint salesman to bring back orders.

Another matter causes much needless perplexity and some unjustified irritation to many Americans when they first enter the field of export trade. They complain bitterly of what they term the "senseless red tape" that is involved in the transacting of foreign business. An illustration of the paradoxical mental attitude of manufacturers toward domestic and export trade was shown at a convention in New York, where one manufacturer from Detroit spoke with contempt of a competitor who violated, in ignorance, the Brooks Law in New York State, which requires net contents to be marked on each packing case, but asserting: "We ought to clean up those niggers down South. They fined me two hundred dollars in Venezuela because we invoiced as quarts a shipment of 'five to the gallon' bottles."

The very firms that are the first to refer to their attorneys any questions arising from business in a new state in the Union are often the ones to assume that even peculiar statutes of their own state apply to every foreign country, and yet, by a singular perversity, assert "exporting is different" and endeavor to make profits by methods which have proved deficit makers in every century.

A firm which by direct violation of the request of a purchaser in Calcutta caused him to lose fifty dollars refused to assume the responsibility, claiming that they had invoiced the goods exactly as they would at home; and yet that very firm was daily invoicing goods for large domestic corporations on forms furnished by these customers which involved far more work and a far more radical procedure than the simple request for the correct grouping of items of the Calcutta merchant, which request they wilfully disregarded.

There is red tape to export, but there is red tape in domestic business, and it can be safely said that when the various inspections and investigations of civic, state, and national nature and the various returns involved in corporations, income tax, employer's liability, and kindred formalities are considered, exporting will show less red tape than will a similar volume of domestic business.

Nor is it a necessary corollary that export red tape is expensive. Millions of dollars' worth of export business, with its attendant formalities, are being handled by low priced clerks, for it is a matter of knowledge, not of judgment, and this knowledge, once recorded, involves the simplest kind of clerical work.

Such formalities as "certificates of origin" and "consular declarations" sound formidable, but the first is usually a rubber stamp and the signature of some authorized employee, while the latter is hardly more than the typing of a few lines copied from a correct record.

The fear of the complications of drafts in connection with foreign shipments has led a number of firms to act against their own best interests, whereas it would have involved less than a minute's work to fill out the drafts, and the rest of the "complicated procedure" is to attach them to other papers already prepared and turn them over to a local bank for mailing.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

AN AERIAL FERRY
For transporting automobiles across a river in New Mexico

AN AUTOMOBILE CABLEWAY

A CABLEWAY across a river in New Mexico has been erected for the transportation of automobiles. The method, in this case, was found to be more practical than ferrying, due to nature of the shore on either side. The automobiles are carried on a platform which is suspended from the cables and which is moved from bank to bank by a system of ropes and pulleys.

BONDING DRILL
ed to be operated
y by hand power

HAND-OPERATED BONDING DRILL

THE bonding drill shown here has two speeds, the movement of the bit forward and backward being effected by means of a shifting rod, operated by opening or closing the hand, without reversing the direction of the driving handle. The handles are adjustable, and by means of an adjustable foot-plate the machine may be raised or lowered so that when the hooks are adjusted the spindle will be in a horizontal position at all times. Also, the rail clamp is easily adjustable for rails of different width.

A PORTABLE SEARCHLIGHT

A SEARCHLIGHT which can easily be carried on a man's back is a novel and useful invention made in Sweden and widely used by the Germans in their campaigns in the present war. The ease with which the searchlight may be transported rapidly from place to place

A HUMAN TORCH
A portable searchlight used in the German Army

THE "GLARIMETER"
A device which measures accurately the gloss of paper

renders the invention, in a night attack, particularly valuable either for an attacking party or in defense against an attack.

MEASURING THE GLOSS OF PAPER

THE recognition of gloss as a characteristic of paper makes it a matter of importance to have some accurate way of measuring it, and an instrument, recently devised for the Forest Products Laboratory of the United States Department of Agriculture, accomplishes the purpose.

The machine, which is called the "glarimeter," consists of a tube at the lower end of which is a small polarizing prism of the "Lippich" type, and by its side a piece of light smoked glass. At the upper end is a Nicol prism, so mounted that it can be rotated and its position read accurately. The light comes from a small window,

ON A GLOSSY SURFACE
Showing how glare diminishes the contrast between black letters and white paper

ON A DULL SURFACE
Showing how the black printed letters stand out from the dull-faced paper

nd which is a tungsten lamp, and falls he paper at an angle of 57 degrees. n the Lippich prism is so set that it ides entirely the glare, or polarized ponent of the light, from the paper, one on looking into the eyepiece of the in- ment, a small circle of light, divided by prism and the smoked glass, into two es, generally differently illuminated. urning the eyepiece the two halves can rought to the same brightness and a ing of the circle then allows one to de- ine the relation of glare and diffused under these conditions. This is taken measure of the gloss of the paper, which then be specified on a percentage scale.

AN ELECTRIC VEGETABLE PARING MACHINE

THE time and labor required for peeling vegetables and the waste of substance in the operation of ng by hand have been greatly lessened he simple and effective machine de- d here. A peck of vegetables can be d by this machine in one minute. The hine consists of a bowl with an abrasive g. This bowl, into the centre of which eam of water is discharged and in which egetables to be peeled are placed, is re- ed by a small motor. The centrifugal ement causes each vegetable to strike nst the abrasive lining. The water ns the skins of the vegetables, and act with the rough surface quickly es the skin off. The water, passing ugh the machine, carries off all the dirt refuse, leaving the vegetables smooth clean. The only hand work required the removal of the eyes in potatoes, or leaning of indentations too deep to be ed by the mechanical process. When paring is completed the operator lifts loor and allows the vegetables to drop a receiving pan.

AYING CABLES WITH A PLOW

MORE than 11,000 feet of arc cable has been recently laid in Hunting Park, Philadelphia, without the use ck or shovel. Thirty-six standard 25- steel lamp poles were erected in this and connected to underground cables. All the cables were plowed in, except where drives were crossed under which conduit was buried. The method consists of attaching the cable to the rear end of a torpedo-

FOR PARING VEGETABLES

A machine which eliminates the waste and drudgery of peeling vegetables by hand

shaped pilot on the bottom of a straight blade, deep-soil, cast-steel plow, which is drawn through the ground by a portable gasolene-driven winch, operating on a steel running rope.

A CABLE-LAYING PLOW

A PORTABLE DISINFECTING APPARATUS

FOR combatting the plague of typhus fever, which is spread by vermin, and which has been sweeping through the armies of Austria and Servia, a former professor in the College of Physicians and Surgeons at New York has devised a portable sterilizing machine. The apparatus, which weighs about 6,000 pounds, and which is to be drawn by four horses, consists of a sterilizing chamber with a high pressure boiler, fuel box, and water tank, with a sliding carriage in which the uniforms of fifty men can be sterilized at one time. High pressure steam is pumped into the chamber from the boiler and the contents are sterilized in thirty minutes and then are automatically dried. Working ten hours a day, one machine will provide for 1,000 men. The apparatus is equipped with formaldehyde gas and ammonia as well as with steam.

FOR COMBATTING TYPHUS FEVER

An American invention for sterilizing the uniforms of soldiers. Many of these machines were shipped to Servia to assist in the successful sanitary campaign in that country

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1915

Rear-Admiral William B. Caperton - - - - - - - - - *Frontispiece*

THE MARCH OF EVENTS—AN EDITORIAL INTERPRETATION - - 623

Mr. Frank Lyon Polk
Mr. José Pardo
Baron Conrad von Hoetzendorf
Field Marshal Erich G. A. S. von Falkenhayn
The Eighth Annual Conference of Governors
Galveston During and After its Recent Storm
China Preparing for National Defense

Our Relations With Germany
Dr. Dumba's Dismissal
Sincere Diplomacy
Cotton, Contraband, and American Rights
Issues of the Next Election
Restoring a Republic
Our Task in Mexico
The Unworkable Seamen's Act
Immigration When the War Ends
Lynching and Illiteracy

THE WAR, WALL STREET, AND WATER - - - - - - - - - 638
YOUR GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE WAR DEPARTMENT - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 642
WHO'S WHO IN MEXICO - - - - - - - - FRENCH STROTHER 647
WAR CHIEFS OF THE ARMY (Illustrated) - - - - - - - - - 652
THE MILITARY BALANCE SHEET IN EUROPE - - - - - - - 673
A SUMMING UP OF THE WAR AT SEA - - - - - - - - - - 680
GERMANY'S EXIT FROM AFRICA - - - - LEWIS R. FREEMAN 689
THE ELECTRIFICATION OF EVERYTHING (Illustrated)
FREDERICK TODD 696
AN AMERICAN'S IMPRESSIONS IN RUSSIA (Illustrated)
ROBERT R. MCCORMICK 709
A LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE - - - A. LAWRENCE LOWELL 718
THE INTELLECTUAL STIMULUS OF THE WAR THEODORE H. PRICE 721
CHINA'S FIGHTING BLOOD UP - - - - - - WILLARD PRICE 725
HELPING FOREIGN MERCHANTS TO SELL AMERICAN GOODS
WALTER F. WYMAN 730
MAN AND HIS MACHINES (Illustrated) - - - - - - - - - - 733
BUSINESS TALKS - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Advertising Section*

TERMS: $3.00 a year; single copies, 25 cents. For Foreign Postage add $1.00; Canada 60 cents. Published monthly. Copyright, 1915, by Doubleday, Page & Company.

All rights reserved. Entered at the Post Office at Garden City, N. Y., as second-class mail matter.

Unsolicited manuscripts are welcomed by the editors and are carefully read. They cannot, however, be returned unless they are accompanied by the proper amount of postage.

F. N. DOUBLEDAY, Pres. H. S. HOUSTON, Vice-Pres. S. A. EVERITT, Treas. RUSSELL DOUBLEDAY, Sec'y.

DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY

COUNTRY LIFE IN AMERICA THE GARDEN MAGAZINE—FARMING

CHICAGO: Peoples Gas Bldg. GARDEN CITY, N. Y. NEW YORK: 11-13 W. 32d Street

REAR-ADMIRAL WILLIAM B. CAPERTON

WHO HAS ESTABLISHED ORDER IN THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI, SUPERVISED AN ELECTION, AND TAKEN OVER THE CUSTOMS HOUSES OF THE COUNTRY FOR AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION

[See page 934

THE
WORLD'S WORK

OCTOBER, 1915

VOLUME XXX NUMBER 6

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

LINERS will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of non-combatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance."

That statement of Ambassador Bernstorff is what the American public wanted. It would have had a longer and better flavor if the *Hesperian* had not followed the *Arabic* to the bottom. It would have been more welcome had it reached us promptly after the destruction of the *Lusitania*. A decent and humane behavior to begin with would have been still more welcome.

Moreover, when the German Government's note on the *Arabic* arrived it turned out, as many had suspected, that the full and frank tone of the ambassador's statement was not duplicated. The German note said only that orders had been issued to German submarines not to sink liners without provocation, but added that if by mistake or otherwise liners were sunk without provocation Germany would not be responsible. The note said:

> The German Government is unable to acknowledge any obligation to grant indemnity in the matter, even if the commander should have been mistaken as to the aggressive intentions of the *Arabic*.
>
> If it should prove to be the case that it is impossible for the German and American governments to reach a harmonious opinion on this point, the German Government would be prepared to submit the difference of opinion, as being a question of international law, to The Hague Tribunal for arbitration . . .
>
> In so doing, it assumes that, as a matter of course, the arbitral decision shall not be admitted to have the importance of a general decision on the permissibility . . . under international law of German submarine warfare.

So far, then, Germany has not officially admitted the rights of our citizens to travel on ships of belligerents. Germany has issued an order not to blow up unoffending liners. But if, nevertheless, liners are blown up illegally and Americans killed the German Government is sorry and we may take the case to The Hague, with the proviso that if the decision at The Hague is in our favor it will have no general application to future cases.

This is not satisfactory, nor does it increase our belief in the ultimate satisfactory solution of our relations with Germany.

The *Lusitania* went down on May 7th, and Germany has sent us several notes but has given us no accounting for the deaths of our citizens. The *Arabic* was torpedoed and American citizens again lost their lives and we have no reparation offered nor are our rights admitted.

In dealing with Germany patience may cease to be a virtue.

Copyright, 1915, by Doubleday, Page & Co. All rights reserved.

MR. FRANK LYON POLK

Copyright by Brown Bros.

WHO WAS RECENTLY APPOINTED COUNSELOR OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, THE POST FROM WHICH MR. LANSING WAS PROMOTED WHEN HE BECAME SECRETARY OF STATE. MR. POLK WAS CORPORATION COUNSEL OF NEW YORK CITY BEFORE HIS APPOINTMENT

Copyright by Underwood & Underwood

MR. JOSÉ PARDO

PRESIDENT OF PERU FROM 1904 TO 1908, WHO WAS RECENTLY INAUGURATED FOR A SECOND TERM. IN HIS FORMER ADMINISTRATION HE ADDED GREATLY TO THE TELEGRAPH AND RAILROAD LINES, THE EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, AND THE ARMY AND NAVY OF PERU

BARON CONRAD VON HOETZENDORF (CENTRE)

CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE AUSTRIAN ARMY, CONVERSING WITH KAISER WILHELM OF GERMANY

FIELD MARSHAL ERICH G. A. S. VON FALKENHAYN (CENTRE)

THE GERMAN CHIEF OF STAFF, WHO WAS CHIEFLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE STRATEGY OF THE TEUTONIC DRIVE INTO RUSSIA, THOUGH THE CONFERENCE AT WHICH THE PLAN WAS DEVISED WAS ATTENDED BY THE KAISER, COUNT CONRAD VON HOETZENDORF (THE AUSTRIAN CHIEF OF STAFF), AND GENERALS VON HINDENBURG AND VON MACKENSEN. FIELD MARSHAL VON FALKENHAYN IS CONVERSING WITH ARCHDUKE FREDERICK OF AUSTRIA

Copyright by American Press Association

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF GOVERNORS

WATCHING A NAVAL REVIEW IN MASSACHUSETTS BAY ABOARD ADMIRAL FLETCHER'S FLAGSHIP "WYOMING". THEY WERE IN SESSION FOR THE FOUR DAYS AUGUST 24TH TO 27TH IN BOSTON, WHERE THEY DISCUSSED CHIEFLY THE RELATIONS OF THE STATE GOVERNMENTS TO THE PROBLEMS OF CONSERVATION AND THE NATIONAL DEFENSE

GALVESTON DURING AND AFTER ITS RECENT STORM

THOUGH THE WATER WAS SEVERAL FEET DEEP IN THE STREETS AND THE WIND PROBABLY AS HIGH AS IN THE GREAT FLOOD OF 1900, THE BREAKWATER AND THE HIGHER GRADE OF THE CITY SAVED IT FROM A REPETITION OF THAT DISASTER

CHINA PREPARING FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

A PARADE THROUGH THE STREETS OF PEKING WITH BANNERS URGING CITIZENS TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE NATIONAL SALVATION FUND OF $25,000,000 TO BE USED TO ARM CHINA AND TO DEVELOP NATIVE INDUSTRIES. LOWER PICTURE: CLERKS RECEIVING AND RECORDING *SUBSCRIPTIONS* TO THE FUND

[see page 725]

DR. DUMBA'S DISMISSAL

DR. DUMBA is no longer the Austrian ambassador to the United States and the public is glad. ɔnally he was a pleasant gentleman diplomatically he had ceased to be ıl and had become, instead, offensive. ıe German ambassador, his staff, various other German agents who ımably do not transgress his wishes likewise not been free of offense. ıt von Bernstorff was a popular figure ·e the war. Under the shock of ng that the ideals and practices of his ın were abhorrent to the majority e people of the United States he some- lost his bearings for a while and con- ted his part to the general causes of ıathy toward his country. He, more- transgressed the proprieties of diplo- ', probably at the command of his ·rnment, in publishing the warning ıst taking passage on the *Lusitania.* ıt after that Germany's change of y toward the United States may fairly ttributed to Count von Bernstorff's sentations to his Government that the rican people would go to war if ısary in order to insist upon their s. In this Count von Bernstorff was ; his allotted duty. For doing this loing it ably the American public wish well. But he and Dr. Dumba and ıther Teutonic agents in this country beyond this. They tried to create ·rman influence in our own country ɔpose our own Government, to inter- our business, and to thrust an en- ing alliance with Europe into our ·stic politics.

ese things breed a keen resentment in ınds of the American public against the ıgandist and subterranean activities : Teutonic allies in this country. In tries where there is a reptile press and else such methods may be accepted. here we do not like them nor do we the use of foreign money to stir up troubles. Ambassador Bernstorff Dr. Dumba were received here to ıs diplomatic agents to our Govern- , and American feeling resents any *ities of theirs outside this field.*

The resentment is perhaps more keen than these gentlemen realized, because their interference goes to the very root of our political order. They were endeavoring to array a part of our public opinion and our voting population in favor of their governments and against ours. If they were to be in any large measure successful in this our political structure would be threatened and our country would become a mere collection of foreign colonies rent with all the animosities of Europe.

Dr. Dumba admitted that his success was not very encouraging. And the character of the German propaganda and its spokesmen testify to the fundamental failure of the German effort.

But the failure of these efforts makes their character no less offensive.

SINCERE DIPLOMACY

TWICE in the last twenty years the American Government has practically sent an ultimatum to nations that have enormously surpassed us in the ability to use military force. In 1895 President Cleveland, negotiating with Great Britain over the Venezuelan boundary dispute, used language even more menacing than the strongest passages in President Wilson's *Lusitania* notes. Unless England consented to arbitrate this question, said President Cleveland, he would recommend to Congress the use of "our military forces" to attain our ends. This was saying "war" in so many words.

The United States is now having a similar experience with the world's greatest military Power. In his last *Lusitania* note, President Wilson laid down what was practically an ultimatum. Instead of treating this ultimatum as it did that of England in the matter of Belgium and that of Japan in the matter of Kiao-chau, Germany changes its attitude and, somewhat grudgingly and ungraciously, parleys with the American point of view.

Thus in twenty years we have had a serious difference with the greatest naval Power and the greatest military Power. In the former case diplomacy was entirely successful. In the second, it was at least partially so.

Those who believe in the advance of international peace will find some consolation in these events. In some cases, in an increasing number we hope, diplomacy will be sufficient. But it must be sincere diplomacy. "Armed forces" must mean armed forces and "every means" must mean every means. To say these things without meaning them is dishonest and ineffective; to mean them without the power to make our words good is folly.

COTTON, CONTRABAND, AND AMERICAN RIGHTS

THE controversy between the United States and England over the English treatment of our cotton exports is not a simple question.

The propelling explosives for artillery are made of cotton, when it is to be had. There is reason, therefore, for its being put on the unconditional contraband list.

On the other hand the great bulk of cotton is used for clothing, civilian as well as military, and, therefore, there is reason for cotton to be made only conditional contraband.

Before England's recent decision to make cotton contraband there was an English precedent against that view at the time of the Russo-Japanese war and an American precedent in favor of it at the time of the Boxer outbreak in China.

Senator Hoke Smith and several other politicians in the cotton belt have tried to make political capital out of the Declaration of London, in which it was held that cotton "may not be declared contraband of war." There is, however, little force in his contention, for the Declaration of London was not ratified by England, Germany, or the United States. One of England's reasons for not ratifying the Declaration was this very cotton clause.

If we want to protest against the British decision to put cotton on the contraband list we can protest on the ground that it is against our interests and that it is not altogether consistent with their previous policy, but we have no incontrovertible ground in law upon which to base the protest. *The English* have even gone *further and tried* to remove the possible ground of objection that the contraband order is against our interests by arranging some kind of compensation for the cotton we should normally have sold to Germany.

But this action of England's and the new German attitude toward our lives at sea do not solve the question of the fundamental rights of neutrals at sea under modern war conditions.

England is maintaining a blockade of Germany which is effective so far as our goods are concerned but which is not effective in stopping Scandinavian goods from going across the Baltic.

Germany has been conducting a submarine blockade that has not been effective but which does now and again interfere with our ships, for instance when a German submarine sank the *Leelanaw* with a cargo of flax bound for England.

In other words, our diplomacy so far has convinced Germany of the wisdom of substituting a legal for an illegal method of holding up steamers on which there are American passengers, and it has convinced England of the wisdom of substituting a legal for an illegal device for keeping cotton away from Germany.

But we have not yet settled either with England or with Germany the exact status of long distance and submarine blockades and what the rights of neutrals are under them. Nor is it altogether likely that we shall settle all the points arising under these new conditions until after the war is over.

ISSUES OF THE NEXT ELECTION

THE tariff, the currency, the trusts, social justice, the new freedom—these were the vital issues three years ago. Our politics took little or no account of the existence of foreign nations. The tariff, currency, and trust bills were passed and happily so far they have helped in the war emergencies. They were the last great legislative acts of our purely domestic era.

In the next Presidential election our foreign relations will play such a part as they have not played in this generation.

In this changed condition what have the two parties to offer?

The Democrats have the President, and

that is the major part of their programme. His strongest point is that he has won the public confidence in his ability to handle unforeseen events as they arise with courage, wisdom, and success.

In the kind of times in which we are living now the public would prefer this confidence to any specified programme, for it is the handling of unforeseen problems that is most important.

In Mexico the President's policy suffered through maladministration. Yet even if in the end we shall have to intervene, it will be under circumstances which will force Latin-America, even some of the Mexicans themselves, to admit it was necessary. Had our forces gone in earlier this would not have been true.

The pan-American policy of the Administration has been both popular and successful.

In handling the controversy with Germany the President has gained the heartfelt approval of almost all Americans except a portion of the German-Americans and the more belligerent anti-Germans.

These things lead to confidence in the President's abilities to manage our foreign affairs, particularly since Mr. Lansing, in whom the public believes, has taken Mr. Bryan's place.

At present the public mind is more concerned with national defense than any other one topic. Strategically the Democrats have the advantage on this subject. They have the opportunity to satisfy an unmistakable popular desire and they can even count upon a measure of support from their political opponents in so doing. Moreover, they can hardly overdo the job because the character of the President is a good defense against the cry of militarism. Mr. Wilson is in a position to give the country much more nearly what it needs than are the more boisterous advocates of national defense whom a large part of the public fears to trust with firearms.

If the Democrats fail to measure up to this public demand, national defense will be the most available Republican issue in 1916. The full dinner pail is out of date. Mr. Bryan would have made a good issue, but he is gone. Anything that might have been made out of the Mexican situation has lost importance in the shadow of our dealings with Germany.

Moreover, Republican personalities have suffered from the lack of the dignity and power of office. There are no inspiring figures of men of prime leadership.

In a year many things may happen, but at present there seems to be no figure on the horizon that in any way bulks with the personality now in the White House.

RESTORING A REPUBLIC

THE United States at present is collecting the customs, preserving order, and acting as confidential and respected adviser to the Haitian Government.

It has taken the United States a very long time to intervene in Haiti. To find an example in recent history of greater forbearance, greater patience, would be difficult. No honest Haitian patriot, and no member of a foreign government with any respect for the truth, can question this attitude of the United States Government in the past nor, with the examples of Cuba and Santo Domingo before him, can he properly question the good faith of this last intervention.

Having exhausted every possible resource in giving the Haitians time and repeated occasions to put their own house in order, now that we have gone in to do that work for them we are going to do it properly and thoroughly. It may take us several years to do so. Nothing will be accomplished by merely tiding over the chaos of the last revolution; to bring about a better era, to establish law and order, will mean something like the forming of a new national habit in Haiti. It will take time to put revolutions, the kind of revolution which has for many years taken the place there of elections, out of fashion. That part of the island which is politically sane and honest has long desired exactly the present condition of affairs, and that very overwhelming majority of the population which is dependent upon agriculture must soon realize the benefits to themselves of honest management of the customs revenues and the maintenance of peace and good order throughout the island.

President D'Artiguenave is a particularly appropriate official at the present juncture. He happens to be persona grata to all the various factions in what passes in Haiti for politics. For many years he has been head of the Haitian Senate, an achievement which in itself proves his political dexterity. He knows how to deal with his own people and he knows how to deal with foreigners. He is a well-educated mulatto. President D'Artiguenave can be depended upon to do what he is told by the United States authorities, and his unique value comes in his being able to coöperate with the reconstructing forces without giving too much offense to the reconstructed.

An honest administration of the Haitian customs means that, even with only an average coffee crop maturing at present, the revenues of the Republic will be increased by nearly two million dollars, which is a good deal of money in Haiti. That is to say, something like 30 or 40 per cent. of these revenues have hitherto been lost in graft or in smuggling. Revolutions have been born out of that lost percentage, and little schooners, sailing by night out of Haitian ports on the north coast, have landed on Turk's Island or Great Inagua in their big cargoes a portion of the interest on the national debt. With our representatives in every port and a real revenue cutter service off the coast those fleets will henceforth lie at anchor or take to less remunerative fishing again.

Haitian coffee pays $3 a hundred pounds export duty, so that about one-fifth of its value, at $12 or $15 a hundred pounds, ought to go into the revenues of the island. A good average crop, as for example that of the present year, ought to yield about 55 million pounds, although some crops, possibly due to a combination of weather, honesty, and alert coast guards, have run up as high as 80 million. With the revolutionary armies back on their plantations now and the increased industry which is sure to come from settled conditions on the island, we may expect to find even this latter figure exceeded.

It is a very troublesome task that we have tackled. There will be exasperating delays and misunderstandings, a lot of trouble for white men in a hot country peopled by blacks. But we have started in at last to establish in peace and prosperity a community which has wasted itself for a hundred years, and we are going to see it through to success.

OUR TASK IN MEXICO

OUR great task in Mexico is to get a Mexican government upon its feet which will have strength enough to maintain order and breadth enough to encourage progress. A government without strength will fail to establish order in the beginning. A government without vision will fail to maintain order in the end, for the day of despotism in Mexico is gone.

We should have preferred, of course, that Mexico produce a capable and permanent government unaided, but as it has failed to do that we are under the necessity of lending it moral, material, or military aid. In the moral aid several of the countries of South America have joined us and presumably, therefore, if moral suasion fails these countries will see the necessity of using further means to set Mexico upon its feet.

The task consists, first of all, of establishing order.

The military forces which are operating in Mexico at present are not very formidable bodies. They are not nearly as formidable as they were earlier in the revolution. Their equipment and personnel have been wasted. The public support of the various factions has dwindled and arms have been increasingly scarce during the last year. If the worst solution is forced on us we shall have to use our military forces. Their task would be to take and hold the principal railroad lines in the Republic. Without these no organized resistance is possible, for rivers and roads are of little use in Mexico. The chief struggles of the revolutionists have been for the railroads, and Villa particularly has based his military operations on the rail lines.

With such rail control the policing of Mexico is very possible under the rurale system adopted by Porfirio Diaz. [illegible] of

his chief reasons for encouraging railroads was to make his method of policing possible.

If some Mexican government can be found that can unite or control the various factions, so much the better. If not, there is our army as the last resource.

But when physical order is established the big administrative task begins. The revolution has destroyed property and killed citizens of half the nations of the world. These are acts which call for reparation and indemnities. They call loudly, too, for when the European war is over the different nations will not be in a patient mood, any more than the United States was in a patient mood after the Civil War. Presumably we might have had enough of war. Practically we started armies for Mexico to help the Mexicans drive out Maximilian.

The indemnities that Mexico will have to pay will further burden the already hard task of reviving her finances. Without considering the debts contracted by the various factions there are the permanent expenses of the government, the interest on the national debt, etc., which must be paid, arrears and all, though much of the property for which the debt was created, such as the railroads, has been damaged or destroyed by the revolution. The foreigners in Mexico will probably get something in payment for the losses the revolution inflicted on them. The Mexicans as a rule will not. Foreigners will have a greater advantage than ever over the Mexicans in industry. The revolution cannot help but make the foreign financial domination more secure than ever. And this again presents a trying problem for reconstruction, for one of the grievances of the original revolutionists was that Diaz had sold the country to the foreigners in order to get it developed.

The resurrection of Mexican finance is very directly a problem for the United States. There is not likely to be much European money available for Mexico, and if there were European finance in Mexico upon a very large scale would give a European hold upon Mexico that at least would temper the Monroe Doctrine as we now see it. It would be the controversy we have *had with* Germany over Haiti over again only on a much larger scale. On the other hand our Government does not want to appear to force American money upon Mexico with our fleet as its guarantee; and without the fleet as its guarantee American money would hardly go to Mexico except at exorbitant rates.

The establishment of order and the resuscitation of finance and industry are the two immediate tasks in Mexico. The more fundamental and longer task is the education of the Mexican people. Enough information and suspicion has sifted down among the masses to preclude the reëstablishment of a complete despotism. There is not now enough intelligence among the population to make workable a real democracy, though a democracy with universal manhood suffrage is the form of government the Mexican constitution calls for. Somehow a kind of compromise democracy must be carried on while the slow processes of education work upon a somewhat primitive people.

The great task of the United States is to see that no outside influence blocks the reconstruction of Mexico and to help along the Mexicans themselves in such a way as to wound Mexican sensibilities as little as possible.

To meet its difficult problems Mexico has a small minority of educated men, the beginnings of a middle class of independent farmers and citizens, especially in the northern states, and a large group of peons —ignorant, with little ambition, and easily imposed upon.

Under good leadership their ambition can be aroused and they can become orderly and good workmen. What capabilities of citizenship they have in them only the great experiment of time will tell. To insure them every chance in this experiment is the great task of the United States. It is not the task of a few years. It is the task of half a century.

THE UNWORKABLE SEAMEN'S ACT

SOLICITOR THURMAN of the Department of Commerce and Attorney General Gregory have both decided that the La Follette steamship law is so worded that practically all

its requirements which involve expense would apply to American ships and to practically none other. This means that as soon as the war is over the ships which have been coming under American registry will have an added incentive to seek registry under another flag.

Solicitor Thurman made it clear in his opinion "that the only foreign vessels which would be required . . . to comply with the rules of Section 14 of the Seamen's Act [the rules involving the greatest expense] would be:

'All foreign private steam vessels carrying passengers from any port of the United States to any other place or country (first) which belong to countries whose inspection laws do not approximate those of the United States, and (second) those countries whose inspection laws do approximate those of the United States, but which countries do not by their laws accord similar privileges of exemption from inspection to vessels of the United States.' "

This exempts practically all the foreign shipping that comes to our shores.

The Seamen's Law was meant to be a lever to raise other shipping to the high cost of American shipping and establish a parity on that basis. What it will do unless amended or abolished seems to be to make the discrepancy between the costs of operation of American and foreign vessels greater than ever.

One of the strongest forces behind the Seamen's Law was Mr. Andrew Furuseth, the very able and sincere secretary of the International Seamen's Union. His effort was to force up seamen's wages all round the world to the level of the American seamen in the protected coastwise trade on which his union has a firm grip. The method of doing this was to make it possible for foreign sailors to desert in this country. For example, if a sailor at Havre shipped on a French steamer for the return trip to New York and back at the prevailing wage scale at Havre, the Seamen's Law means to make it possible for him to get his wages for the trip over on arriving at New York, whereupon he can refuse to go back unless he is paid the higher scale prevailing here. This ingenious scheme for making the tail wag the dog is not likely to work any more than any other scheme to accomplish so unnatural a purpose is likely to work.

With the Seamen's Law and Secretary McAdoo's proposal for a Government-financed shipping company before us we seem to be using up a good deal of energy in somewhat uncorrelated efforts to meet a great national problem.

Perhaps it would be better if we should clear the whole slate and try to work out a comprehensive programme to cover the entire subject. It is, therefore, a good sign that the President has requested the Interstate Commerce Commission, with the help of the Treasury and Commerce Departments, to investigate the whole subject and make a report to him before the opening of Congress.

IMMIGRATION WHEN THE WAR ENDS

BETWEEN June 30, 1913, and June 30, 1914, the excess of immigration over emigration was 584,675. Between June, 1914, and June, 1915, it was 50,000. Another year of the war means that another twelve months will bring us no added hands for unskilled labor.

Since the war began, despite booms in certain activities we have not needed the usual annual complement of immigrants. Industrially we have been better off without them. But with the growing activity in business and transportation we may begin to feel the drying up of our raw labor supply.

During the last twenty years we have averaged a net immigration of about 1,000,000 a year in good times and about 700,000 a year in bad. Even in 1893 502,917 aliens came to our shores, and in 1907 the total was 1,285,349. We have not in fifty years had two years in succession with as little increase in our raw labor supply as 50,000 a year. As long as the war lasts we shall have to do without the increase of laborers to which we have become accustomed. Even after the war is over, some people seem to think, all of Europe's available labor supply will be needed at home. Probably it will, but probably, also, the labor will not want to stay there.

Labor cannot get profitable work un

capital is there to supply it, and in many of the European countries capital will be very scarce when this war is over. In all probability the largest sum of capital least impaired will be in the United States, and that capital will call loudly for labor. It is reasonable to look forward after the war to a great stream of immigration.

We have had commissions study the matter. The facts are well known.

The Russian Jews, the southern Italians, certain Austrian subjects do not make good citizens rapidly. They are easily exploited in the labor market. They have poor standards of living and almost no standards of citizenship. Their inabilities force a paternalism either upon their employers, which is dangerous, or upon our state and city governments, which is inconsistent with our practice of democracy.

If we leave our immigration laws as they are at present we shall give, after the war, the maximum impetus to our construction work, steel industry, etc., to the detriment of the Nation's political ability.

If we limit the immigration we shall also limit certain "industrial progress," but we shall at the same time maintain a higher level of citizenship and ward off the more acute attack of social indigestion which the advent of these immigrants brings with them.

There is some disposition to look upon the United States as an asylum for the oppressed. That is a very creditable institution but we should not get it confused with a home for the unfit.

Under our democracy a man gets much and in turn we ask more initiative from him than do the paternal governments of Continental Europe. Our system can be overloaded if it takes in too many people who do not understand it, and we shall be in danger of that overloading when the war is over unless we guard ourselves against it.

LYNCHING AND ILLITERACY

THE State of Georgia needs a heavy inoculation of civilization. The chief virus in that inoculation is education and the broadening of viewpoint that comes with it. For a more educated and a more tolerant *point of view* would enable Georgians in general to form a public opinion which would preclude lynching. In an educated community, when justice goes astray the leading citizens get together peaceably to work for a reform in the law. Whatever success they achieve is progress in civilization. In an uneducated community, when the law goes astray the leading citizens seize their guns and take the law violently into their own hands. The success of their efforts is a measure of progress toward barbarism.

In Georgia the humiliating climax to the Frank lynching came in the shape of an Atlanta pastor's approval of the murder from the pulpit. A city in which a preacher can do that has at least some very rotten spots in its civilization.

And to a certain extent Georgia shows an appreciation of its deficiencies. Wherever you find a community that cannot stand criticism you have found a community that is not quite at ease with itself. Such extreme touchiness as the people of Georgia showed over other people's interest in the Frank case is not a sign of confidence, strength, or wisdom.

There will be Georgians who will resent the imputation that the state is backward educationally. Let them go to the nearest library and look up the statistics of illiteracy, the library statistics, and find out the facts about the circulation of all kinds of reading matter in their state. In these things Georgia is backward and consequently the public opinion of the state is an uninstructed public opinion. This is particularly unfortunate because on this uninstructed public opinion falls the solution of one of the most difficult problems that face the country—the relation of two unequal races in a democracy.

It may seem gratuitous to connect the Frank lynching with the Negro problem. But the connection is there. Presumably the first lynchings were the lynchings of Negroes for rape. Then followed lynchings for murder. Then lynchings for poisoning mules, then lynchings of anybody for anything that particularly incensed the local feelings. In this way the presence of the helpless Negro has pulled down the standards of the white population. It has done it in other ways also.

One of the most difficult things in history is for a stronger race to live with a weaker one, for the weaker race is not only a constant hindrance to progress but a constant temptation as well. The theory of a democracy does not allow for large masses of semi-helpless ignorant citizens.

The task Georgia is faced with is the building up of a better civilization against somewhat heavy odds. The Frank case is a symptom that the task is still somewhat backward. But the Frank case only throws into high relief the deficiencies of the state's civilization. It is silent on the small army of men who see the situation clearly and who are working day and night for education and the civilization that follows it.

THE WAR, WALL STREET, AND WATER

THE ABSURD INCREASE IN THE MARKET VALUE OF CERTAIN STOCKS UNDER THE SPELL OF "WAR ORDERS"—A FIT OF SPECULATION IN WHICH THE PUBLIC HAS ACTED AS IF THE ENTIRE VALUE OF THESE ORDERS WAS PROFIT

WHEN two busy Americans meet nowadays, after discussing the progress of the war and perhaps personalities, one is pretty sure to ask the other: "What do you think of the market"?

The question has reference, of course, to the stock market—or more specifically to that part of the market in which the so-called "war stocks" are being bought and sold. It may be asked with a view to comparing notes on active personal participation in the excitement these stocks have been affording; or it may be asked merely because of passive interest in a new Wall Street phenomenon—for that is what the war-stock market in many of its aspects is really found to be. In either event it is a question that has possibilities for making unusually lively conversation.

It has been gratifying that relatively so few of the WORLD'S WORK readers who have written to the investment department during the last few months have asked this question in a way that would indicate they were seriously thinking about committing themselves to the purchase of any of this spectacular group of stocks. As in the past, the biggest proportion of inquiries has been from people looking for safety of principal first and substantial income second and quite obviously caring little about speculative profits in the market place. But it is timely to refer to *some of the phases* of this newest stock market phenomenon, if for no other reason than to confirm the sound judgment of those who have refused to permit their imaginations to be fired by it, and who, in putting their money away during these times of financial uncertainty, have stuck consistently to well recognized investment principles.

The most striking fact about the war stocks is that the speculative increase in their value equals the sum of all the war orders that have been placed in this country. In other words, the public has already discounted not only all the profits in these orders but their gross value as well.

The war-stock market may be said to date from early in March with the beginning of the surprisingly active trading and sensational price advance in the common stock of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. At first, this movement seems to have been surrounded by more or less mystery, but whatever other contributing causes it may have had they were not diligently sought, after it had been widely chronicled that the Bethlehem Corporation was destined to become, if it had not already become, the largest American maker of guns and ammunition for the fighting nations of Europe.

Statements about the corporation's rapidly mounting earnings, at first couched only in very general terms, but later given some appearance of definiteness by what were said to be the estimates of the well-informed regarding the extent of its war

contracts, and flavored by many a picturesque account of the business-getting ability of President "Charlie" Schwab, were sedulously circulated until, finally, the records of the market place began to give the unmistakable evidence that the public was "getting in on Bethlehem."

Thus was the most notable of the so-called "war brides" presented to the speculatively inclined public by "professional" Wall Street, which found so much encouragement in the manner of the public's reception that it has eagerly welcomed the opportunity to present with similar ceremonials as many more as it has had the ingenuity to discover, until the total now numbers well over a half hundred of both listed and unlisted stocks.

On the whole, the most conspicuous of these have been the stocks of companies engaged either in the direct manufacture of ordnance and explosives, or in furnishing the raw materials for them. But there has been much activity of the spectacular kind in many others, representing a wide range of industry, including the making of almost every class of military necessities from armored motor-cars to pots and pans.

To show more particularly the scope of the war-stock market, as it has lately developed, the table on pages 640-641 has been prepared. It gives the number of outstanding shares of the stocks that have been among the most active; the amount of appreciation per share from the low prices that prevailed in the quiet market of the early part of the year calculated on the basis of the high prices recorded up to the middle of August; and (in round numbers) the total gain in the market value of the various issues.

It is when one tries to find justification in probable, or even possible, profits from the war contracts of these companies for this suddenly promoted growth of $850,000,000 in the market value of their stocks that one becomes convinced that he is the wise man who has been able, in the face of all the excitement of the boom, to exercise enough of the ordinary restraints of judgment to leave the professional speculator to make the final reckoning.

To begin with, no one knows the total amount of *contracts for munitions* and other military supplies that have been placed with American manufacturers. In a very few isolated cases, companies engaged on such contracts have made public their figures, officially. But for obvious reasons, all the agents of foreign purchasers and most of the officers of the companies concerned have held information on this point to be confidential, and refused steadfastly to divulge it.

Wall Street, in other words, has for the most part been left entirely to its own devices in estimating the totals of war contracts. That it may have, in some instances, underestimated, is possible. That it has, consciously or unconsciously, in many instances vastly over-estimated is certain. For example, one of its estimates of $100,000,000, which furnished the impetus for the rapid initial advance in one of the stocks of this group, was promptly characterized as a "wild exaggeration" by the vice-president of the company, who explained that although their inquiries had been almost continuous, they included "many duplications and some rainbows"; and that the total amount figured on up to that time did not reach $20,000,000. Another estimate of $85,000,000 was officially stamped incorrect, with the significant explanation that "what little unusual business" the company had contracted for would not interfere in any way with its regular output. And still another estimate of $24,000,000 was shown by figures officially announced to have been 50 per cent. too high.

Possibly, with duplications properly accounted for and "rainbows" eliminated, the total of all these contracts might be placed somewhere around a billion dollars. At any rate, that is the figure which is accepted by many of the more conservative element of the Wall Street community as being approximately correct. Compared with that, the figure showing the market appreciation in the stocks of the fifty or more companies listed in the accompanying table—which, by the way, does not include all that might properly be included in the war order category—gives a fairly clear idea of the extent to which the war-stock market at the top of its swing thus far had ceased to be governed by reasonable prob-

LISTED STOCKS

COMPANY	NO. SHARES OUTSTANDING	APPRECIATION PER SHARE	TOTAL APPRECIATION
Allis-Chalmers common	260,000	38¾	$ 10,000,000
Allis-Chalmers pfd.	164,955	43	7,000,000
Am. Brake Shoe & Fdy. com.	46,000	22¼	1,000,000
Am. Brake Shoe preferred	50,000	50½	2,500,000
American Can com.	412,333	39¾	16,250,000
American Can pfd.	412,333	16	6,500,000
Am. Car & Fdy. com.	300,000	33⅓	10,000,000
Am. Car & Fdy. pfd.	300,000	6½	2,000,000
American Locomotive com.	250,000	49	12,250,000
American Locomotive pfd.	250,000	25⅛	6,250,000
Am. Steel Foundries	171,840	33⅞	6,000,000
Baldwin Loco. com.	200,000	58⅜	11,500,000
Baldwin Loco. pfd.	200,000	14	3,000,000
Bethlehem Steel com.	148,620	264¾	39,250,000
Bethlehem Steel pfd.	149,000	89	13,250,000
Continental Can com.	80,000	54⅛	4,250,000
Continental Can pfd.	52,505	15½	1,000,000
Crucible Steel com.	245,784	74½	18,000,000
Crucible Steel pfd.	250,000	22	5,500,000
General Electric	1,014,857	39½	40,000,000
General Motors com.	165,017	142	23,500,000
General Motors pfd.	149,852	19	2,750,000
Int. Ag. Chem. com.	73,035	16	1,000,000
Int. Ag. Chem. pfd.	130,555	33¼	4,250,000
Lackawanna Steel com.	350,000	37	13,000,000
Nat. Enam & Stamp. com.	155,918	20⅛	3,000,000
Nat. Enam. & Stamp. pfd.	85,466	11	1,000,000
National Lead com.	206,554	26½	5,500,000
National Lead pfd.	243,676	6¼	1,500,000
N. Y. Air Brake	100,000	81½	8,000,000
Press Steel Car com.	125,000	42	5,250,000
Press Steel Car pfd.	125,000	16¾	2,000,000
Carried forward	. . .	. .	$ 286,250,000

abilities or considerations of intrinsic values. It is preposterous, of course, in the circumstances, that the total gain in the market value of these stocks should have reached a figure anywhere near the one that represents the total of war contracts negotiated. It is not with the gross amount of this business, but rather with the profits accruing therefrom that the rise in the stocks may properly be reconciled. Occasionally, Wall Street has stopped in its excitement to consider this phase of the matter. But it has been rather too prone to draw hasty conclusions from the utterances of the few corporation managers who have given vague expression to their opinions, without taking into account the qualifications with which such utterances have almost invariably been hedged about. One day it has been found optimistically calculating profits generally as high as 33⅓ per cent., because a certain officer had said he considered it possible for his company, with munition orders of $15,000,000, to make $5,000,000 to $6,000,000, "if everything goes according to calculation." Whereas on the next it has been found loath to calculate at all, because it has been told of "a business man whose contract for shells looked like 100 per cent. profit when it was taken, who now says that so many unexpected hindrances to rapid production have turned up that he may not make a dollar."

LISTED STOCKS

COMPANY	NO. SHARES OUTSTANDING	APPRECIATION PER SHARE	TOTAL APPRECIATION
Brought forward	. . . .	. . .	$ 286,250,000
Iron & Steel com.	271,910	28½	7,500,000
Iron & Steel pfd.	250,000	30⅞	7,750,000
Sheffield Steel	100,000	32⅞	3,250,000
Baker com.	279,316	84½	23,500,000
Baker pfd.	117,580	16	2,000,000
Essee Copper	200,000	25	5,000,000
Ind. Alcohol com.	120,000	59⅞	7,000,000
Ind. Alcohol pfd.	60,000	27¾	1,500,000
Steel com.	5,083,025	39⅝	201,500,000
Steel pfd.	3,602,811	11¼	40,500,000
Inghouse com.*	351,932	56¾	20,000,000
Inghouse pfd.*	39,987	19	750,000
Total	. . . .	. . .	$606,500,000

UNLISTED (CURB) STOCKS

Explosives com.	70,000	37	2,500,000
Powder	30,000	124	3,750,000
Common*	25,000	116	3,000,000
Dont Powder com.	294,287	505	148,500,000
Dont Powder pfd.	161,138	10	1,500,000
Vic Boat com.	49,996	380	19,000,000
Vic Boat pfd.	26,675	332	9,000,000
Wles Powder com.	71,500	275	19,500,000
Wl Nickel com.	380,315	54	20,500,000
Bement-Pond com.	85,000	48	4,000,000
Wester Arms	10,000	1645	16,500,000
Total, unlisted	. . . .	. . .	$247,750,000
Grand Total	. . . .	. . .	$854,250,000

*Value $50 per share, but figured here as $100.

the cases of many of the individual anies, the outlook for profits is, of e, extremely hopeful. An agent for Allies is quoted as having summarized tuation in the following logical way: hose concerns which are now doing their regular line of work, but on a r increased scale, and at higher prices, d make big earnings. Whether mak- f locomotives, electrical machinery, ans are able to turn their hands to an ly new trade and make more than a rate profit remains to be seen."

r does it appear that sufficient em- s has yet been laid upon the fact that ever may be the extent of the profits ing from war contracts, they cannot in the very nature of the case impart to the shares of the companies concerned any added value of the permanent kind. Such value must depend in the long run upon the course of ordinary business.

So that, if war profits are considered, as it seems logical to consider most of them, as divisible surplus in which stockholders of the favored companies may be expected to share sometime in the form of special dividends; and if it should happen, after all, that even the most extravagant expectations in which Wall Street has indulged thus far are actually realized, the profits in the aggregate would still be far from adequate to justify the total gains in the market value of the stocks.

YOUR GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE WAR DEPARTMENT

THE WORLD'S WORK *publishes each month one or more editorial articles about the activities of the Federal Government. These articles are written by a member of the editorial staff in Washington who keeps in close and constant touch with the men and measures of which he writes.*

The Washington Office (in the Munsey Building) will also answer readers' questions about the work of any department of the Government.

IT MIGHT more appropriately be called the Peace Department. Peace broods along its marble corridors and pervades its quiet, high-ceiled offices. It is the same atmosphere which breathes through libraries and which also envelops the Departments of the Navy and State, housed in the same administration building. It is a venerable place. In the early afternoon ancient doorkeepers and messengers, both black and white, nod in their chairs, and the stone stairways are astir with the gentle comings and goings of nice old ladies employed by the Department of Peace. At 4:30 every day its vast spaces are deserted.

A great deal of highly efficient work is done every day in those quiet offices by quiet men in civil dress. But only a portion of that work is actually and practically military: the rest has instead to do, for instance, with keeping records of the Civil War, building dams in the Ohio, constructing reservoirs in Minnesota, running cables and telegraph lines in Alaska, and very capably administering the essentially civil governments of Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. Not one of the Army officers on duty at the department wears his uniform during the performance of his official duties. He is not required to wear it. Were he so required he would be very apt to resent the requirement as a hardship because of the general lack of appreciation of what his uniform signifies. In it, as he goes and comes, he is stared at and finds himself uncomfortably *conspicuous.*

Since the Civil War, with a brief interruption in 1898, the War Department has been organized and run on a basis of peace. In so far as peace is the ultimate object of its efficiency, this is not an inappropriate sub-title; in so far as it characterizes its method and its attitude toward its responsibilities it is utterly inappropriate.

The War Department and the United States Army, which it honestly administers, are, presumably, exactly what the majority of the people in this country have hitherto wanted in the way of military organization. Like other branches of the Government, this department is responsive to public opinion, and as it exists to-day it is an accurate index of the public opinion of the last half century. On the standard thus set for it, it is a capable organization. But the standard is not a standard of preparedness for war, and the War Department is not an engine to force a righteous peace.

If we really desire righteous peace we shall find out that the way thereto is, not by maintaining a War Department on the basis of peace, but fairly, and frankly, and thoroughly on the basis of efficient war.

The popular conception of a General Staff is very apt to be visualized as belonging in a Washington office. That is exactly where most of it now is and where it rightly belongs in peace time. But the place for a commanding general and his staff in time of war is with his command at the front. That is where Cadorna is spending all his time now; that is where Grand Duke Nicholas has been during the

fourteen months. The peace time
tions of the General Staff Corps are
lvise the Secretary in all military mat-
to prepare strategical and tactical
s for possible war contingencies, and
oördinate the various permanent bu-
s in the department and the military
s in the field.

NCTIONS OF THE GENERAL STAFF

the first of these three functions its
iency depends partly upon its own per-
el and partly upon the personality
he Secretary. Since the organization
e General Staff in February, 1903, it
balanced up and down in actual power
usefulness, some of the time supreme
some of the time out-influenced and
rdinated by the Bureaucracy. A
g Staff has prevailed in recommending
ressive legislation and advocating
er military standards in the service;
ak staff has been content to let well
gh alone. Mr. Root and Mr. Stim-
when Secretaries of War, leaned
ily on their Staff Corps. Mr. Taft
the advice of his personal friends in
department. Mr. Garrison made
e use of his Staff during the first two
s of his office, but has recently been
ing more directly with individual bu-
s and departments.

e must not forget that the function
Secretary of War is much more im-
ant in time of peace than in war.
aw he has a double relationship to the
ice both in peace and war. On the
hand he is the channel through which
President's chief command of the
y is exercised; he is charged with
ying out the policies of the President
ilitary affairs; his acts are the Presi-
's acts and his directions and orders
the President's directions and orders.
the other hand he is also entrusted by
with the supply, payment, and recruit-
t of the Army, as well as the expendi-
of all appropriations voted for its sup-
. In the French Ministry of War the
esponding former relationship has now
done away with. M. Millerand is
ged simply with fiscal responsibilities
duties, matters of purely military re-
sibility *resting with the* General Staff.

An excellent example of the efficient working of this system in France was afforded by the operations in August and September last year called the Battle of the Marne. A civilian direction of the French army would never have approved that long withdrawal from the Belgian frontier to the outskirts of Paris. Indeed, that wonderfully patient manœuvre was successfully carried out against the repeated protests and opposition of the civil Government.

The Secretary's main peace function is in the construction and presentation of the Army budget. Mr. Garrison is the Army spokesman to Congress, the mouthpiece of the Army to the President.

In recent times the various Secretaries of War have not been very successful in this, their main function. Since the reorganization effected under Secretary of War Root the needs of the Army have been set forth with great clearness by several Secretaries of War, but no one of them has been able to induce Congress to make any major reforms. Mr. Garrison is blessed with a better opportunity to present his case than his predecessors had. If we are ever to begin a fundamental reform of our military system now is the time to do it.

The coördinating function of the General Staff Corps may be well illustrated by its present alignment. The thirty-eight officers composing it are presumed to represent the best brains and the most thorough military training in the Army. The colonels, majors, and captains composing most of it have been appointed on the basis of their previous work in the service schools and at the War College. Every man of them is, or ought to be, a highly trained specialist.

But out of the thirty-eight members of the Corps nominally at Washington, nine or ten are on duty in other localities. For example, Colonel Glenn is chief of General Wood's Eastern Department, with headquarters on Governors Island; Colonel Swift is chief of staff of the Western Division at San Francisco, and Major Hay is General Funston's chief of staff with the Second Division on the Mexican border. Thus the larger departmental

and divisional units all over the country are, in time of peace, closely coördinated by these representative Staff officers from the General Staff Corps at Washington. In time of war the same arrangement would be maintained, although the personnel might be radically altered.

THE BUREAUS

Composing the actual working office force of the War Department, nominally under the General Staff Corps, but much of the time actually parallel with or superior to it, are eight "bureaus." By the Act of February, 1903, which established the General Staff, the chief of that Corps is "charged with the duty" of supervising all of these bureaus, but the habit of generations is mightier than a statute and this particular law is sometimes more honored in the breach than in the observance. In the Army Register only one of these "bureaus" is actually so called, the Bureau of Insular Affairs. The others are put down as "Departments" or "Corps." The departments are those of the Adjutant-General, Inspector-General, Judge-Advocate-General, and the Medical and Ordnance departments. These are all housed in the Army part of the big administration building next the White House, together with the Quartermaster, Engineer, and Signal Corps.

The especial province and character of work in most of these subdivisions is to a military man clearly indicated by its name, but to the average civilian the designation is not always clear. When one comes to study their separate functions the intricacy and volume of the office work involved in running the peaceful War Department appears overwhelming. One begins to understand the Bay of Fundy tide of clerical employees which sets in to the administration offices every morning at 9 and flows out with equal promptness at 4:30 every afternoon. That civilian army of men and women is appropriately engaged in civilian employment. The character of the work they do is excellent. It is, however, a fair criticism of our military establishment to question the advisability of employing 700 line officers three or four years at a time in administrative work, in Washington and elsewhere, away from their commands. It is another fair criticism to compare the enormous volume of paper work in our service with that in European armies. The office work of a colonel commanding a Bavarian regiment covers about half an hour every day. In the office beside the colonel is one clerk and one chair. The clerk sits on the chair. In the French army, paper and office work is reduced to a minimum, and that part of it which has survived efficiency tests is very largely carried out by reservists or civilian employees physically unfit for active military service, under the supervision of Staff officers on short detailed duty.

In this criticism and in all such comparisons we must be fair to the Army. With its excellences and its defects, the War Department is the creature of Congress. Its system is the kind of system which is well adapted to the national habit of mind toward military affairs.

The same organization which now seems so top-heavy is to a great extent justified by its adaptability to the improvisation of armies which we should need in case of emergency. The department as at present organized could administer an army 400 per cent. larger by an addition to its present force of something like five per cent. It must also be remembered that of the 700 line officers detailed for administrative work, 100 are very usefully employed as instructors with militia in the various states, 150 odd are attached to schools and colleges, and about 300 are either instructing or receiving instruction in the Army service schools or the War College.

THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE

General McCain, the Adjutant-General, is a kind of glorified secretary, librarian, and bookkeeper of the United States Army. He runs most of the correspondence for the Regular Army and the militia, issues all the orders, and keeps all the records. Whatever were done, therefore, by way of cutting down the paper work in the department, a very large proportion of this bureau's work would have to be retained. General McCain's office is also

a military census bureau. He distributes all commissions, compiles and issues the Army Register and the Army List and Directory, and he has charge of the recruiting service.

All these activities are military in character and necessary to the proper direction of the Army. But in addition to these duties, the Adjutant-General of the department is saddled with an enormous mass of non-military work which ought either to be done away with entirely or placed in charge of antiquarian institutions, museums, or sanitariums. The pension incubus lies heavily over this bureau, which also keeps the military records of the Revolutionary War, Confederate records, and runs a kind of genealogical, anatomical, and social graveyard of all organizations of officers and enlisted men who have been in the service since 1776.

THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

Under General Garlington's direction, to quote from the Army Regulations now in force, come all such matters as "pertain to the efficiency of the Army, the condition and state of supplies of all kinds, of arms, and equipments . . . of the conduct, discipline, and efficiency of officers and troops." The long period of peace which we have enjoyed tends to throw the emphasis on that part of the Inspector-General's activities which have to do with material and expenditures rather than upon the efficiency of personnel and the performances of different military units. For this reason, therefore, though we find a scrupulously careful and economical discharge of one phase of this bureau's duties, there is not an equivalent practical and constant incentive toward increased effectiveness on the part of individuals or troops in a purely military way. These standards are not the fault of the bureau; they are the necessary result of our lack of military policy and of the attitude of Congress toward the Army and Navy.

THE ARMY'S LEGAL SYSTEM

As neither officers nor soldiers in the Army can be tried for military offenses in a civil court of law, a military department of justice has always been maintained as part of the War Department under the direction of the Judge-Advocate-General. General Crowder, who ably administers this bureau, is at once judge, counsel, jury, recorder, trustee, and real estate agent. He has no time to think about war or rumors of war with other nations. He has more than he can possibly attend to all day long throughout the year in keeping track of any internecine strife which results in the service itself. Under his department all the general courts martial are held, as well as the courts of inquiry which must precede the sessions of courts martial. He directs military commissions and endeavors to keep track of all papers relating to title of lands under the control of the War Department, except the public buildings and grounds in the District of Columbia, which come under the immediate charge of Colonel Harts, of the Engineer Corps.

SPENDING THE APPROPRIATIONS

The War Department spends every year, not counting the 172 millions cheerfully voted by Congress for pensions, a little more than half the amount of money which the German Government spent on its entire military establishment in 1913. General Aleshire spends the money. His sub-department is the most directly serviceable on a military basis next to the actual fighting arm of the service. One of the two chief lessons of the present war has been the general recognition of supply as a main ingredient of success or failure. Such armies as modern war has brought into being can no longer live off the country. Equally as wonderful as the fighting of the German and Austrian armies in their sustained offensive into Poland has been the unfailing maintenance of their supply.

Our commissariat is called the Quartermaster Corps. It provides transport of every kind for the movement of troops and war material. It provides food, clothing, camp and garrison equipage, builds and maintains all permanent camps, such as barracks and storehouses, and even laps over on to the Navy's proper jurisdiction in building and maintaining ships, boats, docks, and wharves that are needed for military purposes.

The Medical Bureau is one subdivision the function of which is fairly clear to all. Colonel Gorgas and his subordinates are charged with the duty of keeping the Army healthy. What the general public, however, is apt to forget is that in the performance of its regular duty the Medical Department of the Army has contributed enormously to general progress in medical and sanitary matters. The Army doctors killed yellow fever out of Cuba and thereby afterward kept the Panama Canal from being lined with cemeteries. A soldier surgeon stamped tropical anemia out of Porto Rico, and the extraordinary success of typhoid inoculation in the United States Army has given it international currency.

MUNITIONS OF WAR

The progress of the European war proves that when our turn comes what is now the ordnance department will probably be elevated into an importance worthy of a Cabinet position. General Crozier buys or makes and distributes all the guns and rifles, cartridges, shells, and powder that are used in the Army. He runs the big arsenals at Watertown, Mass., and Rock Island, Ill. He even seems to trespass on General Aleshire's territory in providing by law horse equipment and harness for field artillery and cavalry.

Up to August, 1914, this was a comparatively placid jurisdiction. It is hardly conceivable that it ever can be quite so placid again. To provide and keep in stock enough ammunition to last our field artillery a day and a half, as was the case less than two years ago, is one thing. To have direction of the ordnance now being produced in this country for the belligerent armies, even though it be only about one per cent. of the total amount used in Europe, is quite another thing. The tremendous new industrial development in this country will all come under the direction of the ordnance department in case we are plunged into war.

Technically, the best brains in the Army go into the Engineer Corps. Even a peace-at-any-price advocate will probably agree that this branch of the Army at least is usefully and constructively employed. Every time he navigates an inland waterway or goes safely in and out of an ocean port he profits by their labor. They have materially helped to make Washington the most beautiful city in this country, if not in the world. They build levees on the Mississippi River and hold the banks of the Missouri from washing out into the Gulf of Mexico. All this, and much work of a similar constructive character besides, they do without any thought of war, and in addition they are supposed to select sites for military works and to build thereupon such military defenses as Congress will allow.

The Signal Corps is an American military creation which was first organized immediately after the Civil War. It has wired Cuba and Alaska and made a time record for the installation of field telegraph in the Philippines. It runs permanent and temporary wireless stations. All military aviation is under its jurisdiction.

COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

The civil governments of Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands are both administered by the War Department under a special division called the Bureau of Insular Affairs, at the head of which is Brigadier-General McIntyre. For the War Department to control the native regiment of Porto Ricans and the regular army and constabulary in the Philippines is appropriate to its proper function. But it is an anomaly for the civil governments of our island possessions to come under its jurisdiction. A corresponding anomaly is the government of the Pacific Islands of Guam and Tutuila by the Navy Department. All these insular possessions might more appropriately be governed under the direction of the Department of State or the Department of the Interior. The bureau as at present established was called into being by Mr. Taft, when Secretary of War, and Mr. Taft's intimate friend, General Clarence Edwards, was placed and maintained for seven years in charge of it. It has always been a particularly well administered, but, since military government ceased on the islands, misplaced branch of the department's work.

WHO'S WHO IN MEXICO

AKER'S DOZEN OF THE MEN MOST LIKELY TO ACHIEVE THE PRESIDENCY—WHO THEY ARE AND HOW THEY ROSE TO POWER

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

WHEN Porfirio Diaz vanished from power, in 1911, the centre of gravity in the Mexican Government disap-ed. The country flew to pieces much stronomers imagine some vast planet when the floor of Heaven was strewed the fragments we now call the Aste-s. Ever since that time, these scat-d fragments of the Mexican nation been whirling in chaos. Certain from time to time have stood out as ible new centres of gravity around :h the national life might cohere and lify; but so far the cooling and harden-process has not set in.

here are two classes of these leading . First are the soldiers, the "strong "—the Villas, Zapatas, and Obre-. The hope in them has been that of them might prove strong enough ıpply that kind of a government which on physical force. The second are scholars and men of affairs in Mexico —the Rabasas, Silvas, and Elgueros. hope in them has been that one of ı might prove winning enough to ıly that other kind of government :h rests on moral force.

:ft to themselves, however, these ies have not produced either another or another Washington. Therefore, rest of the Western Hemisphere has ded that they shall no longer be left ıemselves. Where evolution and revo-ın have failed to produce a leader, the American Governments are under-ng to create one. Their plan is to fle events for a while until events seem ıdicate which man is nearest to being er, and then, by clothing him with the ıl sanction of the sister republics (and backing him with an adequate portion of the United States Army if that becomes necessary), make him the actual leader and establish a stable government around him.

Who are these potential presidents? A careful study of the field reveals thirteen men any one of whom Fate and the Mexicans might put at the forefront of affairs. Only Mexico or one of the other volcanic Caribbean republics could possibly present such a heterogeneous list of names on one ballot for the august duties of Chief Magistrate of a great nation. The list includes the saintly scholar, Augustin Rodriguez, and the wholesale and retail assassin, Francisco Villa. It includes a technically trained modern soldier, Felipe Angeles, graduate of the West Point of Mexico and post-graduate student of the best military schools in Europe; and an illiterate bandit chieftain, Emiliano Zapata, graduate of a household of servants (he was a stable boy in the service of G. de la Torre) and post-graduate of the school of brigandage in the tropical highlands south of the City of Mexico. It includes every character in the nursery rhyme

"Rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief,
Doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief"

save only the merchant and the beggar.

The two most outstanding figures at the moment are Venustiano Carranza and Francisco Villa. Carranza was formerly a lawyer and an ambitious politician in Saltillo, State of Coahuila, northern Mexico. He was an intimate friend and partisan of Gen. Bernardo Reyes, who was for many years governor of the contiguous State of Nuevo León and an aspirant for the presidency. Diaz, who distrusted

Carranza for his ambitions, procured his election as Senator, to keep him quiet and near enough to be under surveillance. But Carranza wanted to be governor of Coahuila, and with the active aid of General Reyes all arrangements were made to "elect" him in 1910. Diaz vetoed these arrangements, and Reyes and Carranza were bitterly angered. A movement for Reyes for president was started and Carranza was one of the leaders. It failed, and it was not until March, 1911, when the Madero revolution seemed sure to win, that Carranza joined it. In 1912, under Madero, Carranza realized his ambition to become governor of Coahuila.

Carranza refused to recognize Huerta as president after the assassination of Madero, and led the revolutionary party as First Chief of the Constitutionalists, coöperating with Villa until June, 1914, when they separated, principally because Villa knew he was the stronger man and was determined to exercise the power he possessed without taking orders from Carranza. Carranza has ever since maintained martial rule over such territory as he could control, which has been the smaller but the richer and more populous part of the country on the East Coast near Mexico City. His headquarters are at Vera Cruz.

Francisco Villa (otherwise Doroteo Arango) was born thirty-eight years ago at Las Nieves, in the District of San Juan del Rio, State of Durango. He committed his first murder at fourteen years of age, and explicit accusations charge him with dozens of murders since. For several years, while nominally in the employ of a butcher in Parral, Villa was chieftain of a band of brigands who stole cattle, blackmailed ranchers, ravished women, and murdered the men who resisted their depredations. When the Madero revolution began in the latter part of 1910, Villa joined its forces with the rank of colonel. In 1911, after the success of the revolution, he "obtained a monoply from the then governor of Chihuahua for the sale of meat in the City of Chihuahua, which he procured by stealing cattle from the neighboring farms." After the assassination of Madero in February, 1913, Villa served as a general under Carranza in his revolution against Huerta. By June, 1914, however, Villa had realized that he was strong enough to take all the advantages of his prowess to himself, so that he practically drove Carranza out of Northern Mexico, which he has since controlled, exploiting every avenue of profit—from the proceeds of the confiscation of mines, ranches, money, and goods to the revenue derived from extortionate taxes on exports and from the operation of gambling houses in Juarez. Disclaiming all ambition to be president, he has made and unmade several "provisional presidents," and has managed to retain control of about half the military strength of the country, with which he has prevented Carranza from achieving either the military or the civil control of Mexico.

Emiliano Zapata has been, first and last, an ally of Carranza, an ally of Villa, and altogether independent. He is a bandit who has for years safely led his troops of brigands through the tropical jungle of the difficult mountains south of Mexico City. The regular soldiers whom Diaz sent against them were unsuccessful because they could never bring Zapata's men to a stand. When discovered, the band simply dissolved, to reassemble a few miles farther up the trail and decimate their pursuers by volleys from ambush. Zapata has been credited with altruistic ideas about more democratic land laws, ideas which have been dignified with the name of "a plan for agrarian reform." The truth is his leveling tendencies are exactly those of Robin Hood, who robbed the rich, gave to the poor, and kept a good share for himself. Zapata is an illiterate Indian and a highly successful guerrilla, and nothing more. At present he happens to be coöperating with Villa to capture Mexico City from Carranza's Constitutionalists.

Carranza's chief military supporter is Gen. Alvaro Obregon. He was an inconspicuous farmer in the State of Sonora before the Madero revolution. In that struggle he rose to the front as a forceful leader, largely through his self-assertiveness and overwhelming conceit. He has developed a considerable genius for the kind of military operations that are prac-

in Mexico, and has been fairly suc-
ıl in keeping open the railroad line
een Mexico City and Carranza's
quarters at Vera Cruz, as well as in
ling Villa's repeated attacks from the
ı. He is about 34 years old.

lipe Angeles is Villa's chief of staff,
tor of artillery, minister of war, and
ıe time his candidate for provisional
dent. He is the one soldier with the
utionists who would be called a
ɛr at all in other countries. He is a
ıate of Chapultepec, the military
ɛmy of Mexico, and has studied his
ssion in the best schools in Europe.
ɛr Madero he was for a time superin-
ɛnt of the Chapultepec Academy.
ta had doubts of his intentions toward
and had him arrested when he seized
lictatorial power. Later he was re-
ɪ and sent to Europe to get him
of the country. He returned to
co by way of Texas and appeared
he Constitutionalist army against
ta. When Carranza and Villa parted
ıany, Angeles went with Villa. Sev-
times he has been reported as indig-
over Villa's inhumane actions to-
prisoners, but he has, nevertheless,
ined in his service.

the non-military leaders of present-
Mexico, none has a name which is so
ɔf association with the history of the
ɪry as Eduardo Iturbide. He is a
ndant of that Augustin de Iturbide
e career is laconically written as
n 1783, died 1824; Mexican libera-
made emperor; abdicated; banished;
ned; shot." He was emperor only
he better part of one year. The
nt Iturbide is about 37 years old, a
tific farmer, the owner of vast plan-
ıs which he cultivates in the most
rn fashion. He has made an inter-
ɡ departure from current Mexican
ice by treating his peons as partners
ıd of as slaves, having them farm his
on a fair share basis; and by a more
ɛsting departure for a Mexican of his
namely, that he has spent most of
ıme working. To his friends he was
n as an all-round sportsman and ath-
He lived on his ranches and was
r seen in Mexico City until the last
days of Huerta's presidency. Huerta appointed him governor of the district of the City of Mexico, and he was successful in maintaining order in his territory. When Huerta resigned, Iturbide remained as governor through the short and troubled régime of Carbajal, and when the latter fled Iturbide was the only authority in Mexico City. He went alone twenty miles north of the city to meet Carranza to arrange for his peaceful entry, and in the negotiations insisted upon guaranties of the lives and property of foreigners. He remained in Mexico City for two months after Carranza's occupation, when his arrest was requested by the Villista faction of the Constitutionalists (this was before the break between Villa and Carranza) on a charge of assisting an American to leave the country. Iturbide was compelled to fly for his life. He left Mexico City in the drawing room of the sleeping car occupied by Mr. Louis Canova, a special representative of the United States Government who was going to El Paso. After the train had got well out into the desert of Northern Mexico, it was stopped at a station by a squad of Villa's soldiers who had word that Iturbide was on board. They searched the rest of the train and then demanded admittance to Mr. Canova's drawing room. Mr. Canova explained his official character and declared that they must first overpower him. The Villistas took him at his word and entered. By this time, however, Iturbide was out the window, hanging by his finger tips from the ledge—fortunately on the far side of the train from the station. After the Villistas abandoned the search and the train started, Iturbide hung on for several miles and then dropped off in the desert. By good luck, after two weeks of precarious wandering he happened into a settlement of South African Boers and was got safely across the border into the United States.

Vasquez Tagle was a member of Madero's Cabinet—Minister of Justice—and one of the group that had the unpleasant experience of being arrested with President Madero when Huerta made his coup, and held for a day in a room in the President's palace. Three nights later, Ma-

dero was murdered and Tagle and his associates awoke to find that they had left office through the assassination of their chief. His lack of political ambition has since saved him from serious embarrassment in the fluctuations of government—that and the general respect for his honesty and independence. Vasquez Tagle is about 62 years old, a lawyer, and a man of the judicial rather than the executive temper.

M. Bonilla is the only other member of Madero's Cabinet who is now both active and prominent in Mexican affairs. He was an engineer, practising his profession at Sinaloa, State of Mazatlan, when Madero appointed him Minister of Communications to take charge of the railroads, telegraphs, postal service, and highways of the country. His friends describe him as a man of loyalty and of very good common sense; his political opponents dismiss him as "a poor fellow, of no brains; not bad, just a nobody."

Dr. Miguel Silva was the most popular physician in Morelia, the capital of the State of Michoacan and a large city about 125 miles northwest of the City of Mexico. Though he was governor of Michoacan under Madero, a member of Madero's Cabinet has defined him as "socially good, politically bad," whereas an adherent of the old Cientifico régime declares that, despite his narrowness—Dr. Silva has never been outside Mexico—he has been a good influence upon Villa, one of whose counselors he now is.

The remaining four men of our group of thirteen belong to a distinctly higher intellectual type than any of the others. They are all lawyers, and all of them are respected and admired by the public and by the leaders of all factions. They are Emilio Rabasa, Agustin Rodriguez, Toribio Esquivel Obregon, and Louis Elguero.

Rabasa and Rodriguez are generally considered the ablest lawyers in Mexico —Rabasa the greatest authority in Mexico on international law, Rodriguez the greatest authority on civil law. Whether you happen to think Rabasa or Rodriguez the more important man depends largely on your political prejudices.

Rabasa is the finest product of the Cientifico party and Rodriguez is the pride of the Clerical or Catholic party. An explanation of the origin of the word Cientifico at this point may make the meaning clearer. To-day a Cientifico is anybody who has something you want and who may be mulcted of it by being denounced as an enemy of "liberty." Under Diaz, Cientifico meant a member of the ruling circle that sustained him with ideas and that he sustained with his strong arm. The Cientificos of that period were the men of influence, the men of "big business," the oligarchy with which Americans became familiar during the era of railroad building and the development of oil properties and mines in Mexico.

But in its origin, Cientifico was the name of a party of young reformers—all lawyers and friends of Limantour—who thought they saw in Mexico's misery and incompetence a reflection of the deadening effect of blind religious faith upon the human spirit as well as the tyrannous effect of the Catholic political machine upon the Government of Mexico. They saw in the new scientific spirit of the French positivists headed by Comte an influence that combatted the influence of bigotry. To them, "science" meant freedom—of thought, of action, of government. Hence they called themselves Cientificos. One of their doctrines was opposition to the Catholic religious instruction in the public schools. With Limantour as tacitly recognized leader, these same young lawyers formed later the ruling circle around Diaz.

Rabasa is the flower of this movement for the emancipation of the mind in Mexico. He was not, in the latter years of the Diaz régime, a member of the inner circle of the Cientifico ring (unlike most members of that circle, he was country-bred); he was rather the bright blossom of the Cientifico movement toward liberalism. As a lawyer, his specialty has been international jurisprudence; he has been called "the John Bassett Moore of Mexico." He has been a profound admirer of the institutions of the United States; he has been an apostle of them to the Mexicans; he has especially studied and admired our fundamental law, has even written a book on our Constitution which is con-

sidered one of the best books on the subject in any language. He has advocated social reforms, and at one time he favored restrictions upon the suffrage as a necessary precaution in making the step from a dictatorship to a democracy. His literary activities have carried him even outside his profession into the realm of fiction. But his distinction arises from his deep learning, his skill as a lawyer, and from the universal respect inspired by his character. His health is not good—though he is nearly six feet tall he weighs less than 150 pounds—but he nevertheless does not look his age, fifty-nine.

Agustin Rodriguez is to the Clerical or Catholic party all that Rabasa is to the Cientificos. At 71, he is a patriarch, a brilliant lawyer, the teacher of young lawyers, a man of simple and beautiful Christian faith, free from bigotry, called a saint even by the Cientificos and the revolutionists, everywhere beloved, everywhere respected. Like Rabasa, he was a delegate to the A. B. C. conference at Niagara Falls.

Toribio Esquivel Obregon (more properly Toribio Esquivel, his mother's name, "Obregon" being added, after the Mexican custom) is a lawyer and a reformer. He is about 44 years old. Under Diaz he practised successfully in Leon, State of Guanajuato. He was even then active in reform propaganda; he opposed the system of public finance that was put in effect by José Yves Limantour, Diaz's Secretary of the Treasury; and he wrote pamphlets against the amalgamation of the railroads into a national State-controlled system. During the last two years of Diaz's rule, Esquivel Obregon was a leader of the anti-reëlectionist party that hoped to end the dictatorship. He gave up his law practice of $30,000 a year to devote his time to this campaign. Before Diaz fell, he was sent to the border by a friend of Madero's to discuss a cessation of the revolution. When Madero in his turn fell, Esquivel Obregon was named by Felix Diaz to be Secretary of the Treasury under Huerta. (The arrangement by which young Diaz and Huerta joined forces against Madero provided that Diaz should have the right to name Huerta's Cabinet.) He remained at this post from March to June, 1913, and then, finding his uncongenial company intolerable, resigned and came to the United States. As a political idealist he is a moral force in Mexico, but he is a student rather than an executive and more likely to succeed as an apostle of reform than as an administrator of government.

Louis Elguero, the last of the group of intellectuals, was, paradoxically, at once a loyal though not extreme Catholic and a member of the inner circle of the Cientifico party. He is a sort of "Wall Street lawyer"—a director of banks and corporations: the National Bank of Mexico, the "Box of Loans" (the literal translation of the name of the State bank which specializes in agricultural credit), and the National Railways. He is the trustee and administrator of trust funds and legacies amounting to tens of millions of dollars. He is not in politics; he has not the temperament for it, being rather of the "office lawyer" type, nervous and not apt in the management of men.

These are the men who just now are most potential to the peaceful resolution of Mexican anarchy. Their diversity of character suggests a democracy, indeed, but a democracy that is the legatee of Indian aborigines and Spanish conquerors, with their violent extremes of naked poverty and incredible riches, of peons and patricians, of general illiteracy and aristocratic culture, a nation that is a disordered mixture of serfs, Crœsuses, scholars, bandits, dandies, cut-throats, atheists, and saints. Their juxtaposition in possible candidature for high office makes intelligible the fact that in Mexico to-day the foremost lawyers and doctors are subordinate in importance to the foremost brigands and murderers.

WAR CHIEFS OF THE ARMY

A MILITARY SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST, THE FIT, AND THE UNFIT—PRES
PEACE ALIGNMENTS AND HOW THEY WOULD PROBABLY BE CHANGED
THE URGENT EXACTIONS OF WAR—SOME MILITARY COMPARISONS

WHERE are the Hindenburgs and Mackensens of the United States Army; who are our Joffres, Cadornas, Hoetzendorfs? We have none. Nowhere in the United States Army do such military personalities exist. We have leaders, officers of great personal magnetism, sound military education, and limited experience. As in 1898, the pressure of war would undoubtedly again develop men like Lawton, Wood, and Chaffee. For the making of such commanders there exists to-day in the United States Army an abundance of similar material. We have plenty of officers who could take and hold Vera Cruz, who could invest another Santiago, who could carry on with patience and courage guerrilla warfare against an inferior people comparatively without organization. For the direction of regiments, brigades, possibly even divisions, natural and capable leaders are not lacking. But for the administration of field armies on the scale and in the proportion of war as now developed in Europe, we have no officers whatever, nor have we ever had the atmosphere or the conditions out of which to fashion them.

It is impossible to attempt to do justice to the officers who would have to lead our armies in war without at the start trying to form a just conception of what these men have to deal with. In the first place, our whole military establishment has not, since the Civil War, with the brief interruption of the Spanish War, been organized to meet war conditions if they should arise. At the moment of this writing, its Chief of Staff is individually engaged on a diplomatic mission to the Mexican border in an attempt to reconcile the conflicting factions in Mexican disorder; a very large portion of the department's force is engaged in the civil government Philippines and Porto Rico, in the tenance of fleets upon our inland ways, in the improvement of rivers harbors, or on public works in Alask all good and useful public services, not in any way connected with prepara for possible war.

While we are apparently rapidly proaching a just intervention in Mex and while our State correspondence hovered for several weeks on the edg European ultimatums, not a single o has been issued through the War Dep ment which would place our pre organization in readiness for anything m than its usual peaceful function.

In any consideration of the war ch of the United States Army we must h two additional facts in mind; the f is that we have little or no ground on wh properly to discriminate, for in the t to which our officers are subjected th is a high uniformity of performance. point is that none of these officers ever been called upon to meet some of tests which he would have to meet in actual war against even a second-c Power. General Wood can handle division, but could he direct a million m in the field? General Funston can sw a brigade in Vera Cruz; could he har an army corps over the congested ter of New York and Pennsylvania? leaving quite out of the question armie divisions or brigades, there are exceedin few officers in our service to-day who h ever handled a full regiment on a war ba

It is not difficult to move indicated m around on a map, but a million living breathing, hungry and thirsty men m a dozen full field armies; mean that each one of those field armies there will three divisions and that every one of th divisions, crowded into the closest possi

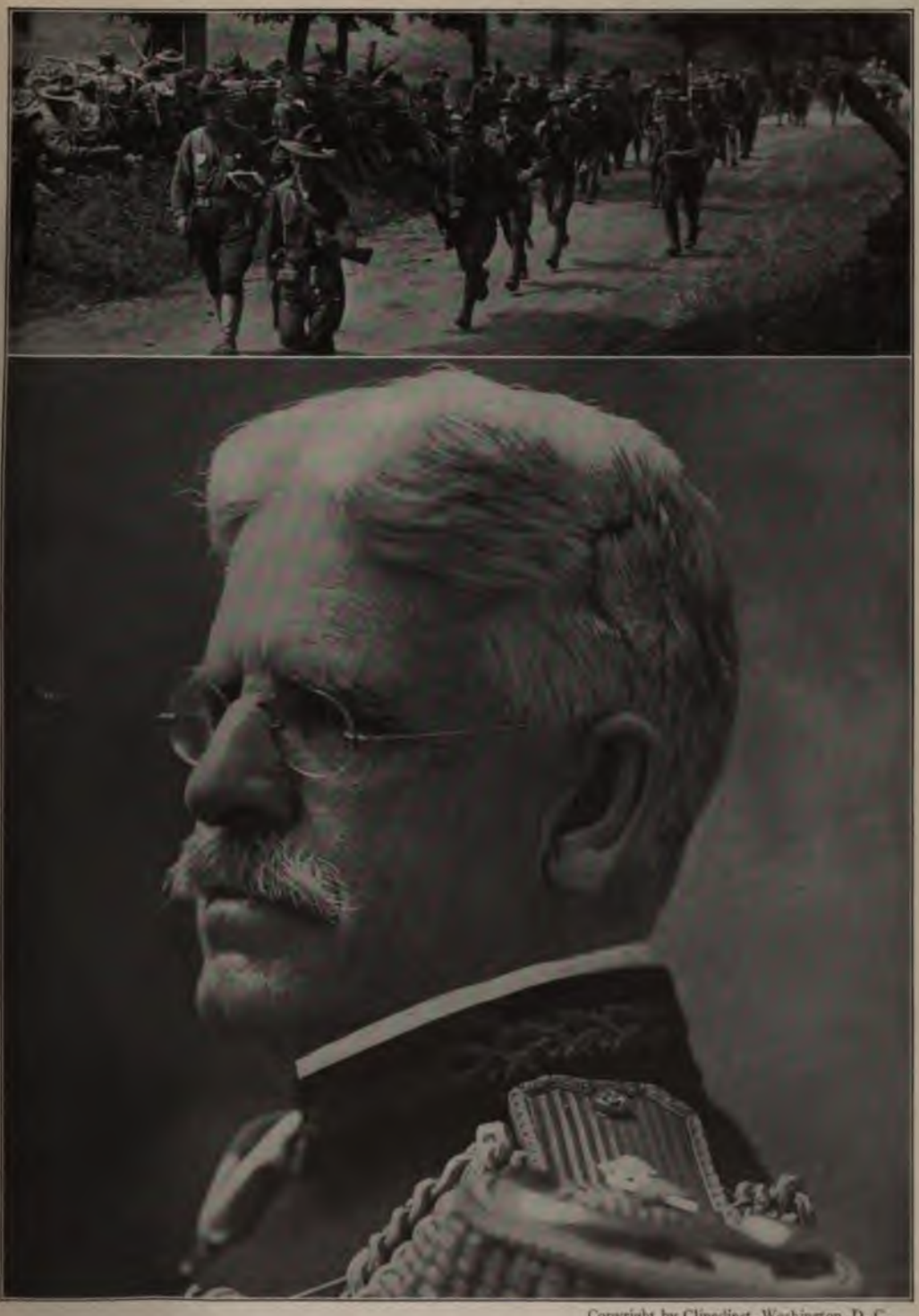
RIGADIER-GENERAL HUGH L. SCOTT, CHIEF OF STAFF, AND "BUFFALO BILL"

he foreordained place of General Scott is in the field with his troops. He is a conspicuous example
termined leader, and his peculiar efficiency would be lost were he maintained in a swivel chair"

Copyright by Underwood & Und

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ERASMUS M. WEAVER

Chief of Coast Artillery and member of the General Staff of the United States Army. On the left: Se
of War Garrison



Copyright by Clinedinst, Washington, D. C.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ALBERT L. MILLS

A medal of honor man for conspicuous gallantry in the Spanish War, a former superintendent of West Point, and now in charge of the National Guard. Nominally in control of 120,000 men, he would do well in case of war if he put more than one third of that number of effectives in the field

MAJOR-GENERAL LEONARD WOOD

In command of the Department of the East at Governors Island, N. Y. On the threat of foreign invasion, "*the ranking* officer in the United States Army would, by generally recognized merit, be given a *nominal position* corresponding to that of Field Marshal in the armies now fighting in Europe"

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

BRIGADIER-GENERAL MONTGOMERY M. MACOMB

President of the Army War College at Washington, D. C., where officers of the Army study the higher strategy and tactics of war

BRIGADIER-GENERAL TASKER H. BLISS

"At present the strongest administrative officer *on the General Staff.* . . . He has governed the *Moro province* and successfully administered the *military command* of the Philippine Islands"

marching formation, will cover eighteen miles of road. In addition to that migration the extent of territory to be managed in the supply of even one field army is almost unbelievable.

Now a Japanese or a French commander, when the war time comes, is able to direct the unwieldy masses of men and material readily enough because he has repeatedly swung them in manœuvres at full strength, and, in the French case, over the same

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES PARKER

"The cavalry general par excellence in our service. . . . His brigade of cavalry on the Texas border has been about the most efficient unit in that long and vexatious patrol duty"

country where he is now manœuvring them to save France. The problems which French officers work out over and over again on the actual terrain, our officers, in schools which have no superiors anywhere in the world, work out on maps. The single additional element which the German staff has to recognize and add to an accustomed military experience is the element of killing.

The constituent regiments of these European armies have seen service year in and year out in the same brigades and divisions in which they are now called

Copyright by International News Service Copyright by Underwood & Underwood

MAJOR-GENERAL FREDERICK FUNSTON

Now in command of the Southern Department on the Mexican border. "At Vera Cruz, in a very complicated situation, he directed the 8,000 men under his command alertly and without fluster." "He has a perfect genius for being where trouble starts"

upon to take the field. They have never been skeleton regiments scattered all over the country piecemeal in army posts of no strategic value.

Without the discriminating value, then, of searching tests on a war basis, we must also remember the second fact, that the men who now, by reason of their rank or by fortuitous achievement, occupy positions of public notice are not necessarily the best men in the service, and furthermore that while we cling to promotion by seniority several of the men who occupy the highest posts may be less well fitted for them than several other men of lesser rank. *Military promotion may* be for merit, by seniority, or on account of political influence. The first is generally an ingredient but in too many instances the latter two considerations have outweighed it.

In case of war our armies would have to be improvised and therefore where we have one general officer to-day we should need twenty when war broke. With a few exceptions the older men in the service, who have only a year or so of command remaining to them before retirement, would soon be eliminated. Above the rank of major we find a great many representatives of the last of the old guard, the men who were junior officers under old

BRIGADIER-GENERALS GEORGE W. GOETHALS AND WILLIAM C. GORGAS

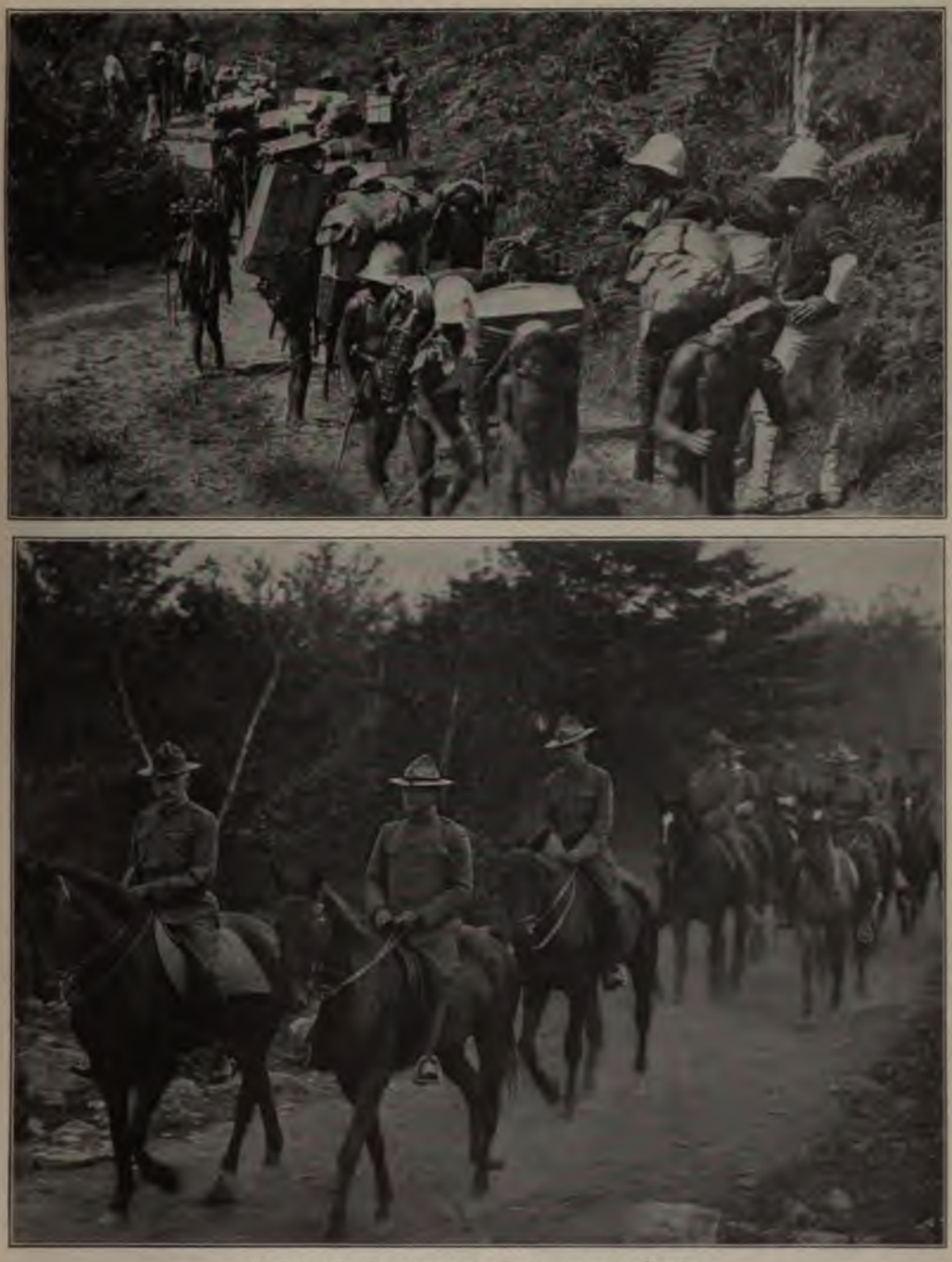
"General Goethals, who retires in November, would go back to the Canal in case of trouble. Its building and the organization of its government were his; he would be its most appropriate defender."

"It is with a great sense of satisfaction that one finds the health of the Army under the direction of General Gorgas, who made it possible for General Goethals to complete the Panama Canal"

Civil War commanders and who still, many of them, are geared to the low speed of their earlier military experience. They have run their straight race and kept the faith as they had it handed down to them. They are the products of a school of military affairs different from that of the younger men treading impatiently now upon their heels. They differ in experience, they differ in state of mind, they differ in efficiency. They would rapidly disappear under the stress of modern war.

If we had been forced to go into Mexico in the spring of 1914 General Leonard Wood, then Chief of Staff, would have been in supreme command of the field army, with a General Staff which was for five weeks packed up and ready to move with him on half an hour's notice. In case an expeditionary force to Mexico becomes necessary when all peaceful overtures have failed, General Wood will very probably receive the chief command, and in case our entire military establishment should suddenly have to be put upon an active war footing and expanded to meet the threat of possible foreign invasion, the ranking officer in the United States Army would, by generally recognized merit, be given a nominal position corresponding to that of Field Marshal in the armies now fighting in Europe.

Leonard Wood is only fifty-five years old. He has, therefore, seven more years before retirement and is the youngest major-general in the Army. He is a man of war. One look at his leonine face and head indicates that. Fighting is his profession. He distinguished himself as an efficient leader of fighting men in Cuba and in the Philippines, and he has had to fight a good part of his way to his present posi-



MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS H. BARRY (LEFT)

"Firm, opinionated, gruff, inexorable," one of the quickest minds in the service. Now in command of "that nearly 25 per cent. of the United States Army which we keep in the Philippines"

tion, lacking West Point credentials and carrying the burden of alleged favoritism at the hands of a former President. In overcoming opposition something of the Germans' ruthlessness is his, tempered by sportsmanship, chivalry, and a vast patience. It is a greater tribute to Wood's character that he has almost entirely over-

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

BRIGADIER-GENERAL DAN C. KINGMAN

Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, whose bureau has in times of peace dealt mainly with civilian tasks such as flood prevention and the building of public works in Alaska

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM CROZIER

Chief of the Ordnance Bureau, who invented the disappearing carriage on which are mounted the 12-h and 14-inch guns which defend our ports. The all important matter of munitions, which has broken British Ministry and created a great American industry, is under his charge

Right hand picture copyrighted by International News Service

BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE P. SCRIVEN
Chief Signal Officer of the Army

come this double prejudice in the service than his putting down of a Moro revolt or cleaning up the city of Havana. When President Eliot in 1899 gave him his honorary Harvard degree he called him "restorer of a province." It is hardly too much to say that he has also been a restorer of the Army, particularly of its General Staff. The province which Leonard Wood restored was Cuba, and he restored it by a rare combination of patient adaptation of American rule to the Cuban people, military firmness, and prompt decision. But he partially devastated another province, the Moro province in the Philippines, in his inexorable determination to subject its citizens who had abused patience to their conqueror's orders.

Plenty of other officers in the service have performed their set tasks equally as well as he. Scott is a better coördinator; Funston is more brilliant. Bliss, Mills, and Barry have probably equal administrative ability in subordinate offices. Pershing's career has been almost equally meteoric, and he has shown the same ability to overcome prejudice created by his preference.

But if you take the best opinion in the Army, the opinion of the more ambitious officers, you will find a pretty general agreement that Wood has accomplished more for the service than any other man.

Every kind of military experience that our history has afforded during the last thirty years has been his. Congress voted him a medal of honor for distinguished conduct in Apache campaigns as far back as 1886. Although he commanded the Rough Riders, a Presidential aspirant got most of the exaggerated attention attracted by that cavalry regiment in the Spanish War. To go from an Army doctor to a

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

BRIGADIER-GENERAL FRANK McINTYRE
Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs

general of volunteers in eight years example of how fast a competent lessed with personality, can rise in ny. That was Wood's record, and is now an outstanding flaw in his judgment it is the direct result own career. He is over-sanguine he length of time it takes to make ient officer, impatient of West Point ds and traditions, and something of nd is in his mind as he assures the nt of picked men encamped at urg of their ability to accomplish t of four years' work in one month. very probable that under General on the outbreak of war Generals Funston, Barry, Bliss, Pershing, rker would find positions in com- of large forces. The foreordained f General Scott, the present Chief , is in the field with his troops. He is a conspicuous example of a determined leader, and his peculiar efficiency would be lost were he maintained in a swivel chair in Washington. He has been a different kind of Chief of Staff from his predecessors, General Wotherspoon and General Wood; he has not the quick mind of the first nor the initiative of the second. But, organized as the Department has been as a Peace Department, he has fulfilled the duties of his position successfully in his own characteristic way.

Many officers in the service do not believe that it is the proper function for a Chief of Staff to retrieve renegade Piute Indians from the Bad Lands of Utah or to spend his valuable time placating Mexican bandits along the Rio Grande, but General Scott has accomplished both of these things and thereby saved the Peace Department a world of trouble.

MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES B. ALESHIRE

Chief of the Quartermaster's Corps, "is the Army housekeeper, more than equal to the tests provided by Mississippi floods and the preliminaries of a Mexican campaign"

But you misunderstand General Scott if you think that kind of work is his chief usefulness. Although he may be blessed as peacemakers should be, he is i way every bit as good a fighting m Wood or Funston or some of the soldiers who are associated with aggre What is too often called military gen in reality courage. A good deal of We ton's performance and even a c portion of Napoleon's was due to a degree of consistent courage. Scott man of transcendent courage. He shown the trait all his life, as much i little things as in the big things military career. He showed it in ciplining a cadet at West Point wh the son of a Senator, and he showed going after renegade Dattos in the ju of Mindanao. It is the kind of co in character which men of his own s recognize and which is clear to the In of the plains and to the Moros of Sul

"This is a contribution, such as it be," writes General Funston in the duction to his book, "to the literatu adventure." He has well said it. military career, as well as his book, is a contribution. Here is a shorter, sto Grant, with the wandering heart of a l day Ulysses. His Ithaca is a mu place called Iola, where he came fro the State of Kansas. In 1899 a colon the Twentieth Kansas Volunteers rec the medal of honor and was promote brigadier-general for conspicuous galla He crossed the Philippine Rio Grande raft with six men in the face of a desol fire, dislodged the Insurrectos from opposite bank, and then at the head squad of fifty men enfiladed the ene trenches and drove about six hundre them back from a bridge head, enabling Generals MacArthur and W ton, who had observed the exploit, to their troops across.

That was the first the world in ge had heard of Funston, but before tha had been a reporter on a Kansas City pa a botanist with the Death Valley exp tion, and a member of the Departmen Agriculture's expedition to Alaska 1893. Alone in a canoe he had flo down the Yukon and camped throug winter in the Klondike. He had run Cuban blockade on a filibustering exp tion on the *Dauntless* in 1896 and bec

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

BRIGADIER-GENERAL HUNTER LIGGETT

In command of the Fourth Brigade at Texas City, Tex., where the larger part of the mobile field army of the United States has been concentrated in consequence of the disturbance in Mexico

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

MAJOR-GENERAL J. FRANKLIN BELL

In command of the Second Division in Texas, stationed at Galveston and Texas City, who has contributed greatly to the cause of military education in the United States

thereafter a lieutenant-colonel in the Cuban insurgent army. With Lawrence Janney, of the Green Spring Valley Hunt, he served a Hotchkiss battery in the "Departamento del Oriente" under command of the Major Osgood, who is still known in Cornell and Pennsylvania football annals as one of the greatest halfbacks who ever played the game. When Osgood fell dead across the trail of his gun, Funston was the substitute who took his place and played that game to the end.

Undoubtedly the most conspicuous thing that Funston has yet done was the capture of Aguinaldo, in 1901. Funston conceived, organized, and personally conducted this expedition, which for sheer daring and complete success was the most spectacular of the Philippine campaigns. The chances were twenty to one against him, but he succeeded in the same kind of predestined way in which he has adventured his whole course of action. He has no more courage than a man of the Wood or Scott stamp but it is of a different type, more debonair, a kind of jaunty courage which sends him unafraid into danger with a smile on his face. He has a perfect genius for being where trouble starts or, where no trouble is, starting it himself.

On one occasion the further span of a bridge was blown away in the Philippines, suddenly leaving a stretch of about fifty yards of deep water between the head of his column and the Insurrecto positions. Funston immediately dives in and with four or five of his men scrambles, dripping and entirely unarmed, into the trenches. He finds plenty of arms and ammunition on the dead Filipinos and his chief concern seems to be that "Sergeant Blount, who is a very fast swimmer," beat him to the bank.

"According to the rules of the game," he writes, "a colonel should not have left the main body of his regiment, and had I failed I should have been held up to scorn by all the corner grocery tacticians in the country."

From 1911 Funston was in command on

BRIGADIER-GENERAL HENRY P. McCAIN

Adjutant-General of the United States Army, "a very level-headed, well-informed officer." Upper picture: The State, War, and Navy Building at Washington

Copyright by Harris & Ewing

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ENOCH H. CROWDER

Judge-Advocate-General, "regarded as the best adviser in legal matters of a military character the Army has ever had"

nd of Luzon and before the Mexican began last year was in command in

He is at present in command of thern Department on the Mexican where he has been fretting since sident withdrew his brigade from ruz in November last year. At uz, in a very complicated situation, :ted the 8,000 men under his com- ılertly and without fluster. One staff officers, soon after Funston's had relieved Admiral Fletcher's and blue jackets, recommended changes in the lines of observation the city. Funston's reception of gestion is most characteristic: :n this thing breaks," said he, "I going to do any fighting on my own i. I am going to do all the fighting other fellow's defenses. We'll let ies stay about as they are."

MILITARY CONTRASTS

star of a brigadier-general's in- was handed to Colonel Funston e came back wounded to Manila by General Thomas H. Barry, s then Chief of Staff under General hur. General Barry is a bear. opinionated, gruff, inexorable, a e of obstinate soldier. With the n of General Wotherspoon, now his subordinates think his the mind in the service. In some , he is the antipode of General When we had to go back into ı 1906 General Barry commanded ny of occupation. In 1900 he with the China Relief Expedition narched up from the Taku Fort elief of the Peking Legations, and he ack in the Far East, where most ıctive service has been spent, in d of that nearly 25 per cent. of the States Army which we keep in the ne Islands.

General Barry in command of the at Corregidor is General Charles y. If General Wood had taken editionary force into Mexico in 914, General Bailey, of the Coast , was slated to leave his command Totten, on Long Island, and, as a Staff officer, take charge of all lines of communication. Military engineers differ materially as to how long Corregidor would hold out against a first-class military attack. Some say two weeks; others say six months. But all agree that Bailey would get the maximum result out of what Congress has seen fit to give him wherewithal to keep the gates of Manila Bay.

In command on the Mexican border at the present time is General J. Franklin Bell, a man of very distinguished record, but rather lacking in the calmness and cool judgment requisite for the highest command. He has been Chief of Staff and throughout a great part of his often brilliant service, particularly while in charge of the service schools at Fort Leavenworth, has worked hard for education in the Army. General Bell is one of the officers who on account of age and ill health could not stand the strain of active work in the field and would probably not be called upon to take an important command in war.

General Tasker H. Bliss, who in General Scott's absence functions as Chief of Staff in Washington, will be the next major-general appointed from brigadier rank. He is at present the strongest administrative officer on the General Staff, to which he brings a great deal of experience both in the Philippines and in this country in peace or during small wars. He was General Scofield's chief staff officer when General Scofield commanded the Army. and he has been attached to both Army and Navy War Colleges.

Like Scott's, Bliss's military career was in a measure shaped or helped by Wood in Cuba, when he was appointed by General Wood collector of the port in Havana. He has also governed the Moro province, and successfully administered the military command of the Philippine Islands.

General Pershing was a captain of cavalry in 1905; in 1906, he was a brigadier-general. As in the case of General Wood, General Pershing is one of a few men in the service whose rapid advancement has been resented because of the flavor of nepotism in it. But he has lived, worked, and fought down the prejudice. In every position he has held he has invariably made good on his own merits. Although at the time of his high-speed

promotion he had done nothing to warrant his elevation from among other officers of equal rank, there is a general agreement that he has convincingly filled the shoes of a brigadier-general and furthermore that he is one of the soldiers now of General rank in the Army who would measure up to their jobs in a large command under the unexperienced strains of actual war. When Wood as an Army doctor was chasing Apache Indians in 1886, Pershing, as second lieutenant of cavalry, was doing the same thing. He was lieutenant in the Tenth Cavalry during the Santiago campaign in Cuba, and in the following year organized the Bureau of Insular Affairs in the War Department. Like nearly all the other generals of whom we have been speaking, Pershing also has served his term as governor of the Moro Province. Just at present he commands the Eighth Brigade, with headquarters at El Paso, Tex. Here still another type of American Army officer strikes you—a six-foot, hearty, headstrong man, straight and graceful and good looking, radiating confidence and command.

The cavalry general par excellence in our service is, by common consent, General James Parker. If fire ever comes out of all the smoke along the Mexican border we shall probably find General Parker emerging in command of our single independent cavalry division. He belongs to those who have quietly but decisively made good from rank to rank all along the line, inspiring reliance without seeking favor. He has been recommended and promoted by superior officers who did not personally like him. His brigade of cavalry on the Texas border has been about the most efficient unit in that long and vexatious patrol duty.

General Goethals, who retires in November, would go back to the Canal in case of trouble. Its building and the organization of its government were his; he would be its most appropriate defender.

Some generals are born bureau chiefs, some achieve bureaus, and some have swivel chairs thrust under them. In the War Department are officers of all three types, and among them the most responsible are Generals McCain, Garlington, Aleshire, Crozier, Mills, and Crowder. General Clarence Edwards, who is at present in command of our forces on the Isthmus of Panama, might perhaps better be considered under the head of bureau chiefs He was Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs during the Roosevelt and Taft administrations, preceding General McIntyre.

Long continued service in these bureaus is apt to make a man narrow and to cause him to lose the confidence of the service in active field command. But the administration of these bureaus is an exceedingly important part of the Army organization, and perhaps it is appropriate and inevitable that a loss in more essentially military efficiency shall be compensated by the smooth and economical running of departmental offices. The chief difficulty with a bureau chief's position long maintained is that it almost inevitably leads to a political affiliation. When the efficiency of the military bureaucrat is called into question all he has to do is to pull the strings at the far end of which function loyally his Congressman and his Senator. To oust such a man when, for the good of the service, he ought to be ousted means nothing short of a political upheaval, and on the basis of peace such earthquakes are hardly worth what they cost. The example in recent years of General Ainsworth will be remembered by every officer in the United States Army as a case appropriately in point.

In case of sweeping changes taking place in the Army, General Mills would very probably remain in his present position in charge of the National Guard. Nominally in control of 121,000 militiamen, according to the most reliable information he could hardly hope to put more than one third of that number of partially effective men in the field in case of war. Almost certainly he would not himself take the field.

In Cuba, in 1898, a colonel of Rough Riders found him sitting under a tree, shot through the head. But he was not making any outcry, nor asking for help. He said he wanted to smoke. When that colonel became President he remembered the episode. He made Captain Mills, as he was then, a medal of honor man for great

"in encouraging those near him
avery and coolness while entirely
ight, etc."
that, President McKinley had ap-
im superintendent at West Point.
Mills belongs to the category of
have already performed their
ce and would naturally be unequal
ors of active campaigning in the
ough still competent to discharge
of a bureau chief at Washington.
dge-Advocate-General, Enoch H.
is regarded as the best adviser
atters of a military character the
as ever had. The Adjutant-
Henry P. McCain, is a very level
well informed officer. General
Aleshire, Chief of the Quarter-
Corps, is the Army housekeeper
t rate one, more than equal to
of his bureau provided by Miss-
ods and the preliminaries of a
campaign. If the military axiom
rmy moves upon its stomach be
eral Aleshire cannot be regarded
t in the Army's progress.
ropean war seems to prove more
very month that men and war
are more effective than military
It has sometimes seemed as
ictory or defeat depended upon
alone. The Russian defeat is
to lack of them; England's in-
take a proportionate part in the
are is ascribed to lack of them.
produce them have broken up a
Ministry and created a great
industry. The head of the
part of the Army is General
Crozier, Chief of the Ordnance
General Crozier invented the
ing carriage on which are
the 12-inch and 14-inch guns
fend our Atlantic and Pacific
e is an able and brilliant officer,
continued ill health has removed
the possibilities for active field

spector-General's Corps is ably
red by Brigadier-General Ernest
gton.
ith a great sense of satisfaction
nds the health of the Army under
of General Gorgas, who made it possible for General Goethals to complete the Panama Canal. Although other lives in their thousands he has saved, his own health has been broken by his long tropical service so that he now cannot stand the strain of continuous administrative work. It is to be hoped that his services may be available for many years to come in an advisory capacity both here and abroad.

THE GENERAL STAFF CORPS

The General Staff should contain the best brains of the Army. In theory, sometimes in practice, it does so. The theory is that most of the officers who compose it shall be selected from those who have shown especial fitness in the service schools and in the War College. At the present time there is a group of colonels and young officers on General Staff duty who could, in case of emergency, serve successfully as brigadiers. Colonel Treat, of the Field Artillery, a very prominent figure for many years in the sports of the Army, and Colonel Eben Swift, of the Cavalry, belong in this group. So do Major W. D. Connor and Captain Douglas MacArthur, of the Engineers, Major William Hay, Captains Nolan, Smither, Lott, and Schindel. Captain Dan Moore, of the Field Artillery, and Captain William Mitchell, of the Signal Corps. Captain MacArthur is brilliant, resourceful, and full of promise. A year ago he was the staff officer chosen to prepare plans on the ground for the expedition to Mexico City. The preparation of those plans involved the risk of his life but he made them thorough. He was first in his class at West Point, has been an instructor at the Leavenworth schools and at Fort Riley, and has had the unusual experience of observing the Japanese, Chinese, Russian, British, and Indian armies on their own territory. Major Connor also led his class at West Point, and continues to lead in anything he undertakes. Captain Mitchell, on duty at the War College, is one of the keenest of the younger men in the Army.

There remains now to speak of a few men in each branch of the service who, judged by their performances and the impressions which they have created on both their subordinates and superiors in the

Army, may be counted upon when either by necessity or by adequate measures of preparedness the Army comes into its own. In the Engineer Corps Colonel Kuhn has probably seen more war than any other officer in the United States Army. He has seen it with Kuroki in Manchuria, with Nogi at Port Arthur. He has been with the Russian army, fought Filipinos, and watched a year of this world war. In the opinion of his colleagues on the General Staff in Washington he is one of the three or four finest products of the Leavenworth schools. General Kingman, a brilliant engineer who is now at the head of this branch of the service, has only six months more of duty before retiring. Many of his subordinates, in fact one may almost say all of them, for they are the pick academically of the Army, have performed services worthy of record. Among them, Colonel Biddle, recently attached to the Austrian army in Poland, and Majors Cheney and Harts, the latter President Wilson's chief military aide, are very representative.

The best brains of the Field Artillery may perhaps be well indicated by the composition of the three boards which have drawn up the reports which, if adopted by Congress, will put this branch of the service proportionately on a par with the European field artillery. In the first of these reports Colonels Lassiter, McMahon, and Hines established the field artillery drill regulations as at present followed and for the first time introduced indirect fire and French standards. The second board, composed of Colonels March and McMahon and Major McNair, established the present system of calibres and weights; and the present board, composed of Colonel Treat, Colonel Rice, and Major Summerall, has changed the entire organization of the United States field artillery to scale with the new standards developed by the European war. Their report is to be published this autumn. These officers have taken an advanced and radical position in greatly increasing the proportion of guns per 1,000 of infantry and enormously increasing reserves of ammunition. It is true that no branch of our service to-day *is so lacking* in material as is the Field Artillery, but the adoption of this re will more than bring it up to level. M Summerall, who has been an instructo West Point and has held responsible s positions, established and comman in 1913 and 1914 the camp at Tobyha Pa. He is one of many younger me the Army who are continually adap the lessons taught by the present wa the advantage of his particular branc the service. In this work he has coadjutors in Major Gatley, who been detailed as instructor of the Cu artillery, and Captain Dan Moore, detailed from the General Staff to duty the War College, who has spent two y with a German artillery regiment.

THE EFFICIENT MAJORITY

Any attempt such as this to pick individuals from a service in which h efficiency has always been and must uniform in character is invidious. include all those worthy of mention wo be to make of this article either a l graphical dictionary or a fat volume justified eulogy. But we must men Colonels John Morrison, R. L. Bull and C. G. Morton, of the Infantry, stand at the top of that branch of service. General Scriven heads the Si Corps ably, and under him Colonel R has charge of the Aviation Section, w is destined to play a prominent part in next military operations, wherever t are staged. Cavalrymen who have tracted general attention in the ser and out are Colonels Foltz and Meno Major James Harboard, who built up Philippine constabulary, Major Ro Howse, and Captains Frank McCoy, C don Johnston, Frank Parker, and He C. Whitehead. Each one of the last t officers has had two years of pract service experience abroad in German French cavalry regiments. Majors N moyle and Logan, who pulled sev thousand refugees with their live-stock of the Mississippi floods in 1912 and 1 can be counted upon to do even m efficient work than in these wars aga the rivers. Colonel Cronkhite and C tains Kilbourne and Embick are among ablest of our Coast Artillery officers.

THE MILITARY BALANCE SHEET IN EUROPE

WHAT THE BELLIGERENT NATIONS HAD TO START WITH—WHAT THEY HAVE LOST OR GAINED—WHERE THEY STAND AT PRESENT—AN ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE THE PROFIT AND LOSS IN MEN, TERRITORY, AND MATERIALS AMONG THE FIGHTING NATIONS

THE balance sheet of the war to date points to a long war, and it shows another fact of great significance: The proportion of loss to the military strength on land with which they entered the war is less with the Teutonic allies than with the Entente allies.

In order better to understand what strength the belligerents have left, let us look at the principal nations in detail so that we may appreciate what the two groups had to face in a military way at the inception of the war, and how they went about their tasks.

France incorporated 90 per cent. of all the males arriving at military age into its armed forces in time of peace. It expended $311,131,166 a year on its military establishments and had ready for any emergency 3,878,000 fully trained men out of a population of 39,000,000. The frontiers were fenced with defensive works, for every inch of which plans had been assiduously worked out, not in an instant, but for years before.

Germany incorporated a little less than 50 per cent. of its males in its peace time army for instruction. It expended $322,470,615 a year and had nominally 4,000,000 instructed men out of its 70,000,000 people. It was not as rich as France. What it lacked in ready money it had to make up by other means.

These two nations had by far the most highly developed military systems on earth. They had spent approximately the same amount of money per year on their armies, had approximately the same number of military units and trained men in time of peace. France could not possibly have more instructed soldiers because for many generations its birth rate has been decreasing, so that at present its annual contingent of recruits for its armies has fallen to less than 250,000 in number. France had the money but could not get the personnel from its own country. Among the people of its African possessions it was in the act of gradually developing the natives into efficient soldiers when the war began, but so to develop a whole population requires many, many years. Germany, on its side, had 70,000,000 people to draw on, and a high birth rate, which insured the maturing of a contingent of recruits for the armies of more than 600,000 men every year.

Austria-Hungary incorporated 45 per cent. of its males into the military establishment and spent on it $137,181,295 per year. Its population was 50,000,000 and it had an annual contingent suitable for recruits of 530,000. Due to the various ethnic elements in its make-up, some having more military value than others and some, such as the Czechs, being a source of danger, its full military strength could not be expected to manifest itself at the beginning of the war in the way that the power of France or Germany could. Those different elements had first to be shaken down, and the petty animosities of the people unified by the presence of a common danger and the comradeship which develops in stern war.

Russia, a lumbering Colossus among nations, with a population of 174,000,000 in its vast domain, had worked hard to render its military establishment efficient ever since, in 1905, it had been shown to be deficient by Japan. Nominally,

LOSS AND GAIN IN THE WEST

In the Western theatre of war the Germans hold 16,000 square miles of hostile territory, of which 11,000 square miles are Belgian and 5,000 are French. The total native population of the occupied territory amounts to 10,000,000, of which 7,000,000 are Belgians and 3,000,000 are French. The whole of this territory is very highly industrialized and in addition contains about one seventh of the industrial resources of France. In addition to being extremely rich in agriculture the part of France occupied by the Germans furnishes about 84 per cent. of the total amount of iron mined in France. Practically all the anthracite coal, except that mined in the Auvergne region, comes from the districts now occupied by the Germans. Thus the cost of French manufactures is greatly increased as coal and iron have to be imported in great quantity. Belgium's resources in iron and coal are very rich, and its well developed foundries and iron and machine works furnish a great assistance to the Germans in the manufacture of war equipment. France holds 225 square miles of German territory in the extreme tip of the province of Alsace. This part has a population of about 35,000. This is the only part of German soil on which an enemy has a footing

Russia's military system is similar to that of the highly developed nations of Western Europe. Its lack of intellectual development as a nation, only about one person out of four being able to read and write, its uncompact and scattered population, and its undeveloped economic condition militated directly against efficiency in a military sense. Armies of the present day to stand the tests of modern war must *be not only* well versed in the art of war but must possess in addition to trained officers a highly developed and responsive personnel among the soldiers themselves. Russia's army counted nominally 1,248,000 men in peace, with a total of 5,962,000 trained men. It was considered that not more than 2,000,000 of this number could ever be made available for active military duty on any one of its many frontiers.

This pre-bellum conclusion has been borne out by later developments. Russia's first line army, i. e., the men who had been under the colors for two years or more when the war began (Russia had kept its men with the colors in the first line army practically ever since the Balkan wars) constituted the best force the Empire had ever had. On the surface they looked as good as the troops of the Western nations. Their equipment was excellent. Ten years, however, is a very short time in which to develop an efficient corps of officers from a body that had proved itself decidedly inefficient in 1905, and it was therefore evident that shortcomings in superior leading and staff work, that is, in the coördination of all parts of the military machine, would make themselves felt. Aside from its first line army Russia's second line formations and reserves were of very inferior material. There was no efficient system of re-supplying officers lost in war, and although the system for the re-supply of men was pretty well worked out, these men were a long way from being soldiers, as they had received merely the rudiments of military training.

Italy, which held aloof from the war until May 23d, had striven with all its might during the preceding nine months to place itself in a fit condition for war. Its total of trained men amounted to 1,102,320. On account of Italy's mixed population probably not more than two thirds of the total male population is good military material.

THE FIGHTING TURKS

Turkey, which for several generations had been falling lower and lower in the scale of governmental efficiency, several years ago began reorganizing its system under German tutelage. The common people of Turkey still retain the military

characteristics of their warlike ancestors. Their deficiencies of late years have been largely due to a corrupt and effete group of leading men who entirely controlled the Government in Constantinople. These men had been largely displaced by the "Young Turk" movement before the war began and the affairs of State had been put in younger, stronger hands. A continental military system was inaugurated some years ago under the leadership of General Von der Goltz, of the German army. This system was in process of development when the Balkan wars broke out. Although the elements of the system had been established, the machine had not yet begun to run well. It rendered no service to speak of at that time for this reason. By 1914 the Turkish military system was beginning to get into workable condition and Turkey, at the inception of the war, was enabled thereby to put a numerous and fairly well appointed modern army in the field. Turkey gave military instruction to about 30 per cent. of its males in time of peace and had a total of 924,000 trained men. Its total population is 21,000,000, its birth rate gives an annual contingent of about 200,000 recruits for its armies.

England had depended upon a great navy for protection from without and, in case of a continental war, on the use of allied troops for bringing about the decision on land. Its own army consisted of a total of about 400,000 trained or partially trained men and was capable of independent action only on comparatively small expeditions. It was in no way capable of attempting an independent military operation on land against a single European Power. Its navy, on the other hand, was and is the greatest naval armada comparatively and actually that the world has ever seen. With it England designed to keep open its lines of communication with the commercial world and to help its allies to squeeze its enemies by a naval blockade and incident economic pressure. It had no good military system in fact and depended upon its navy to protect it while an army was being improvised after war was imminent or had actually broken out.

As France was Germany's most dangerous opponent, the initial operation was directed against France for the purpose of destroying its military strength, if possible, and, if not, of taking the power of initiative away from it at least. As the Entente Allies well knew that this would be Germany's strategy they made all preparations for Russia to effect its concentration and begin an invasion into Ger-

LOSS AND GAIN IN THE EAST

In the Eastern theatre of war Germany and Austria-Hungary occupied 81,000 square miles of Russian territory on August 30th. In the area occupied there is a population of about 15,000,000 people. The resources of this area lie principally in its agriculture. It is also the most highly industrialized part of Russia but in this respect can in no way compare with such development in Germany, Belgium, or Austria. The railroads and communications running through this area are the best in Russia, while the coast of the Baltic provinces furnishes excellent ports for access to the sea. The total superficial areas of the territory held both in the West and in the East by the Germanic allies amounts to 97,000 square miles, with a population of 25,000,000 people. The area of the whole German empire amounts to 208,780 square miles. The hostile area occupied is therefore nearly one-half the size of the empire. The Russians retain a foothold in eastern Galicia which embraces 3,500 miles of agricultural land

many at the earliest moment. The Teutonic Allies apprehended this counter-stroke full well and met it by launching the whole Austrian army against the communications of the Russian main army so as to draw it toward the Carpathian Mountains and away from its true line of operations against Germany, which lay on the line Warsaw-Posen-Berlin.

The Germans in their campaign into France did not destroy the main French army. They succeeded, however, in largely taking the power of offensive out of it and in occupying a strip of French territory that embraces about one seventh of the industrial resources and 3,000,000 of the population of France.

On their side the Austrians succeeded in pulling against themselves the main body of the Russian army, thereby causing it to change its line of operations, from the resumption of which it was probably permanently incapacitated thereby. As soon as it became evident to the Germans that only by a slow process of development could they hope entirely to destroy France's military strength, they immediately turned their attention to the destruction of the Russian army. On the French frontier just enough German troops were left to hold securely the territory occupied.

RUSSIA'S UNSUCCESSFUL STRATEGY

Thus since the first days of September, 1914, the Germans, in whose hands lay the military initiative, have adopted the strategy of forcing the French army to break itself physically and morally against their fortified lines, while they bent their energies to the destruction of Russia's field army. Russia's original field army was far superior to anything it could bring up in second line or, in all probability, to anything it could create during the remainder of the war. Austria in its battles with the Russians had suffered to a great extent but it had the advantage over the Russians in that its second line troops are of far higher tactical value than are the second line Russian formations. During the winter the Teutons acted on the defensive-offensive in the Eastern theatre, allowing the Russians to attack whenever they would, but all the time drawing them further and further away from their true objective, the main German army. By spring the Russians, to maintain their offensive, had been forced to bring on their disastrous main attack against the line of the Carpathian Mountains. In the meantime the Austro-Germans used the interval to place their second line troops on the most efficient basis possible. In the number and quality of these second line troops is to be found the only real surprise which the Germans were able to spring upon their opponents.

GERMANY'S FIELD PREPAREDNESS

The military establishments of all the European Powers provided for a certain number of army corps of the active army. To each one of these was assigned a reserve division of second line troops. All the countries, except Germany and to an extent Austria, turned out as designed in time of peace. The Germans, however, took the field with their reserve divisions organized into complete army corps and, in addition, in a few months had four times as many army corps in their complete military establishment as they had in their active army. They accomplished this as follows:

Germany is divided into 24 army corps districts. In each army corps district are about 400,000 men capable of bearing arms. Each army corps with its auxiliaries needs, roughly, 50,000 men. Then in each army corps district, instead of turning out one army corps and its reserve division, they turned out four complete corps. The Guard corps, which is recruited from the country at large, also turned out its complement of reserve and second line formations. The German staff had fabricated and stored sufficient military supplies for the complete equipment of all these units. Their manufacturies of arms and supplies had been so developed that they could supply the wants of the army to a far greater extent than could those of any other country. Austria adopted the same general scheme, but its perfection was not as great as was that of its ally, Germany. None of the other countries could begin to do the same thing. France could not, because it lacked the

requisite personnel. Russia had not the perfection of operation of military system. England had practically no military system at all. This is the principal reason that the Germanic allies have astonished all the world by their power, ever since the beginning of the war.

So far, on the field of battle, the Germans have proved themselves superior to their foes. If, then, there are not other elements entering into the proposition, it would be reasonable to suppose that if these victories continue eventual triumph for them on land is merely a question of time. There are many other elements, however, that must be taken into consideration. One of the most important of these is what may be termed the "military morale" of a nation; that is, its ability to stay with the game and consistently work toward the end in view, no matter what the sacrifices involved may be. The second is the efficiency and economy with which its Government is administered and the smoothness and placidity with which it works. This is also a matter largely dependent upon the nation's "military morale."

The other considerations are economic and relate, first, to the available supply of trained men to replace the losses due to casualties incident to war, and secondly, to the arrangement and supply of materials necessary for the maintenance of the armies, as well as everything necessary for the existence of the civilian population at home.

To arrive at a conclusion as to personnel, the number of casualties up to the present time must be considered in connection with the contingents of males that arrive at a military age during that time. Of the total number of casualties from all causes it is a general rule that not more than one out of five is killed or permanently incapacitated. The casualties are difficult to estimate because only one continental nation, Germany, publishes her casualty lists and even these contain the names of all the men that have been killed, wounded, or missing. Some of these get well, return to the ranks, are wounded again, and reappear on the lists. This process has happened as often as four or five times with some individuals. England also publishes lists of its killed, wounded, and missing. Separate lists appear periodically, for different branches of her armed services. Aside from these two nations none publishes lists. Estimates, therefore, have to be made. These estimates are far from mere conjectures but are based on the known casualties suffered by particular organizations, numbers of dead counted after certain engagements, and numbers of wounded transported to the rear. None of the estimates can be exact, but they will be found in all probability to fit the actual numbers closely when these become known.

The casualties are shown in the table on page 678, estimated up to August 17, 1915.

The estimates show that the losses in killed and prisoners, in proportion to the annual contingent of available males, fall most heavily on France, next on Russia, then Austria. Russia has stood stupendous losses and in this connection it must be remembered that out of Russia's total population of 174,000,000 probably not more than two thirds of it is actually available for drawing personnel for the army. On the other hand, Germany appears to have more than made up its losses to the end of the first year of war by its annual contingent. Though Germany's casualties in battle have been large its losses in prisoners have been comparatively small. In fact, few Germans have been taken prisoners. Most of the French and Austrians taken prisoners were captured during the first few months of the war. On the other hand, the rate of loss in prisoners by the Russians has been on the increase. In so far as personnel is concerned, therefore, France shows a decided weakness. The only source of large accessions is from its ally, England, which still depends upon a voluntary system for recruiting its army and which, it begins to appear probable, will never have a very large army on the continent of Europe. England's losses in personnel in proportion to her total arms-bearing population is very small. Out of its total of 7,500,000 available males it has had only 400,000 casualties in battle. On the other hand the proportion of casualties to the number of England's men actually engaged in the war has been exceedingly large, because

the losses were incurred by military units representing a total of not more than 600,000 men on the line. Its small regular army was practically wiped out at Mons, the Marne, and in Flanders. All the new troops are "improvised" in fact, if not in name. Every effort possible has been made to get as many and as efficient units on the Continent as possible, but it takes time and lots of time. There is no short cut to making a soldier, any more than there is a short cut to learning and this is a very slow process. If England had as efficient a military system as the Continental Powers of Europe it could easily maintain an army of more than 1,500,000 men in the European theatre and provide sufficient units at home for local defense. Under conditions as they exist, however, it begins to look as if a very long time would be required to bring the figures up to that total with the necessary efficiency which is the actual basis of military strength. Austria is being helped

TABLE OF LOSSES, AUGUST 1, 1914, TO AUGUST 17, 1915

	Total Casualties	Killed or Permanently Incapacitated	Prisoners	Annual Contingent	Reserves*
Germany.	2,100,000	420,000	150,000	600,000	10,000,000
Austria . .	1,750,000	350,000	300,000	530,000	7,000,000
Turkey . .	250,000	50,000	40,000	200,000	2,900,000
Russia . . .	5,000,000	1,000,000	2,000,000	1,735,221	23,000,000
France . . .	1,800,000	360,000	275,000	250,000	4,700,000
England . .	400,000	80,000	25,000	No national service	7,500,000†
Italy	200,000	40,000	5,000	374,000	5,000,000
Servia	200,000	40,000	20,000	35,000	450,000
Belgium . .	150,000	30,000	30,000	Occupied by Germany	

* Total number of men between ages of 18 and 45 capable of bearing arms. This includes men both in and out of the military service in the various countries.

† Including Canada and Australia but excluding India.

of any kind. The history of every campaign points this out most clearly. There is also a vast difference between troops that are able to render a good account of themselves in defensive warfare as distinguished from offensive warfare. In the former troops merely have to hold their trenches and fight more or less in place. When offensive war is made the troops have to move from place to place, each unit has to coördinate its movements with the others of its own force. This is very difficult, and the larger the army becomes the more difficult it is to handle efficiently against an enemy highly versed in war that takes instant advantage of every mistake made. To send mere numbers to the Continent would be absurd on England's part as they would merely add to complications. The wisest and only course, then, is being pursued, that is, of giving as much training as possible to the units before putting them into the field, by Germany in a most decided manner. Russia must depend upon its own population to man its armies, and, generally speaking, its losses so far may be considered to have exhausted the resources of personnel of about 35,000,000 of the total population. Germany alone appears unimpaired in so far as personnel is concerned.

Now as to the economic side—the Entente Allies have their lines of communication by sea open with the rest of the world So long as these remain open, the Allies cannot run short of provisions and raw materials, at least, with which to fabricate all necessary instruments of war. The Teutonic allies, however, have their communications by sea completely dominated by the navies of their enemies except in the Baltic. England controls the seas to a greater extent to-day than has the navy of any nation in history. As a result, Germany and Austria are confined, in so far as their foreign commerce is concerned,

to dealings with the Scandinavian States, Holland, the Balkans, Switzerland, and Turkey. As to food Austria-Hungary is self-supporting in all essentials, and Germany, due to the care with which agriculture has been fostered, produced within itself when the war began all but 20 per cent. of the total amount of food consumed. Since the war began the continuance of the food supply has been provided for in two ways: first, by curtailing the unnecessary use and waste of food; and secondly, by increasing the area of cultivation, not only in its own confines but also in the occupied territory of Belgium, France, Poland, and Russia. This has been supplemented to the greatest extent possible by importations from the neutral states. In so far as food is concerned, though there may be shortages of some classes of food and though prices may be expected to increase during the coming year, there is no prospect at present that in that time a serious shortage will exist.

"ECONOMIC PRESSURE" TWO YEARS OFF

The materials situation is different. Of iron and coal, the two most necessary minerals, Germany has an abundance. In fact, it is better off in this respect, perhaps, than its antagonists. It is somewhat short of petroleum and lubricating oils, but benzol produced from coal having proved a satisfactory fuel for internal combustion engines, no shortage is possible of that necessity. The by-product is utilized in the form of coke. Since the re-occupation of the Galician petroleum fields in May it is reasonable to expect that a good deal of the materials for lubricating oils have been obtained since that time to increase the reserve supply. It can get nitre for the fabrication of explosives by a process that has been developed which extracts this from the air, and the amount produced is not only sufficient for the production of explosives but it is used also for agriculture. All other materials appear to be on hand in sufficient quantities, if not in abundance, with the exception of cotton, copper, and rubber. Of these commodities Germany is short. It is a question if it absolutely requires cotton for gun powder, because wood pulp and other fibres have been substituted, while the picric or toluol powders need none for their production. Of copper Germany produced about one tenth of the amount it consumed in time of peace. The production of its mines has been increased but it cannot keep up with the necessities. Large reserves of copper were accumulated before the war began. How large these were is not known. Substitutes for copper are used wherever possible, but in most cases copper alone can be used. The total amount of the copper resources available, including copper above ground in the shape of electric wires and cables, copper vessels, utensils, and equipment, is estimated to be sufficient to last for two years from August 1, 1915. A substitute for rubber is being experimented with, but with what results is not known. It is said to furnish a fair substitute for automobile tires.

So far, then, there appears to be evidence to show that no economic depression will be felt by the central empires, great enough to affect military operations vitally, for two years to come. At the end of this time the shortage of copper and rubber certainly, cotton and meat possibly, may decidedly alter conditions. In so far as military operations on the continent of Europe are concerned during the first year of the war, the central empires have gained an ascendency. They appear to have taken the power of general offensive out of France, for more than a year, and at this time are engaged in driving back the Russian armies all along the line. In fact, the condition of the Russian army is such at the present writing that it will not be able to take the offensive and maintain it under the best of conditions for an indefinite period to come. Should the successes of the Teutonic allies continue for another year as they have in the last year, it is difficult to see how they can escape producing a decision, with Russia at least. Even if they should succeed in gaining a decision on land, however, there remains the question of a decision on the sea. The naval phases of the great war and what their effect may produce are dealt with in another article.

A SUMMING UP OF THE WAR AT SEA

THE GROWING PREPONDERANCE OF THE ALLIES IN SEA POWER—THE FAILURE OF THE SUBMARINES—WHAT CONTROL OF THE WATER HAS MEANT TO ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND RUSSIA, BOTH MILITARILY AND ECONOMICALLY

THE second summer of the war is over. What has been accomplished by each side? What losses have been sustained? If the accounts be closed to-day, what will be shown by the "balance sheet at sea" covering the first year of the war?

At the outbreak of hostilities the strength of the belligerents in completed vessels of the "dreadnaught" type—that is, battleships and battle cruisers of recent date—was as follows:

England	31	Germany	20
France	8	Austria	2
Russia	0		
Japan	5		
Totals	44		22

Shortly after the war began England took over four more superdreadnaughts which had been under construction in British yards for foreign governments—two for Turkey, one for Chile, and one for Brazil; which consequently increased the preponderance of the Allies in this dominant type of battle ship to the ratio of 48 to 22.

Meantime all belligerent nations have been hurrying the completion of ships under construction and laying down as many new ships as their facilities will permit. The number of ships to date can be fairly well estimated from the number known to have been in process of building last July; the number laid down subsequently is a carefully guarded military secret about which speculation is necessarily inaccurate.

Still considering only vessels of the dreadnaught type—which really determine naval supremacy—the present relative strength is about as follows (In this table allowance is made for the loss of the *British* super-dreadnaught *Audacious*, the only vessel of this class known to have been lost by either side since the war began:)

England	45	Germany	26
France	13	Austria	4
Italy	7		
Japan	6		
Russia	5		
Totals	76		30

Even if the Japanese fleet, which is not participating at present, and the Italian fleet, which came into the war but recently, be omitted from the computation, it is interesting to note that since the outbreak of hostilities the preponderance of the British-French-Russian alliance has increased from 17 to 33 capital ships—a gain of nearly 100 per cent. in one year. Moreover, a consideration of what the future will probably bring should be even more disheartening to the Teutons. The shipbuilding facilities of Great Britain alone are stupendous. She can lay down at least three times as many ships as Germany, and complete them in less time. That England is utilizing these wonderful facilities to the maximum extent is very probable. Her shipyards are known to be very busy, and yet to have more than 200,000 tons' less private work on hand than during antebellum times. This tonnage, put into dreadnaughts, would about double her normal output of capital ships. The combined building facilities of England, France, Russia, and Italy are about five times greater than those of Germany and Austria combined. Consequently the longer the war lasts the greater will be the preponderance of sea power against the Dual Alliance—because the German submarine campaign has so far proved a failure so far as its effect upon the battleship strength is concerned.

It is true that an occasional British and French battleship has been sent to the

:om by a torpedo or mine. But, :pt the *Audacious*, these ships were ady far out of date and of little ting value. One French and seven :ish second class battleships have ı sunk. One Turkish battleship of old type has been sunk, and possibly German.

laking allowance for these casualties, relative strength in second class :leships (considering only those built e 1895) is now as follows:

land . . .	33	Germany . .	22
ıce	16	Austria . . .	10
;ia	8	Turkey . . .	2
'	15		
ın	14		
Totals. . .	86		34

CRUISERS

osses in cruisers, because of their value athering information, are probably of e consequence than the destruction of very old battleships. Counting ored cruisers (not "battle"-cruisers, :h were considered under the "dread-ght" class of ships), protected cruisers, boats, and merchant ships converted auxiliary cruisers, the losses during year have been as follows:

and . . .	20	Germany . .	41
ıce	3	Austria . . .	4
;ia	5	Turkey . . .	9
'	1		
n	5		
Totals. . .	34		54

t the beginning of the war England e outnumbered Germany more than to one in cruiser strength. At the ent time, considering both the losses the new ships just built, the cruisers :ngland, France, Russia, and Italy l more than four times those of Ger-y, Austria, and Turkey combined, this preponderance is increasing.

SUBMARINES AND DESTROYERS

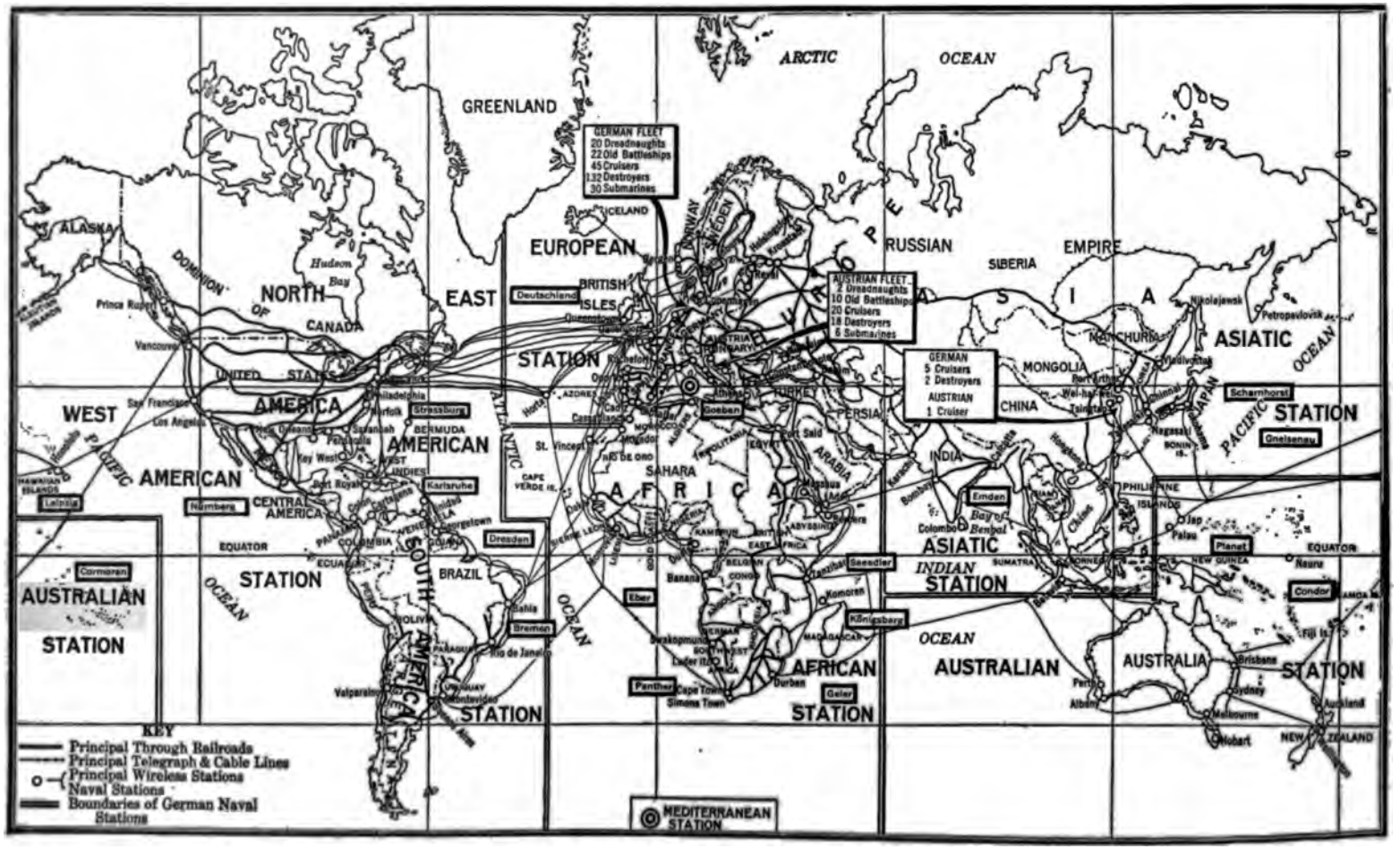
he numbers of destroyers and sub-ines cannot be estimated very ac-tely. Even the original strength is oubt in the *case of the* German sub-marines, which may have been as high as 40 and as low as 25. It is known that the German-Austrian-Turkish fleets have lost at least 16 destroyers and 10 submarines, and that their enemies have lost 15 destroyers and 14 submarines. Unquestionably a number of submarines on both sides are missing, due to collision with mines and other accidents, without the facts ever having been made public. In some quarters the German-Austrian submarine disasters are numbered as high as 40; this is probably overestimated, but in view of their very great activity it is reasonable to assume that at least 20 have made their last plunge. The British alliance has probably lost an equal number.

The initial relative strength of the two opposing sides was not far from the ratio of 3 to 1 in destroyers and 5 to 1 in submarines—against the Teutons in both cases. With practically equal losses the relative strength remains the same except for new construction; and the difficulty of estimating the latter makes it impossible to determine the present status with any accuracy. For example, it has been reported that Germany has given up any idea of competing with her enemies in battleships, and has concentrated all effort upon the building of submarines. Whether or not this is true is impossible to state. It is certainly a fact that she is building large numbers of submarines, which are being completed at the rate of at least one each week, and possibly twice that number. England is also building a large number of submarines; probably sufficient to maintain her initial superiority, but certainly enough to cope with possible necessities.

What concerns England just now is not so much the creation of submarines as the development and construction of means for their annihilation. The destroyer has proved one of the most valuable of all means for offense against submarines, and large numbers of them are under construction in British shipyards.

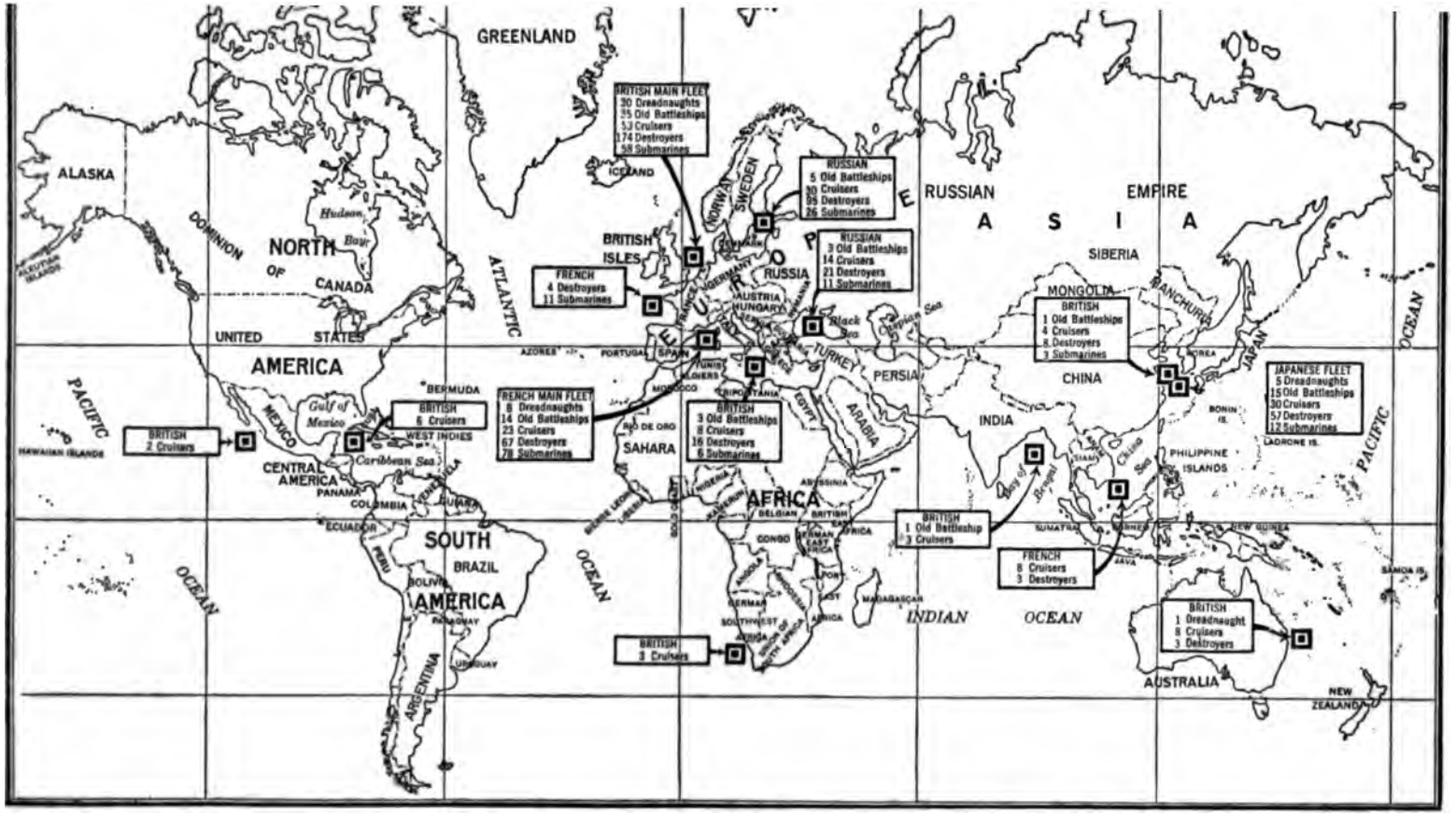
AUXILIARIES

Since the war began England has taken over about 2,500 ocean-going ships of her merchant marine to serve the fleet or army, not counting a great many trawlers



THE STRENGTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN FLEETS AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

The positions given indicate the general area rather than the exact locations. Nearly all submarine cables leading out of Germany and Austria of their enemies; the few exceptions were cut by hostile cruisers within a few days after war was declared. By means of high-powered wireless a wonderful world-wide secret service system, the Germancruisers, which were scattered all over the world, as



THE STRENGTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE FLEETS OF THE ALLIES AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

The entire naval strength is not represented, as many ships were then out of commission; but a sufficient number were available to overpower the opposing sea forces. The main forces were generally distributed according to the probable necessities of war, even before there was the faintest suspicion of a pending rupture. This is done habitually by wise nations during peace, as a part of sane preparation for war, and is one aspect of what is known as "peace strategy"

and other small vessels for mine sweeping, etc. This auxiliary service comprises all classes of ships from the ordinary "tramp" steamer to the ocean "liner." It includes such large vessels as the *Baltic, Cedric, Celtic,* and *Laurentic,* of the White Star Line; the *Mantua, Macedonia,* and *Marmora,* of the P. & O. Company; the *Minnehaha,* of the Atlantic Transport Line; the *Empress of Asia, Empress of Britain, Empress of Japan,* and *Empress of Russia,* of the Canadian Pacific Company; and the *Mauretania, Campania, Caronia,* and *Laconia,* of the Cunard Line. Most of the 2,500 are of course used as supply vessels for the fleet and army, but many serve as transports and some as auxiliary naval scouts and cruisers.

Altogether, Germany is relatively in a worse state of naval strength than she was at the beginning of the war. It is true that the strategic position of her fleet isolates both the Baltic and Black Sea fleets of Russia so effectually that the latter are incapable of joining with their friends to aid any attack against German naval forces. But this advantage is balanced by the similar isolation of the Austrian and the Turkish fleets. Notwithstanding the submarine warfare of "attrition," the numerical superiority against Germany has nearly doubled, and considering all classes of ships she is outnumbered by about three to one.

THE ALLIES' PREPONDERANCE GROWING

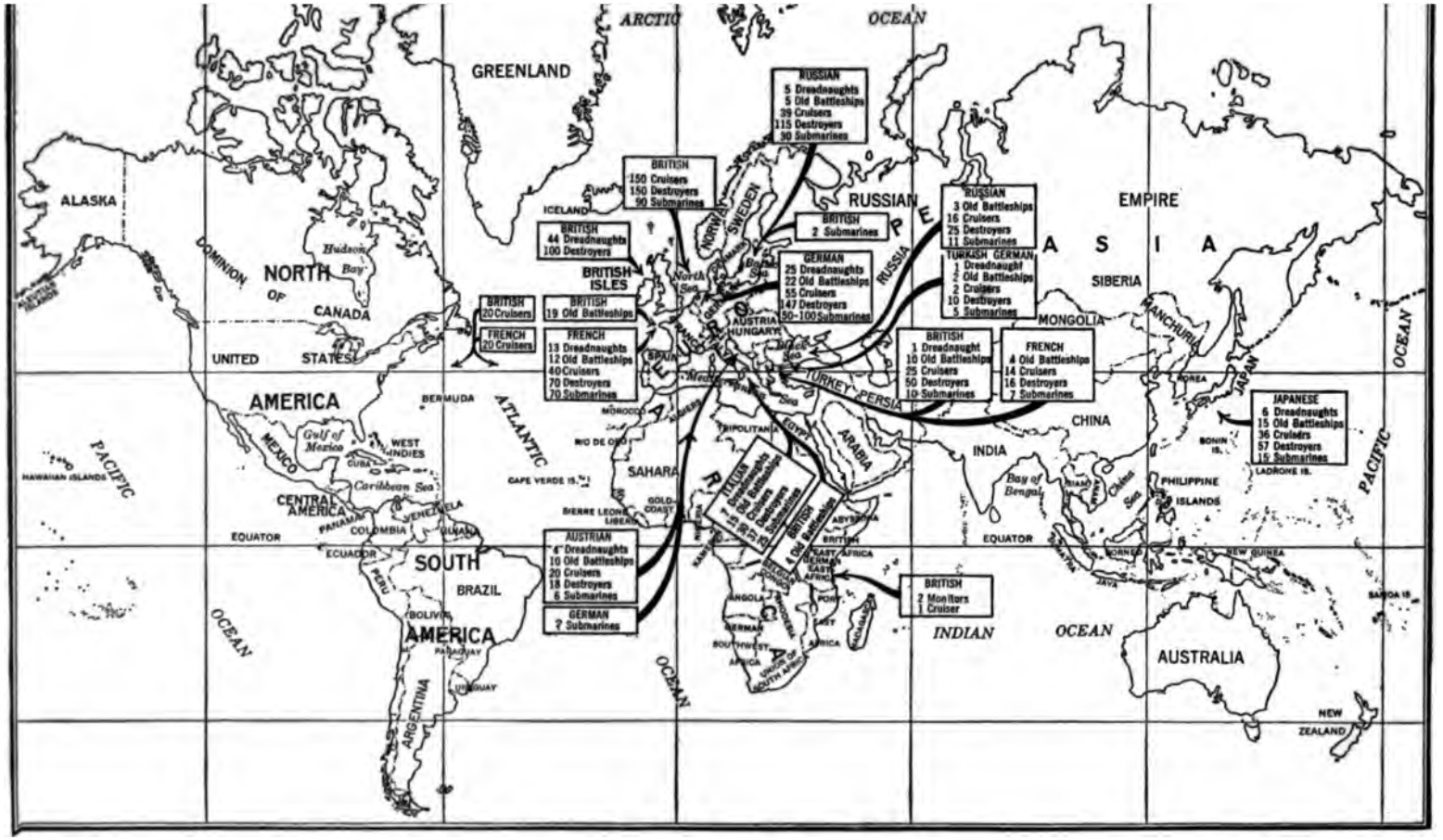
The question of numerical superiority is of extremely great importance in naval fights—much greater than in land battles. Ashore a weaker force, by entrenching and using obstacles, etc., can stand off a much stronger one; for example, the German army in France has probably been outnumbered more than two to one during the recent extraordinary operations in Poland, yet the Allied troops have been unable to make any headway against the strongly entrenched line. But on the water the "terrain" offers no protection; and in consequence it is mathematically demonstrable that, assuming equality of units, the "strength" of two opposing fleets varies as the "square" of the numbers of ships. The great value of initial numerical superiority is evident; if land's 45 dreadnaughts can bring to Germany's 26, the preponderan strength of the larger fleet (assuming units) will be in the ratio of 2,025 to that is to say, England's superiority actually more than three to one, i of less than two to one as seems a evident from the numerical proporti

PRESENT SEA STRATEGY

Now let us consider what the v fleets have accomplished during the what does the balance sheet show i way of achievement? How has stronger side used its preponderan further ultimate victory? How sk have the weaker fleets been employ frustrate the efforts of their enemies

In the Baltic, the weak Russian has been practically "contained" in by the menace of its stronger nei The resulting benefit to the Germa been twofold: trade with Scandi has been maintained, thus ensurin acquisition of some much needed su and troops have been transport positions greatly facilitating the on the right flank of the Russian forces. These important advantag the direct result of the German pol "conservation" of their fleet again great naval menace of Britain.

Germany has gained further in s ways by keeping her main floating intact behind mines and forts. Th stant threat of invasion has been hel England like the sword of Dam several raids on the English coast been made, and the British main fle consequently been effectually "tie the immediate vicinity of Great B and prevented from assisting at the danelles or in the Baltic, both pla which it could render valuable se England has been persuaded to spen sums upon new ships which she never have built if the German flee been kind enough to come out and b stroyed. A large army has been h England to repel possible invasion, therefore prevented from reinforcin armies in France. The men and the of the German ships have been ava



STRENGTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE BELLIGERENT NAVIES IN THE AUTUMN OF 1915

The positions given are necessarily only an approximation to the facts, because, for obvious reasons, whenever possible, information of this nature is a very carefully guarded military secret. The location of the main German, Austrian, and Turkish fleets is well known; that of their enemies, with the exception of the Russians who are "bottled up" in the Baltic and Black Seas, can only be guessed from a consideration of the strategic conditions

TERRITORY THE ALLIES HAVE GAINED THROUGH NAVAL SUPREMACY

The Kaiser's cherished overseas empire in the Pacific Ocean vanished during the first year of the war. Most of the Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall Islands are now held by Japan, and their proximity to Guam and the Philippine Islands, as well as their position across the line of recent American expansion, are possible elements of friction with, and of menace to, the United States. Sea power, supported by land power, is now hammering at Turkey, where the Allies have gained the foothold indicated by the shaded areas

for service ashore—and both have been used there.

On the other hand, the situation in the North Sea has not been without its compensation to England. She has been kept free from invasion, and the country is feeling more and more secure from this danger, which never has been a real one. Raiding German cruisers have been severely punished. The British army in France has been reinforced and supplied at will, without either damage or great inconvenience being suffered from the sea forces of Germany. Certain supplies essential to carrying on the war, particularly copper, cotton, rubber, and leather, except such as have leaked through neutral ports, have been denied to Germany. Economic conditions in Germany have grown steadily worse, until at present food and other necessaries of life are high priced, and opposition to the war has sprung up in some quarters. German overseas trade has been annihilated; her flag has been swept from the oceans; and consequently she has suffered severely from a financial standpoint. England has been, and continues to be, freely supplied from the markets of the world with food and with both manufactured and raw materials. Her ships roam the seven seas in safety; her trade and manufactures flourish; and she is becoming wealthy while her enemies are suffering impoverishment—as has always come to pass during wars fought since she has been mistress of the seas.

The importance of the last mentioned advantage accruing from command of the

seas—that is, the material enrichment of the nation possessing the stronger fleet while her enemies are made to feel the pinch of poverty—cannot well be overestimated in the present war in which the land forces are so evenly balanced as to prevent an early decision, and probably to cause the issue to be finally decided by material and financial endurance. It is conceivable that Germany could be eventually brought to terms on this account even after being successful on land against both Russia and Italy; because the deadlock in France seems impossible to break, by either side, and, considered from a purely military point of view, bids fair to continue indefinitely.

THE FAILURE OF SUBMARINES

It is true that the German submarine warfare has met with some success. Approximately 3 per cent. of the British merchant marine has been sunk, either by submarines or by cruisers whose careers have since been ended. On the other hand there are evidences that the British are making progress toward nullifying the efforts of the under-water rovers. The English channel of late has not been frequented by submarines—indicating rather conclusively that the Germans have been unable to reach the rich harvest to be found in this great highway of trade. Undoubtedly the British have succeeded in effectively fencing the Strait of Dover with wire nets, mines, or other means. If so, measures are surely in hand also toward restricting the movement of German and Austrian submarines in other quarters. Probably the passages between England and the Orkney and Shetland Islands, the exit from the Adriatic Sea, and the Dardanelles will eventually be similarly blocked. Where the water is too deep to plant mines anchored on the bottom, they may be suspended from a float, in the same way that the wire nets are supported; and a depth of only about 250 feet need be so protected because submarine hulls are too weak to withstand the water pressure much below that depth.

In the Mediterranean, the Austrians and the Turks have played the same game as the Germans in the North Sea. Their fleets have remained safely behind the protection of forts and mines, thus rendering it necessary for a containing force constantly to guard against the possibility of their coming out. Little has been gained by the weaker fleets in the Mediterranean, however, by this strategy; they have escaped destruction, and the containing fleets have been prevented from concentrating against the Germans in the North Sea. The latter advantage is not really material since no reinforcements have been required by the British Home Fleet. On the other hand, the English, French, and later the Italian sea forces have been in control of the sea, have ensured (with the exception of the loss of the *Royal Edward* and 1,000 men) the safe passage of troops to Europe and the Dardanelles, and have stopped the overseas trade of their enemies and prevented the latter from freely receiving important supplies. More than ever before does the conduct of war on land depend upon the regular receipt of liberal supplies, and Austria's difficulties in this respect, particularly since the entrance of Italy into the conflict, have been serious, and are directly due to the enemies' sea power.

Preponderant sea power has not only made the great land operations at the Dardanelles possible by ensuring the safe transport of troops, but it has in addition rendered important aid in the fighting. The initial landing in force would undoubtedly have been impossible without the support given by the guns of the fleet, and since that time the ships have given valuable assistance on the flanks during advances made by the allied troops.

THE BLUNDER AT THE DARDANELLES

Except for some colossal blundering the very great value of sea power would possibly by now be concretely illustrated by the fall of Constantinople. At the beginning of the operations against the Dardanelles the allied British and French fleets bombarded the old forts at the entrance, reduced them without difficulty, and then sent ashore small landing parties of blue jackets and marines who met with little opposition and blew up what remained of the big guns mounted in the

forts. Having accomplished their work the landing parties safely reëmbarked and returned to the ships with only insignificant losses. Then followed about two months of practically futile long range bombardment of the more modern forts located higher up the channel, while an expeditionary force of about 100,000 troops was being collected, organized, and transported to the scene. Being thus forewarned, the Turks, guided by Germans, utilized to good purpose the two months that were allowed them by the inactivity of their enemies. A large army was mobilized on the Gallipoli peninsula; strong entrenchments and formidable obstacles were constructed at all important places, including the beaches suitable for landing, where barbed wire entanglements were even placed underwater; ammunition was imported from Germany; German mechanics were secured to come to Constantinople and manufacture ammunition; large submarines of great radius were shipped in sections from Germany to Pola, where they were assembled and launched; some German submarines were sent by way of the Atlantic Ocean and the Straits of Gibraltar, etc., etc. When the great expeditionary force of 100,000 men, which should have accompanied the fleet in the beginning, finally arrived, it was warmly received. At the very landing places where, two months before, the small forces from the battleships landed almost without opposition, it cost the tardy expeditionary force in killed and wounded between 15,000 and 30,000 men to gain a mere foothold on the beaches. Since then every mile of advance has cost thousands of casualties, and several battleships have been sunk by submarines whose mere presence in the general locality is a serious menace to the supply of the allied army.

IN THE BLACK SEA

The situation in the Black Sea has been similar to that in the Baltic. The Turkish fleet, being blockaded at its front door by a much superior force, has turned its attention primarily to the enemy in the rear. For a time the Turks, assisted by "*purchased*" German ships manned by their *regular* German crews and officers, established control of the Black Sea and rendered invaluable aid to their army operating in the Caucasus. Owing principally to serious damage by a mine to the battle cruiser *Sultan Selim* (ex-*Goeben*), the Russians regained command of the Black Sea and have used it to good advantage. They have seriously interfered with the supply of the Turkish army operating on the Russian frontier; have assisted the operations of their allies at the Dardanelles by naval demonstrations at the Bosphorus; and have seriously hampered the activities of the Turkish fleet and the manufacture of munitions in Constantinople by shutting off the supply of coal which could be obtained only via the Black Sea. The arrival of German submarines on the scene put a stop to the Bosphorus demonstrations, but have so far had no other apparent effect.

Since the destruction of the itinerant German cruisers, the general situation on the water has been analogous to that on land—a deadlock in which neither side possessed sufficient preponderance of power to bring matters to a decisive issue. True, the fleets, unlike the troops, have not been in close contact, fighting hand to hand as it were; yet the weaker naval forces, though incapable of active operations on a large scale, have been enabled through the security offered by well protected ports to hold effectively their stronger antagonists to a restricted area, which could not be abandoned except at unjustifiable risks.

So inconspicuous have been the important events afloat, compared to the vast and momentous operations ashore, that the observer on the "side lines" has been unconsciously diverted from a true appreciation of the influence of the great, silent, unseen, potential power of the various fleets upon the course of epoch-making events.

The balance sheet at sea, then, points to a long war, unless either economic or military pressure forces the Teutonic allies to the extremity of risking a general battle at sea. And on the other hand the English command of the sea makes a complete German victory impossible, for the German arms cannot reach English shores.

GERMANY'S EXIT FROM AFRICA

CONQUEST OF THE KAMERUNS AND OF GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA, AND THE IMPENDING FALL OF GERMAN EAST AFRICA—THE TRIUMPH OF ENGLAND'S LIBERAL POLICY TOWARD THE BOERS AND THE FAILURE OF GERMANY'S REPRESSIVE POLICY TOWARD THE HEREROS —A LESSON IN COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

BY

LEWIS R. FREEMAN

THREE years ago at a water hole in Damaraland, South Africa, I met a German officer on leave who painted in graphic words a picture of Germany's in ambitions.

e heat and fever he had gone through ıade him talkative.

England was not a dunderhead," he "why did she not take all of South-Africa instead of only Walfisch Bay? ime up to twenty years ago she could done this, but because there was much t and little rain, England, with her keeper's spirit, said, 'No; it is worth- It will not pay.' It took Germany —and to act upon the knowledge— Southwest Africa could be made to ıate all of South Africa. England had the sense to see that she could ,000 miles of distance and two weeks ne by going from this coast straight ıodesia and the Transvaal instead of ıd by Cape Town. But England nore than a railroad short-cut by her lity. Ultimately it will cost her is end of the continent.

/hat do you call these?" he said, ng up a pocket map and running a along criss-crossed lines which were l inland from Swakopmund and ritz-Bucht. "Railroads, eh? Yes, they ailroads; but doesn't it occur to you they are also knives pointing at the s of the Transvaal and Cape Colony? else could a railroad beyond the nd mines back of Luderitz-Bucht be? commerce of that desert for the next red years will not be sufficient to pay e water that will *have to be* condensed on the coast and relayed out along the line for the engines. Yes; well, some day those knives may be driven home right where they are pointed, and then what will those clever British colonizing methods you talk about amount to? But it may well be that we shall never have to go to the trouble of cutting down the plums which the obliging English have planted here for us. More likely that, ripe and juicy, they will fall into our laps of their own weight. Clever you call the English, eh? It was clever to beat the Boers and take their country, yes. But stupid not to crush them when they were down, and daft to put them on their feet again and give them more than they had before. Some day this viper at the bosom will bite, and then —Germany will know what to do."

Realizing that it was the window of a man's, or rather a nation's, soul which chance had opened up to me, I resolved to make the most of the opportunity.

"Your logic is as mixed as your metaphors," I said in a studied effort at the provocation which I knew to be the only thing that would keep the man from bridling his tongue. "The Boers are contented and loyal, and even the natives of the Belgian Congo, in spite of all that has been said about 'rubber atrocities,' are better disposed toward their rulers than those of Damaraland."

"The Belgian Congo. Faugh! What is that?" and he snapped his fingers contemptuously. "By whose suffrance does Belgium hold the Congo? The reversionary rights are France's, you say. But what is France's to-day Germany has but to march to Paris to make hers to-morrow.

A week, a month at the most, and the new empire which *ma belle* France boasts is greater than that conquered by the first Napoleon lies at our feet. I suppose you think that Germany suffered a setback in the Morocco affair. Most of the world does think so. But what did we have in Morocco? Not a kilometer of territory, not a special right. So. Well, we renounce what we have in Morocco—nothing—and get for it many thousands of kilometers of the French Kameruns. That was a bargain which even you Yankees might be proud of. And when the time comes for us to take what we want in Morocco—or in any other part of French Africa, for that matter—we will take it—in Paris."

A good deal more in the same vein my outspoken guest gave expression to in the three days which elapsed before a point was reached where the assistance of a Commissioner was available in rounding up his effects and getting him on to rail-head, but these several statements from his diatribe of the first evening are sufficient to my present purpose. The significant points indicated by them are, first, that Germany believed herself able to take, and, when the time was ripe, ultimately intended to take, many, if not all, of the holdings of France and Belgium in Africa; and, second, that, largely through Boer disaffection, the conquest of British South Africa was deemed feasible.

Now let us trace briefly the history of Germany's colonial ventures in Africa and see what of her ambitions she did realize, what she might have realized without going to war, and, finally, what she probably will realize as a consequence of going to war.

The territory brought under the red, white, and black banner in the decade and a half from 1884 to 1900 was remarkable. It included a number of groups and isolated islands in the South Pacific, nearly one third of New Guinea, the so-called lease of Kiao-chau, and upward of a million square miles in Central and South Africa. It is with the latter that we are now concerned.

Germany's appearance as a colonizing power in Africa was greeted in no unfriendly spirit by either France or Great Britain. Each of the latter felt that it was already possessed of about all it could comfortably look after, and both realized that another shoulder under "The White Man's Burden" in the Dark Continent might make the load easier for all. Moreover, it was readily granted that the really splendid work of German explorers and scientists in opening unknown Africa made the Fatherland a legitimate participant in its division. At that time no nation cared much what happened to the fever haunted jungles of the Gulf of Guinea which became the Kameruns, nor yet to the blinding deserts of the Southwest coast; but in giving up the Zanzibar hinterland to Germany, Britain abandoned her cherished hope for an "All Red" zone for the Cape-to-Cairo railroad, as well as a strong right to an extensive territory of great potential value. These concessions, it should especially be borne in mind, were made to Germany on the understanding—implied if not expressed—that she was to confine her colonial activities to Central and South Africa, and that no other nation's "spheres"—and above all North Africa—should be encroached upon.

For nearly twenty years Germany, with characteristic energy, devoted herself to the development of her new colonies without exciting more than sporadic suspicions that she was not "playing the game." Then the temptation to make a bid for Morocco—dominating, as it does, both the Cape and Mediterranean routes to Australia and the Orient—became too strong for the Kaiser, and, with rattle of tongue and sabre, he launched from a clear sky his bolt to the effect that he proposed in the future to recognize only the authority of the native ruler in Northwest Africa. France, realizing that a German foothold there meant a strangle-hold so far as she was concerned, shivered and drew near to England in the Entente of 1904.

MILITARY RAILROADS IN THE DESERT

Europe breathed easier for a year or two; but the cloven hoof had been revealed, and even casual travelers began to remark the curious fact that several of Germany's apparently innocent "commercial" lines

e being laid down to and through coun-
which had very scant commercial
spects. Neither did fortified bridge-
ds, and magazines, and block-houses
l artillery emplacements at points
re there were no settlements to defend
l to bolster up confidence in the peace-
ess of Germany's penetration. France
England kept their eyes open during
next half decade, however, and the
ser's attempted coup at Agadir in 1911
ally an effort to start another Tsingtau
und them presenting a united front.
ope shook to its foundations and peace
bled in the balance for a few days, but
air-buffers of diplomacy again absorbed
shock and the great crash was deferred
tle longer.

will be interesting to note here that
many and Austria were ready to launch
omprehensive trading movement in
oli at the very moment of the Agadir
lent, and it was Italy's belief that
move was a forerunner of Austrian
pation which induced Rome to anti-
te it by the Tripolitan campaign of
-12. This attempt on the part of
tria to "double-cross" Italy was the
most important of the several causes
h operated to force the latter out of
Triple Alliance and ultimately into the
p of the Allies.

ermany accepted with the best grace
ible a large slice of French Equatorial
ca in satisfaction of the "rights" she
unced in Morocco, Italy put an end
ustria's African ambitions by taking
oli from Turkey, and, so far as the
k Continent was concerned, the stage
set for the climacteric act.

THE TEMPTATION OF MOROCCO

espite these demonstrations of the
ounded ambitions of the Kaiser in
ca—perhaps, indeed, as a consequence
iem—Britain and France were willing,
o the very outbreak of the war, to
v Germany to add to her territory in
continent up to a maximum of some-
g like 2,000,000 square miles, pro-
d only that the extension were effected
y and peacefully. This was clearly
d by Sir Harry Johnston in an ad-
s before the *Royal Geographic* Society
last February. "From 1910 to the outset of the present war," said this greatest of African authorities, "we viewed with actual favor a much enlarged German Africa provided that Germany left the Mediterranean regions alone." The new territory which France and England were willing that Germany should acquire, it will be well to explain, would have had to be obtained by purchase and exchange, principally from Belgium and Portugal. But the lure of the incalculably valuable Morocco was still more than the Kaiser could withstand, and that, with who knows what in the way of the gold fields of the Rand, the diamond mines of Kimberley, and the control of Suez, was among the stakes he saw on the table when he played his first card in the form of the Austrian ultimatum to Servia.

THE DEFENSE OF EAST AFRICA

Immediately after the outbreak of the war it seemed that the German colonies of Africa, cut off by sea and hemmed in by enemies, would fall easy prey to the British and French. Only too quickly, however, the Allies learned that here, as in Europe, German thoroughness and prevision had been greatly underrated. Everywhere were seemingly inexhaustible supplies of arms and munitions, forces were always more numerous than had been anticipated, all places that there was any chance of defending had been fortified, while the "commercially indefensible" railroads gave good warrant for their existence on strategic considerations. Repeated raids were made northward from German East Africa in the hope of cutting the Uganda Railroad, the artery of British East Africa, and for a time it appeared to be inevitable that the Kaiser's forces would overrun and occupy Nyassaland, to the south. The German always leaves his railroad base reluctantly, however, and is never at his best far away from it. In time help from Rhodesia relieved the pressure on Nyassaland, and fresh troops from India established a safe defensive line for the protection of the Uganda Railroad. It is a fact, nevertheless, that the first year of the war has not seen the German East African forces put upon any general defensive, and that a

very stout resistance may be expected from them even should it prove practicable ultimately for the British to send expeditions from all four sides—the sea and the lake districts, Nyassaland, and British East Africa—at once.

The metre-gauge railroad from Dar-es-Salaam to Lake Tanganyika was completed only a few months prior to the outbreak of the war. The main trunk is 800 miles long and runs through the heart of the colony. The 600 miles which I traversed in 1912 were unusually well built and efficiently administered, and much, of course, has been done since then to heighten the road's military usefulness. This line will give the Germans great mobility in repulsing flank attacks from the north and south, and it is not going to prove an easy matter to cut it by advances from either of these directions. More likely it will succumb to expeditions from the coast and Tanganyika, which, fighting their way mile by mile, gradually "eat it up" from both ends. Barring a complete German triumph in Europe, the British conquest of German East Africa is inevitable, though many months of fighting must elapse before it is effected.

THE LOST KAMERUNS

Although completely ringed by British or French colonies and the sea, the Germans in Togoland and the Kameruns have, by using every means at their disposal from poisoning wells to inciting revolt in the enemy's country, managed to put up a shifty and not ineffective resistance. The fact that all this region is practically impassable jungle, making operations away from the railroads and rivers almost out of the question, operated for a while strongly in favor of the German defensive. Incipient trouble with some of the border tribes—the consequence of German intrigue—hampered the British operations for a time, but the native troops of both the British and French colonies rose bravely to the occasion, and the scattering resistance of the Teutons has now resolved itself into a feeble guerrilla warfare. The end of the first year of the war may, indeed, be said to find Germany's colonies on the *Gulf of Guinea* practically conquered.

There remains now to consider only German Southwest Africa and the remarkable part played by the Boers in the conquest of it, perhaps, from the British standpoint, the brightest page of the war yet turned. That Germany, considering her faultiness of vision as to the drift of thought and sentiment in other parts of the world, should have held high hopes of rallying the Boers to her side in the event of a war with Britain is by no means surprising. Certainly we in America felt that England was storing up trouble for herself in "destroying," as we used to put it, "an independent nation." This was my own feeling when I visited South Africa in 1905, and what I observed on that occasion did not entirely eradicate it. It is true that the outstanding thing, even then, was the splendid effort the British were making to wipe out the memories of the past and put their new subjects squarely on their feet. But labor troubles were acute (it was the year of the Chinese riots on the Rand), crops short from drought, trade dull, unemployment general, and not all the war wounds yet healed over.

"Our people are slow to anger, but slow also in cooling from anger," a prominent Boer merchant said to me; "and though most of us will not deny that we are being well treated, I fear that another generation will have to be born before the Boer can be brought to love the power that broke him."

THE MIRACLE OF BOER RECONCILIATION

But seven years later I returned to the Transvaal, and lo—the miracle had been wrought! War feeling was all but dead, the Union of South Africa had been formed with the broad, brilliant, big-hearted Botha at its head, trade was humming, industry expanding and, wonder of wonders, the Burghers prosperous and contented. I looked up the same man (he was now a banker) whose words I have quoted above and reminded him of what he had said.

"Yes, I remember what I told you—what I thought—at that time," he said. "There is still an ache in some of our hearts for things the war cost us. But the sense of justice is highly developed in the Boer, and we cannot deny that under the

fair, square, helpful régime of the British we have become better off in ten years than we would have been in fifty under Paul Kruger. They have left us our language, self-government—everything, in fact, we had before—and have brought us progressiveness and prosperity. A new national feeling—an Imperial one, I mean —is developing among the Boers, and in time it will be as strong as the old one for which we poured out so much blood."

My friend did not say in so many words that his people would fight for their new country, as they had done for their old; but from the time of this visit I have never doubted that, should the call ever come, such would be the case.

A MIGHTY TASK IN THE SOUTHWEST

The task of conquering such a country as Southwest Africa—especially with its railroads strongly held, as it was known they were in this instance—was one which might well have given pause to the keenest of European-schooled strategists. The problem was that of destroying or capturing upward of 10,000 of the best trained soldiers in the world, generously supplied with modern arms and munitions, aeroplanes and wireless facilities, fighting an elaborate defensive, prepared years in advance, and themselves holding the railroads. What the result would have been had not events shaped in a way to allow the use of Boers and other colonials in this zone it would be hard to say, but one may be reasonably safe in assuming that a decision would have been arrived at in Europe earlier than in Southwest Africa.

BOTHA'S CAMPAIGN

Botha opened his campaign by sweeping the traitor, Maritz, out of Old Colony, clearing the frontier, and beginning the construction of a railroad to connect the 8,000-mile system of the Union with railhead of the German line in Damaraland. Then, with his own borders safe against raids, he started his expeditionary forces from Cape Town to the Southwest coast, where, the way having been opened by naval demonstrations, landings were made without difficulty at Luderitz Bay and Swakopmund. The forces, about 50,000 in number, were divided into four armies, the Northern, the Central, the Southern, and the Eastern. General Botha commanded the Northern Army, and the other three were ultimately united under the command of General Smuts.

Preparations for an advance occupied the next two months—the landings were made in December and January—the great problem being that of commissariat, and especially water supply. Sir George Farrar, Assistant Quartermaster General, who gained his experience in desert transport in the Boer War, and who lost his life in the course of the campaign, is given the credit for the remarkable organization which made possible Botha's sweeping successes. The water problem was solved by the construction of additional condensing plants on the coast, and a supplementary supply brought in tank steamers from Cape Town. In March the advance inland commenced, General Botha moving up the railroad from Swakopmund toward Windhoek, 250 miles inland, while Sir Duncan Mackenzie operated on the line from Luderitz Bay. The general plan of campaign was for Botha to crumple up the main German defensive as he advanced on Windhoek, while Mackenzie, after taking the diamond fields and Warmbad, was to slant northward and unite with Botha for an attack upon the capital.

WINDHOEK

This was the identical plan that the Germans had expected, and, as they thought, provided against; it was Botha's way of carrying it out they failed to reckon with. No properly schooled general, the Teutons figured, would cut loose into a waterless desert when he had the means at his disposal to rebuild and utilize a destroyed railroad. The Boer War should have taught them better. Botha did, indeed, rebuild and utilize to the utmost the railroad as fast as it fell into his hands, but, secure with his splendidly organized transport at his back, began also to "cut corners" and execute swift flanking movements which quickly stultified the orthodox strategy of the Germans and rendered the greater part of their defensive preparations of no avail. Several plucky stands were

made early in the campaign—one against General Mackenzie, at Gibeon, cost the Germans 200 men, a number of field pieces, and a great herd of cattle; but before long, as a consequence of the lightning advances of the tireless Colonials, the defenders were at their wits' ends to retreat fast enough to escape capture. Two hundred miles in three days by a troop of

GERMANY'S STAKE IN AFRICA

German Southwest Africa, the Kameruns, and German East Africa. The first two named have been conquered by Great Britain and the last will inevitably be lost to Germany unless it wins in Europe. The railroads in German Southwest Africa penetrated arid country and were really only military roads aimed at the vital parts of the British South African Union

Boer cavalry, and seventy miles in two days by infantry, are records which one not familiar with what De Wet and this same Botha had done in 1900-01 might well consider incredible. The relentlessness of the pursuit forced the Germans to retreat northward without making a stand in defense of their capital, and Windhoek was occupied by Botha, without opposition, on May 12th.

Still destroying the railroad and mining the outlying passes, the Germans backed off toward Otavifontein and Namutoni, with the apparent object of making the latter the base for a final dispersal northward into the wilds of the Portuguese *colony of* Angola. Anticipating the enemy's plans, General Botha, on the occupation of Otavi, decided on making a supreme final effort to head him off. General Brits marched his column forty-five miles in sixteen hours, and General Lukin covered forty-eight miles in twenty hours, in throwing out the net, and even more remarkable records are attributed to a command under General Mybrugh which passed the main German force to the right, and, after a sharp engagement, occupied the Tsumeb terminus of the railroad in the line of the enemy's retreat. The occupation of Namutoni, on the left, by General Brits closed the net completely. Outmarched, outfought, outgeneraled, and outnumbered, the Kaiser's commander, Colonel Franke, had no alternatives save those of annihilation or surrender. The formidable force of more than 10,000 men which the German commander-in-chief and governor of the Protectorate, Dr. Seitz, mustered at the outbreak of the war had dwindled by this time to 204 officers and 3,293 men. The men of the regular forces were interned, and the reservists of the Landwehr and Landsturm, with all commissioned officers, were paroled. The liberality of these terms, considered in connection with the fact that Colonel Franke's sword was returned to him by General Botha, might well be taken to indicate that the reports of well-poisoning and kindred atrocities on the part of the Germans were somewhat exaggerated.

It may be mentioned that Germany's defense of Southwest Africa—or, more correctly, that country's "paper" plan of offense against British South Africa—besides the coöperation of the Boers, also contemplated the bringing of huge numbers of reservists from among the million and a half Teutons in Southern Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. Stores and arms in enormous quantities were provided in Africa, a large number of steamers suitable for transport concentrated at Santos, Santa Catharina, Montevideo, Rosario, Buenos Aires, Valparaiso, and Valdivia when the war broke out, and swarms of reservists are reported to have assembled in answer to the call. At no time, however—not even after the sinking of Cradock's fleet off Coronel—was German sea power

in the South Pacific and South Atlantic sufficiently strong to warrant the risk of taking the final step in this boldly conceived plan.

The immediate, or even the potential, value of Southwest Africa is not great in comparison to that of many other parts of the incalculably rich continent of which it forms a part. Its area is 322,348 square miles, or about six times the size of England. Much of this region is desert, however, with only a negligible rainfall, and even the best of it is pastoral rather than agricultural in nature. The diamond mines in the Luderitz Bay hinterland have produced as high as $5,000,000 worth of precious stones in a year, but beyond these, and copper deposits of unknown extent in Otavi, the mineral wealth of the region is not great. All in all, General Botha is probably about correct in saying that the best effect of his conquest will be the getting rid by the Union of South Africa of a troublesome and undesirable neighbor.

To speculate upon the future of Southwest Africa—of all of once-German Africa in fact—would be idle at this time. England unquestionably intends to make the conquest permanent. The whole of southern Africa appears as a red patch on the new maps, and General Botha has announced his intention of inaugurating a colonizing movement to settle the best of the available land with British subjects from the Union.

Germany, on the other hand, has taken the loss with a good deal of equanimity, coolly maintaining that the temporary alienation of all of her colonies was expected, and that their ultimate fate—and the fate of all overseas Great Britain and France as well—will be decided in Europe. Among Botha's discoveries at Windhoek was a German map of "Africa after the Peace of Rome in 1916," showing all of that continent south of the Equator marked "Deutsche." I may also add that it is the belief in well informed circles in London that, in the event of a "deadlock" peace, the least price for which Germany would evacuate any part of Belgium would be the Congo Free State, and that the "equivalent" of that part of northern France now occupied by the Kaiser might be Morocco. However, each side is too far from being beaten at the present moment to make a guess of what either honestly believes would be its maximum concessions or minimum demands more than a hazy adumbration of what may ultimately be given or asked.

There is one big, outstanding thing, however, that nothing which may occur on the battlefields or in the chancelleries of Europe can materially alter. An object lesson of great and far-reaching significance has been given to Germany and the world in the putting to the acid test, side by side, of the "humanitarian" and the "repressive" systems of colonial policy. Nowhere else in the world could so graphic, so conclusive, a test have been made, for here, with their frontiers marching through a dozen degrees of latitude, were lands exemplifying the two greatest extremes modern history furnishes of the application of the mooted policies. In Damaraland, between the years 1904 and 1907, as the consequence of the killing of a single child, the Germans wantonly did to death 30,000 Hereros, a simple pastoral tribe of scant fighting capacity. Never since Nero and Attila had there been a parallel to Von Trotha's infamous order of extermination.

"Within German borders," read the proclamation of this Teutonic barbarian, "every Herero, with or without rifle, with or without cattle, will be shot. I will take no more women or children. I will drive them back or have them fired on."

For several years Germany seemed actually to be trying to make Damaraland a "white man's country" by killing off the blacks. It has reaped in failure the logical harvest of this sowing of brutality.

In the Transvaal and Orange Free State, on the other hand, we see a spirited, brave, and patriotic people left crushed, bleeding, and impoverished by a war which they were not without much warrant in believing to have been forced upon them unjustly, reconciled, strengthened and converted into "Defenders of the Realm" by a policy of broad humanitarianism. The consequences of these two divergent policies now stand recorded for the world—and especially for the German—to read.

THE ELECTRIFICATION OF EVERYTHING

HOW THE AGE OF STEAM IS GIVING WAY TO THE AGE OF ELECTRICITY—THE ELECTRIFICATION OF THE RAILROADS, THE FACTORIES, THE FARMS, AND THE HOMES OF AMERICA

BY

FREDERICK TODD

One thing that is still going on to a greater extent than ever in all the industries of the land has been termed Electrification. It is the powerful trend attracting to electricity in the realms of heat, light, and power with growing success. Familiar as electricity is to every civilized man, few realize the imminence of its application to universal domestic use in the form of the wire from the highest tides of engineering to the humblest stores of home.

In a spacious manner painted dead black which is part of one of the buildings of the electrical works at Schenectady, N. Y., there is a huge piece of apparatus that is at once typical of the whole electrical industry to-day and a prophecy of what it will be to-morrow. It is the greatest step-up transformer in the world built as an experiment and capable of changing ordinary current as it is received from the generating plant into an intensely concentrated current that has the awful potentiality of 220,000 volts. Along properly constructed transmission lines, this enormous transformer could deliver its power a thousand miles away.

The significance of this experiment is this: that with transmission lines less than a thousand miles long, current can be run from the known sources of cheap power to reach practically every part of the United States.

Take the map of the United States and see how the network of great distribution systems is already growing over it. In the South, five states, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee have a thick overgrowth of high-power transmission lines, the cables of light systems with physical interconnection so that energy from a score of hydro-electric plants, helped out by some steam-turbine stations, flows through the combined system to the section that needs the energy most. The Southern Power Company, with 1,300 miles of transmission lines, is already furnishing the drive for 150 cotton mills. At the western end of this Southern interconnected zone two new developments now approaching completion will soon be joined, it is said, and then the copper of a great arterial system will be continuous from the Atlantic to the Mississippi.

There is a similar situation on the Pacific Slope. Four important companies with long transmission lines are in physical touch, and another company has 1,260 miles of big cable. Drawn in over the surface of the states of Washington, Idaho, Montana, Utah, and Nevada is a thinner criss-cross of high-power lines that do not come into touch but are growing toward one another like the ice crystals on freezing water.

A great, intricate, and fine-spun spider-web encircles Chicago, and there is much disconnected network over the whole state of Illinois, over eastern Iowa and eastern Missouri, and over western Indiana. Pennsylvania and the eastern edge of Ohio are largely criss-crossed. There is a fan-shaped growth about New York City, a fairly heavy shading with Boston as a centre, and smaller netting around other New England cities. New Jersey is almost completely covered by big and little wires fed from half a dozen power houses. From western New York a network, fed by

nes leading out of Niagara Falls, smaller hydro-electric stations oothills of the Adirondack Moun- tends clear along the Mohawk River ludson.

South, and far West, and in upper ork and the vicinage of the great Dam on the Mississippi River, ply pouring along the arteries is from water-power plants. Else- comes from steam-turbine stations. tates are well covered by more or ensive local systems that in many ver considerable rural districts and tricity at cheap enough rates to much industrial and agricultural ption. There is the fine wire everywhere. Construction of the transmission lines would weld it ther into zones.

n hydro-electric developments, in- several that are groups of small , are described in the latest annual of the Committee on Progress of tional Electric Light Association ng been just completed, in course truction, or definitely planned. e going forward with the expecta- n ultimate generation of, 2,390,500 wer whenever they reach their acity.

W SOURCES OF CHEAP POWER

ultimate development of cheap omprehends more than the harness- aterfalls. There are other sources emely low-cost energy, much of going to waste now, but that will very soon. Experts say that the ndustry in Pennsylvania produces w throws away gas enough to between 50 million and 100 mil- se-power of electricity. Mountains and coal-dirt at the mines can be in especially designed power The best coal may be turned into economically right at the mine, coking company, an electric ment company, and a leading rail- mpany have been in a three- l negotiation over the possibility ng gas into power and using it, in r hauling trains. An important utility *corporation in* Pennsyl- vania has already built and put into commission a large power house among the mines of an affiliated company and is generating electricity from culm that was regarded as practically worse than worthless a few years ago.

But it is not so much for the finding of cheap sources of power that the men who are at the forefront of electrical development are striving to-day as it is to get, by full use, the economies of great generating stations and transmission systems as they are. The effort to do that is the biggest fact in electrical development at the moment, and it is what will soonest bring about a wider use of electricity.

CURRENT TO DISCOUNT STORMS

The production and sale of electricity is now wasteful. Not because coal and labor and current are inefficiently handled, however. The great power house of to-day is a beautifully integrated machine. It is not in operation that the waste comes. Look at the Waterside Station of the New York Edison Company, called a half-million horse-power plant. Coal comes to it in barges, is mechanically drawn out of their holds, goes up to gravity bins, flows down to the grates in chutes, and is mechanically stoked under the boilers. These have every advantage of design. And very little coal is wasted in useless making of steam and electricity. The mighty outflow of current from the generators rises and falls with the big steadiness that comes from use by half a million people at once, and is closely watched. Only when a black storm covers the city in the daytime, and millions of lights are simultaneously turned on, is there any sudden rush of the flood.

And this is prepared for to the minute. Added fires under boilers and reserve turbo-generators get into action without waste or failure. The storm has been electrically spied out when it was still forty miles away. The antennæ of a high wireless station atop the station has felt its static influence and given warning through instruments below of the approach. When the load comes suddenly upon the cables the machinery is already getting in motion to meet it.

This is only an instance of the high pitch of efficient organization of the modern electrical system. The ultimate fraction of a cent is found in the operating cost of producing and selling. But only a much bigger and more universal use of electricity will enable the companies to cut out a very large waste in the cost of capital, which the present users of current must, of course, bear.

This waste comes from the idleness for two thirds of the time of the great equipment in costly machinery and tons of copper wire that make up an electric distribution system. Electric lighting and electric street railway traction, with their uneven load and heavy demand for only a few hours a day, have dominated in the consumption of current. The equipment must be ready to give a maximum service that is demanded during only a short time of any day and varies throughout the year. The capital representing the cost of these things is therefore productive only one third of the time. It must be paid for upon a full-time basis. The cost of the capital is part of the cost of delivering electricity to a consumer. If there were consumers using current continuously throughout the day, the cost would be sharply cut down.

Now, a very strong and nation-wide attempt to get away from this waste by going after diversified consumption and paying use of the current in the manufacture of by-products has arisen.

DAY AND NIGHT USE OF CURRENT

Mr. Samuel Insull, head of the Commonwealth Edison system about Chicago, has led in this movement. He says that electrical engineering has gone about as far as it can in scientific construction and operation of plants and now is the time for "engineering of salesmanship." By this he means that the force of intelligence that has accomplished so much by its concentration upon the development of the electrical industry on the producing side shall now concentrate and accomplish great things in finding out new economies and capacity in the application of electricity to industry on the consuming side. *He has* made a big start in the carrying out of his idea. His system is now busy a greater part of all the time than any other, excepting the Niagara development, in America. His organization has not only gone out after diversification of consumption in Chicago, but he had an exhaustive study made of every kind of industry within a reachable distance of his central stations for the purpose of finding out how electric power can be advantageously applied for economy or increase of capacity and at just what price level electricity becomes an economy for power without considering added efficiency. Steam and electric transportation lines, coal mines, all kind of factories, ice plants, water-supply stations, farming, municipal lighting—all have been studied, and Mr. Insull is not only satisfied that in distribution over an extended zone enough different kinds of advantageous uses of current may be found under present conditions to increase greatly and equalize throughout days and weeks the output of current, but he is getting the business, extending his zone, and is the recognized prophet among the big men in electricity who are confident that great power stations are ultimately going to furnish practically all the energy for every purpose in zones of distribution. Incidentally, it may be said that Mr. Insull believes that the most economical distribution of power in this way can come only when one system has a complete monopoly in its territory, in order to obtain complete diversification, all the low costs of big production, and entire elimination of the waste of capital that is involved in having two expensive systems of wire networks overlapping the same territory.

As an incident of what such a development in electrical distribution means, Mr. Insull tells of covering Lake County, Ill., with the system. There had been ten towns with electricity at night only and twelve with no service at all. After the combination of the local concerns into the larger system, there were twenty towns having service day and night and sixty-eight farms along the transmission lines using current for light and power; the cost of producing the current had been cut in two.

e same kind of thing is going on every-
: over the United States. There is
consolidation of small systems into
· ones. Local companies are extend-
ıeir service into surrounding suburbs
country. All are catering to new
of business. The latest census re-
showed that the horse-power of all
ic motors in the country had in-
ɔd tenfold in a decade. It is now
ısing much more rapidly.
e Hartford Electric Company has
lished a system by which local users
ɔwer trucks may get them on ad-
geous terms and afterward buy their
r on a flat ton-mile basis that is lower
gasolene truck costs. The company
, number of storage battery supply
ns about the city and vicinity where
s may drive up, change an exhausted
ry for a fresh one, and go on. The
ries are charged, of course, at night
other non-rush hours. Chicago and
er are rapidly developing the use of
ic vehicles. So is New York. Dr.
es P. Steinmetz, the great electrical
t, predicts that the electric vehicle
upersede the gasolene car, except for
ouring purposes. Gasolene car mak-
lmit the competition.

ELECTRICITY ON THE FARM

ɔerts estimate that 95 per cent. of
power installations of every kind in
facturing are now electric. There is a
use of current in coal mining. It is
ning to show in the steel industry.
has come to be a big employment of
icity in agriculture, to the extent
electric and farm-tool machinery
rs are coöperating in the designing
ıaking of electrified farm machinery.
e Pacific Slope and in the Northwest,
ric irrigation," the pumping of water
wells and subterranean streams, is
ng irrigation with water diverted
streams. The farmers get the power
:heaply for use at night, exclusively.
all over the country, motors are
ring for general purposes on farms,
:lectric companies are reaching out
e farmers' custom.
:tricity for cooking and even for
warming is coming in. Many companies sell current at special rates for cooking ranges. In the Northwest, the sale of current for heating whole houses is assuming respectable proportions. There are especial economies in the general use of electricity in hotels and restaurants for cooking and heating that form the basis of a campaign for that business.

Ice-making as a by-product, for putting the machinery to use at night, is common in the South, and is being tried by companies everywhere, although the sale of power to existing plants is preferred. Nearly every new hydro-electric company's charter has in it a provision authorizing it to engage in electro-chemical manufacture, the utilization of atmospheric nitrogen in making nitrogen compounds being specifically mentioned in many.

ELECTRICITY FOR EVERY USE

About two years ago, leading men in all the phases of the electrical industry, financiers, heads of electro-generating companies, traction men, manufacturers of machinery and electric tools, supply merchants, etc., got together and formed the Society for Electrical Development, in order to organize into one solid campaign the new impetus that had come in the electrification movement. This is something more than a trade association. It is a propaganda for general electrification, and is of economic importance. Through it the best ideas and methods of the electric companies are to be exchanged. Under its auspices electric exhibitions are organized throughout the country. It has a publicity bureau. It sends out traveling representatives to study, all over the country, the possibilities of application of electricity to big industry. And it is a bureau of every kind of electrical information. It is specializing also in the popularization of the hundreds of small uses of electricity that are even now reaching such an aggregate, paying high rates, as to mean a great deal to the industry. For example, fifty-three manufacturers of electric washing machines are members of the Society, and in many small interior cities the use of current on Monday for washing and on Tuesday for operating electric irons nearly

doubles the output as indicated on other days, during the middle hours of the days. Toasters, coffee percolators, electric warming-pads, occasional heaters, fans, soldering irons, glue pots, and hundreds of other little electric utensils use up an important aggregate of power. They do not come in for the special rates which cooking ranges, refrigerator apparatus, and other individually more important apparatus bring to consumers, and they bring a lucrative addition to electric companies' gross receipts. They enable the plants to offer lower "commutation rates" to industry that will use current at specified hours. Every little helps.

CAPTURING THE RAILROAD BUSINESS

The biggest job that electricity has before it, however, is the capture of the country's steam transportation machine. To run that now, locomotives develop 50 million horse-power of energy, nearly half of all the mechanical energy in the country. And transportation will probably need 100 million horse-power before the railroads are nearly all electrified.

How will this electrification come? It has started already, with 1,750 miles of main line track already equipped, 900 miles definitely decided on or under way, and 1,000 miles seriously contemplated.

There have been many reasons for this beginning. Generally speaking, it is the intensive capacity or other special advantages rather than pure economies that have brought about the use of electricity on steam roads. Electricity is king in all projected railroad terminals. It has captured the difficult tunnels. It is taking the place of steam for suburban passenger traffic, especially where terminals are electrified. And it is pushing the steam locomotive out of mountain railroads. It is superior efficiency, of one kind or another, that has won out for it in these places.

WHAT ELECTRIC LOCOMOTION COSTS

The cost of fairly high-standard electric equipment for a railroad appears to average between $60,000 and $70,000 a mile, for locomotives, axle-motors, transmission lines, and third-rail or trolley, and a road's *own power* station. Low-standard construction can be had as low as $20,000 a mile. Large locomotives cost from $40,000 to $90,000 each. Electrification of all the railroads in the country, with their own power stations, would cost anywhere from 10 to 15 billion dollars.

There is every reason to believe that railroads will change over to electricity rapidly from now on. The Norfolk & Western is electrifying 75 miles of line over the Alleghanies because it wishes to move long trains of 100-ton coal cars over the grades at speed. Steam is slow, and electricity in this situation even shows economies. The St. Paul is beginning construction of electric equipment on 440 miles of mountain division in the Northwest, and the Denver & Rio Grande, which has studied out its problems, is said to be only waiting to see how the St. Paul is going to do it. The latest annual report of the Pennsylvania announces that the electrification of a line between Altoona and Conemaugh in western Pennsylvania is under serious consideration, which is taken to mean that it has been practically decided on. This last is a mountain electrification, where fifty electric locomotives will supplant 200 steam locomotives because of incessant blockades in getting over the Gallitzin summit. In a distance of less than fifty miles, from one to three hours will be saved in freight transportation. Here, also, economies are figured upon. And with the Pennsylvania Railroad electrified at New York and at Philadelphia, it is thought that the intervening stretches of track will soon be equipped also.

MILEAGE THAT MAY BE ELECTRIFIED

Experts vary in their estimates of the steam railroad mileage that, through density of traffic and demand for increased capacity, could well use electricity now. Some say 25,000 miles, others go as high as 100,000 out of the 250,000 total mileage of the country. The chief hindrance to electrification now is the capital expenditure required. But as one road electrifies another will have to follow, just as the building of monumental terminal structures has had a vogue regardless of economical considerations.

Courtesy of the Westinghouse Electrical & Manufacturing Company

THE "CORONA" OF A HIGH-TENSION CURRENT

nomenon of the transmission of electric power at the present high tension of 150,000 volts and a problem to be solved in the projected transmissions at 1,000,000 volts

The St. Paul has taken a way of electrifying that may be significant of what is coming for railroads that will wait for economies before adopting the motor locomotive. This railroad decided upon electrification and the Great Falls Power Company decided upon building its 200,000 horse-power plant at Rainbow Falls mutually. The two enterprises were interdependent. The plant required the business of the railroad, the railroad saved the necessity of spending much money for a plant of its own and will buy its power *cheaper* than it could manufacture it.

Electrical engineers look forward to the big wave of electrification as coming in unison with a big development of the system of distribution of cheap power in extensive zones. All the railroads cross-

Courtesy of the New York Edison Company

THE BATTLE BETWEEN DARKNESS AND LIGHT

The device on the roof of a power house of the New York Edison Company in New York City detects the approach of a storm forty miles away and (above) the powerhouse that is equipped to meet the impending darkness by additional generation of power by the time the clouds make additional light necessary all over the city

ing a circle two hundred miles in diameter would together give a market for energy measured in millions of horse-power, an almost continuous demand, because transportation on the standard roads moves with great steadiness. And so it would pay to stretch the great transmission lines for hundreds of miles from the sources of cheap power. Buying their current, and

TROLLEYS ON THE MAIN STREET OF KIOTO, JAPAN

Electrical development began in Japan in 1904. By 1909 the Japanese were using more than 150,000 horse-power; and since then the amount has doubled every three years

ELECTRIC TRAVEL IN THE CHINESE QUARTER OF SHANGHAI

Though the Chinese have been slower than the Japanese to adopt electricity, they use it sparingly in some of their cotton mills as well as for lights and transportation

Courtesy of the Westinghouse Electrical & Manufacturing Company

THE RIVAL OF THE "TEA-KETTLE ON WHEELS"

The working parts of an electric locomotive of the type that is superseding steam locomotives for suburban traffic and for the hauling of freight trains over heavy mountain grades and through long tunnels

Courtesy of the Westinghouse Electrical & Manufacturing Company

THE NEW MOGULS OF TRANSPORTATION

Electric locomotives under construction in the plant of the Westinghouse Company in East Pittsburg

Courtesy of the Westinghouse Electrical & Manufacturing Company

A TRIUMPH OF ELECTRIC TRANSPORTATION IN THE NORTHWEST
Hauling a trainload of wheat with electric locomotives on the Spokane & Inland Empire Railroad

taking it from lines at points where these frequently cross their rights of way, the railroads would be enabled to electrify at an initial capital expenditure of little more than half that required if they must build their own power stations and transmit their own current. So, with railroad men all over the country inquiring about electrification as a thing sure to begin coming very soon, and the electric industry rapidly going out after extended business and rapidly concentrating or

Courtesy of the Westinghouse Electrical & Manufacturing Company

ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVES HAVE CAPTURED TERMINAL TRAFFIC
A train on the Pennsylvania Railroad crossing the Hackensack Meadows between the terminal in New York City and Manhattan Transfer, N. J.

Courtesy of Stone & Webster

THE BLAZED TRAIL OF LONG-DISTANCE ELECTRIC TRANSMISSION

This 200-foot swathe for the high-tension current lines of the Pacific Light & Power Corporation is cut through the pine forests, scrub oak, and sage brush of the mountains and deserts that lie along the route from the Big Creek powerhouses in the Sierra Nevada 243 miles to Los Angeles, Cal. The cables carry the power at 150,000 volts.

extending into distribution systems of increasing size, we get back to the significance of the interconnected hydro-electric stations, the big half-million horse-power plants, the turbo-generators capable of giving off 50,000 horse-power, and the ugly big tank at Schenectady that has the power to send its energy a thousand miles.

Courtesy of the Westinghouse Electrical & Manufacturing Company

ELECTRICITY LENDS A HAND TO STEAM

An electric locomotive helping a steam engine pull a passenger train up a grade on the Boston & Maine Railroad

AN AMERICAN'S IMPRESSIONS IN RUSSIA

THE RETREAT FROM WARSAW AND RUSSIA'S MILITARY RESOURCES IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT TRAVELS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE EASTERN BATTLE-FRONT

BY

ROBERT R. McCORMICK

THE situation in Russia is much like the situation at the beginning of the Napoleonic campaign of 1813. Then, as now, Russia had come to the assistance of other countries that were being beaten by the great military empire. The Russians had been beaten in battles at Austerlitz in Austria, Friedland in Germany, and Pultusk, in Poland, fighting beyond their own border.

In the last year Russia has been fighting in Prussia, in Austria, and in Poland, and has been defeated in each of these countries.

RUSSIA'S CHIEF MILITARY ASSET, ITS SUPPLY OF MEN

In the face of a shortage of ammunition and of the superior intelligence and organization of the Germans, the hope of Russia lies in its ability to reinforce its lines almost endlessly with hardy and brave soldiers

People who are trying to get the best of an argument will lay emphasis on the fact that the recent battles have been in the Russian Empire. Technically, this is correct, but the explanation which should go with the statement is of more importance than the statement.

In the first place, Poland has never been satisfied with its partitions. Polish people have never looked upon themselves as Russian. They have not lent to the defending army the support which a friendly population lends, nor have they opposed to the German army the hostility which, for example, the Belgians opposed, and for which they were massacred.

In the second place, the battle line has been much closer to the centre of German resources than to the centre of Russian resources. Warsaw is 398 miles from Berlin and 811 miles from Moscow.

The highways of Poland more nearly approximate those of Germany than they do those of Russia. They are about as good as those found through New England, New York, and New Jersey. They are eminently suited to motor transportation, and they are able to bear the weight of the enormous field artillery used by the German army.

Not only has the field of battle been nearer to Germany than to Russia proper but Germany has been infinitely better equipped with railroads to carry on war at her border than has Russia been prepared to carry on war in Poland.

A FIELD KITCHEN FOR EVERY HUNDRED RUSSIAN SOLDIERS

This portable kitchen, of a type developed in the Russo-Japanese War, is admirably adapted to supply the men on the firing line with stimulating food under service conditions

Early in the war Germany threw the bulk of her strength against France, England, and Belgium, while Russia contended with Austria, Turkey, and a part of the German forces. During the winter the Germans fortified their western line so strongly and armed it so well that they were able to remove the bulk of their army to the Russian front. Combining there with the Austrians, they were able to utilize superior railroads, heavier artillery, and faster transport to throw their forces against the Russians, a preponderance, I believe, of about twenty to thirteen,

A RUDE BUT EFFICIENT ARMY TRANSPORT WAGON

Regarded by the Russians as a triumph of military invention because its wide gauge prevents upsets on rough roads and facilitates sharp turns

that swept the Russians from Galicia, overran the Russian Baltic provinces—which are as much German as Russian in race and interests—and drove the Russians from their strong position before Warsaw.

The public at large gets an erroneous idea of the fighting on the eastern front from the fact that the German headquarters staff maintains a very capable press bureau, whereas all the Allies' news is sent forth from London, where the censor is rather liberal in admitting reverses of the British Allies.

Right or wrong, for better or for worse,

A RUSSIAN TWO-WHEELED TRANSPORT WAGON

That can carry nearly 1,000 pounds of supplies and that can travel almost anywhere a horse can go

A DEVICE OF THE HIGHLY EFFICIENT RUSSIAN COMMISSARY DEPARTMENT

Cattle being driven to the Russian army when it was in Galicia. Beef in this form requires no wagons for carriage and after it is used leaves no "empties" to be brought back

Photographed by Robert R. McCormick

GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS (SEATED), COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY

Receiving General Yanouskevitch, his chief of staff, at the headquarters of the Russian General Staff. Behind the row of chairs is the headquarters special train that stands always ready to carry the staff to a new location

SOME OF RUSSIA'S MILITARY LOSSES

Upper picture: 20,000 Russian rifles, stacked like cordwood, that were captured by the Germans when the Russians lost Przemysl. Middle picture: ammunition and equipment, tons of which were left behind by the Russians in their retreat from Galicia. Lower picture: Russian prisoners at Döberitz, near Berlin

WHY THE RUSSIANS RETREATED
Russian trenches smothered in dirt by their enemy's shell fire

Russia gives out no news, and is happily ignorant of the world's opinion of her fighting men.

Judging from the Berlin and London news fountains, and filtering their discharge through such knowledge as I picked up in Russia, I came to the conclusion that the Russian army has been driven back, not cut up or overwhelmed. I consider it probable that it has lost no more effectives than its enemy. The fortresses of Przemysl and Ivangorod it has evacuated without loss, following the principle which was explained to me by General Barazoff at Lomza, that it was against the principles of the Russian General Staff to leave garrisons to be surrounded and captured. A Russian garrison has been left in Novo Georgievsk, the size of which had not been ascertained at the time of this writing. Nor did we know the reason for its being left there. It may be a force which was

A HOLE MADE BY AN AUSTRIAN 30-CENTIMETRE GUN
These hitherto unknown Austrian howitzers were the most effective instrument in the campaign that drove the Russians out of Galicia

RUSSIAN DESTRUCTIVENESS AGAINST GERMAN FORESIGHT

The Russians blew up the two bridges over the San River when they evacuated Przemysl, but the Germans replaced them with a pontoon bridge in less than two hours and immediately resumed their pursuit. The second pontoon was thrown across later with the help of the Russian prisoners in the foreground

unable to retreat. It may be a force which was left to hold the important railroad line into Warsaw as long as possible. It may be a small force, or it may be a large force. We will not know the truth concerning any of these matters for months to come.

At the time of writing the Russians are still holding Lomza. Lomza is not a fortress, as reported from London. On the north of the river there is a bridge head, built some years ago to protect the bridge from a sudden assault. It is so close to the bridge as to be valueless to prevent the bridge from being destroyed by hostile artillery fire, and in defensive warfare is not worth holding, as it is evi-

THE IMPORTANCE OF VILNA

This bridge over the River Vilia is the only bridge in a radius of 100 miles that is strong enough to bear the heavy artillery which is so strong an element of German military power

dently preferable to destroy the bridge and fight from the other bank. This point will be held as long as possible because the Russians built a railroad to it during the winter which they would not wish to fall into the enemy's hands, certainly not until it had been destroyed.

Let us assume that Germany can and will force Russia's line of defense. She will have a choice of three objectives: (1) advance along the Baltic seacoast to take Riga and Petrograd, (2) advance east from Lemberg to Kiev, (3) advance through the centre to Moscow. Movements favoring the first would be that in the Baltic provinces the Russian spirit is weakest, the German influence strongest. The capture of Riga would deprive Russia of a valuable manufacturing centre. The German wing, resting on the sea, would have the benefit of the superiority of German sea power. The Russian wing would be subject to occasional naval bombardment and to the threat of a force landed in its rear. If the force could penetrate to Petrograd the sensation created would be one that has not been equalled in a hundred years. The Russian fleet would be entirely destroyed, permitting the Germans to control the Baltic with a few torpedo boats. The Russian arms and ammunition factories at Petrograd would be destroyed.

A successful attack on Kiev would result in the crippling of Russian industries and might lead to a raid and the destruction of another important manufacturing city, Odessa.

The capture of Moscow would have equal importance with the capture of Kiev. A year ago, German officers, anxious for war, insisted upon the power of the German army to march to Moscow and Petrograd. That year proved their estimate was incorrect.

The question arises whether Germany's tremendous levee en masse and her undreamed of production of war material from her international arms factories, combined with the apparent inability of the Western Allies to accomplish anything, now make this feat practicable. Personally I doubt it.

The German equipment was designed for use under German conditions. It is all exceedingly heavy. It is all complicated, needing the best roadbeds for transportation and the best repair shops for renewals. To operate a battery of 12-inch field pieces over roads designed for their use, and within ten hours by train of the factory, with special cars and motor trucks following to bring up the 400-pound shells, is one thing. To operate the same guns over mud roads days away from a machine shop, and depending on horse-drawn wagons to move up the ammunition—two cartridges to a wagon—is entirely different.

Hitherto the German advance has been conducted much like Sherman's march—establishing a strong intrenched line and then massing superiority of numbers at a given point.

Fighting along the enormous front which would be necessary to advance on Petrograd, the line would constantly be broken and all communications would be open to raiding parties. Under such circumstances Russian transport and Russian artillery, caught by superior numbers, could make a more or less successful getaway across country. The German guns and transports would be tied to the roads.

When I was in Sweden the pro-Germans put much stress upon the probability of a revolution breaking out in Russia. This was a clear case of the "wish being father to the thought." Since Peter the Great's time, the two parties in Russia have been the pro-German party and the the pro-Russian party. Peter, to be sure, was the leader of the German party. Borrowing the ideas that Germany had borrowed from France and England, he brought his kingdom far along the road of progress.

The other great Russian ruler, Catherine, a German herself, came to power by heading the pan-Russian party.

These parties have never merged. The Russian royal family has a large percentage of German blood. German family names are frequent in the court Red Book. But when the Czar decided upon war, he threw the monarchy and the aristocracy whole-heartedly into the pan-Slav movement. How strong this movement is it is hard for a foreigner to comprehend.

Everywhere throughout the army I was urged to visit Moscow, which I was told

was typically Russian. Petrograd, a number of officers told me, was practically a German city. I was urged to visit the Caucasus, the Volga, and the Don.

The point of view we have of Russia is the point of view presented by English writers writing at a time when England was anti-Russian, and presented by political refugees. The Russian masses have a view of themselves quite strange to me. They look upon themselves as the simplest and most religious people in the world, whose simplicity is constantly imposed upon by outsiders.

They say they have been oppressed by the Mongols, the Turks, and the Germans. They look upon this war as a fight for self-preservation. Once an invading army is on their soil they will fight it as they fought Napoleon's force. More mobile than their enemy, in a wide country they cannot be concentrated and overawed as the Belgians have been. They will destroy their cities and their houses, their crops and their cattle. They will oppose the advance with their organized troops and will close upon the rear as individuals, cutting off stragglers and patrols.

In the meantime Italy, France, and England will be playing the part that Spain played in 1812.

When the big, unwieldy army begins to retreat it will be unable to extricate its heavy equipment. When it gets back to its own frontier it can be followed by an army as good as it is, and then will have to continue the war under the discouraging conditions that faced Napoleon in 1813-14.

A LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE

A PLAN FOR THE UNION OF ALL NATIONS TO SUPPRESS WARS BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL NATIONS—PEACE BACKED BY THE ARMS OF THE WHOLE WORLD

BY

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL

(PRESIDENT OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY)

TREVELYAN, in his "Life of Macaulay," tells how the father of the historian took with him some missionaries to Africa. They differed on controversial topics, and quarreled so fiercely on board ship that he had to separate and silence them. The chairman of the company excused himself by telling of a servant who carried his master's gamecocks in one sack, and when he found that they had torn one another to pieces, remarked that he supposed that they would be all on the same side.

Quite apart from the questions arising out of the present conflict in Europe, there are three currents of opinion about war in this country which are unaware that they are all on the same side. They are represented by the pacifists, the preparationists, and the rest of the people who in ordinary times *do not think* about the subject at all.

The pacifists feel intensely the horror of war, not only in our own land, but throughout the world. They regard it rightly as one of the greatest scourges of mankind—one of the darkest blots on our civilization. They have formed innumerable societies to abolish it; and large sums of money have been given to aid their work. But they give the impression of seeing the end more clearly than the means, and appear to think that war can be forever drowned out by a flood of talk, that the pen can grind the sword into a plowshare. Some pacifists speak as if any alternative were always preferable to war; and yet very few of them would carry the principle of non-resistance so far as to reduce this country to the condition of China, a prey to the foreign spoiler. Between national subjection or humiliation and war they would not hesitate. Nor are they, with few exceptions, unwilling to adopt such

ıs as may be necessary to avert wars, reduce their frequency—even though neans be preparation for war itself—
:y were convinced that the means were ssary to attain the end. To such le, those who advocate seriously any nal means of advancing the cause of ersal peace can appeal with confidence respectful hearing.

ıe preparationists, on the other hand, ıeir attention primarily on the means curing the safety of our own land from y by war. They realize that defence-ess is not the best protection from ession. Knowing that we do not covet possessions of others, they believe that gn nations are less likely to quarrel us if we are well able to defend our-s. Few again, if any, of these men to increase our military forces in r to go to war; and they are, no doubt, that a reasonable state of preparation more likely to avert than to precipi-hostilities. There is no danger of our ming a military people embarked upon career of conquest. But perhaps these do not fully appreciate the importance s of preventing wars elsewhere; of g our own preparedness as part of a r plan of policing the whole world; of preventing so far as possible the ing of a conflagration which may set fire, however small our connection the people who strike the match, and direct interest in the questions that ed them to do so. To the prepara-sts, therefore, the suggestion of a ıe to enforce peace ought to appeal as ans of doing on an international scale thing they are seeking to do for the ed States.

nally, the great mass of citizens, who ıot under ordinary conditions think ı about the prevention of war, have had errible results brought home to them way that has not happened since days of our own Civil War. More-, they regarded that struggle, even it was going on, as a catastrophe h could never be repeated. But now have seen a contest, based upon con-ng national interests that might at future time apply to this hemisphere; they have stood themselves upon the brink of war, although the interests at stake between the contending Powers in no way affected this country. They have been like the man who thinks he is so careful about his own domestic affairs that it is unnecessary to insure his build-ings, until his neighbor's house catches fire. To the great mass of our people the advocates for a league to enforce peace can well say that the proposal they urge is one that should be carefully considered by every one.

THE NECESSITY OF FORCE

Although war may for a time stimulate trade and manufactures, and thereby prosperity, in a neutral country sufficiently distant from the scene of conflict, it must ultimately be paid for, and in the end every part of the civilized world inevitably bears some share of the loss. This is the more true the larger the war. The waste and dislocation are certain to bring in the belligerent countries a depression of busi-ness that will go round the world. The self-interest of all nations, therefore, as well as the cause of humanity, ought to make every country desire peace among others as well as for itself. This is universally admitted by our people to-day. It is accepted as an axiom; but the means to the end are uncertain. We have been fas-cinated by the idea of arbitration, of an international tribunal, of conferences at the Hague, of treaties to regulate peace and war; and yet every one knows that in the relations of private individuals such arrangements, valuable as they are, would be insufficient without a power to enforce them. In private life, contracts would be broken frequently if no damages could be exacted for the breach. But nations are not more scrupulous than individuals in breaking an agreement when the tempta-tion is strong, and war comes only when temptation is strong and passion or pres-sure is great. In fact, most men who have thought deeply on these subjects are becoming convinced that there must be some form of compulsion to make countries respect the rights of others; as the lawyers say, the obligation must have a sanction.

The suggestion for a league of nations to enforce peace does not go very far—

not far enough to please those who look forward to a universal federation of the world, but probably quite as far as is practicable. It proposes that the members shall agree not to go to war with one another before submitting the matter in dispute—whether strictly a question of international law or not—to an impartial body selected to examine it; and that all the members shall pledge themselves to declare war on any of their number that begins hostilities against another without submitting the question in that way.

THE ENFORCEMENT OF DELAY

Now observe, the members of the league do not bind themselves to accept the award, but only to present their case and hear the decision. Let us consider the probable effect in a concrete case. Take that of the controversy with England about Venezuela, and suppose, what did not happen, that feeling in the two countries had run dangerously high. If the league had consisted, besides these two nations, of France, Germany, Russia, and Japan, neither England nor the United States, however excited, would for a moment have thought of risking war with all the other Powers. They would have done just what in that case was done, submitted the whole matter in dispute to arbitration, and even if the decision had proved distasteful, passion would have had such time to cool that the result would in all probability have been accepted, or the parties would have agreed upon a compromise.

A nation that desires war and is prepared for it would, by submitting the case to a court, lose the advantage of surprise by a sudden attack and hence would be less anxious to go to war. The mere fact of delay would give time for sober second thought, and for the advocates of peace within the country itself to make their protests heard. If time is given, war can hardly be made without the support of public opinion, and the dream of those who have been urging that the people must be consulted would be fulfilled. In short, the essence of the proposal is the enforcement of delay.

But many good men ask, Why resort to *military force*? Why not try milder measures; a conference of the members of the league, or commercial non-intercourse? To pledge nations to declare war is a dreadful thing. Apply the same question to the maintenance of order within a city. Why have a policeman, and why should he be armed? If he sees a burglar breaking into a house, or a highwayman attacking a wayfarer, why should he not call a meeting of the city council for conference? Why, instead of having a police force, should not the citizens agree to boycott offenders? The answer is clearly—because it would not be effective in preventing violence. By the time such remedies can be applied, the harm is done; in the case of nations the war has begun, and the world is ablaze. The fear of an international boycott may be great, but for a country that has prepared elaborately for war it is slight compared with the prospect of an armed conflict with all the other great Powers of the world. What is needed is the certainty of collision with an overwhelming force. Such a force, if it could really be created by a league to enforce peace, would probably never be used. The very fact of its existence would be enough to ensure the year's truce of God.

Allusion has been made to the nation that has prepared elaborately for war. One of the great objects of all men who desire peace is to reduce the armaments of Europe, to lessen the extent of preparation for war. But among their most cherished plans is that of forbidding the sale of munitions by a neutral to a belligerent, which would have exactly the opposite effect. It would put a premium on preparedness, for when war broke out the unprepared nation, if unable to purchase munitions abroad, would be in a hopeless condition against its neighbor armed to the teeth. If we want to reduce excessive armaments, and the spirit of militarism that goes with them, we must seek to curtail the advantage of preparedness, and that is precisely what is done by securing delay before hostilities can begin.

No doubt the proposal for a league to enforce peace lays down, as yet, merely a general principle. It is not a treaty and does not attempt to go into details, many of which are not simple to adjust. Critics

have said that there would be difficulty in determining which of two belligerents began the war; and of course the treaty would have to specify minutely the acts of hostility to be forbidden. This may not prove impossible when statesmen set to work to draft the agreement, especially as each of the countries at odds will endeavor carefully to avoid the specific acts that bring the penalty. The first question is not the drafting of a compact, but whether or not the object is worth striving for. If it is, let us consider it, if not, let us seek something better.

THE INTELLECTUAL STIMULUS OF THE WAR

A NEW DEMAND FOR PRACTICAL BOOKS, ESPECIALLY ON ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS —THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF SOCIALISM—THE DISINTEGRATING EFFECT ON "THEOLOGIZED" FAITH, AND THE RAPID GROWTH OF AN INTENSELY MATERIALISTIC PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

BY

THEODORE H. PRICE

[THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF SIX ARTICLES ON THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WAR]

IN THE United States, one hundred million people who speak a common language and most of whom can read and write are gathered together under one flag for the first time in the world's history. They form the only civilized nation of first rate importance that is not engaged in war.

They are informed more or less accurately with regard to every phase of the great struggle by thousands of newspapers and magazines that spare no effort or expense in the collection and publication of the news.

Never before has there been an opportunity to study the reflex of a world war upon the collective mind of a people so numerous, so homogeneous, and mentally so alert.

All must admit that the most important result of the struggle will be its effect on the minds and characters of the onlookers as well as of the surviving participants.

From the top of the monumental mound at Waterloo, the visitor sees only a peaceful meadow, but is thrilled nevertheless by a quickened memory of the valor and tragedy of which the battlefield was the scene a hundred years ago.

The agonizing effort that is required to win success in either military or civil life is chiefly valuable to Society, not for the reward secured to the individual but for the effect upon the ideals of those who witness the energy, persistence, and self-devotion with which a worthy purpose is pursued.

It is also true that tension sharpens the perceptions and that in great crises the intellectual and emotional susceptibility is greater than in less eventful periods.

At such times, men are more receptive to new ideas, more eager to learn, and more willing to be convinced.

Mentally as well as commercially, they become more speculative as they see the old give way before the new, in philosophy, in business, and in arms.

The effect of the war in exciting adventurous commercial and financial speculation was easy to foresee and is now generally apparent.

With this phase of the economic change and excitement incident to the struggle I have already dealt at length in a series of articles previously appearing in the WORLD'S WORK, the first of which, entitled "Do Wars Really Cost Anything?" was published last March. In regard to the question then asked and partially answered, I may remark, parenthetically, that I am still of the opinion that the war-

induced economy now universally practised, and in some countries made obligatory by law, is more than equal to the military expenditure, stupendous as it has become, and that the net cost of the war in an economic sense is represented by the productive value of the men killed or crippled. How great this war-induced economy has already become I shall endeavor to make clear hereafter. My present purpose is to measure and appraise the effect of the European conflict upon American thought and philosophy.

This is, of course, a difficult undertaking. Mental processes are much less easy to discern than recorded economic phenomena that can be statistically presented.

Circumstantial proof of the increased intellectual activity excited by the war is not, however, entirely lacking. Thus far it has been chiefly evident in the eager demand for economic literature and a quickened interest in ethnic and sociological science.

My own experience as a writer of magazine articles and as editor of *Commerce and Finance* is that the public appetite for authoritative information upon economic subjects is almost insatiable, and I think that all those who are in a position to feel the reflex of current events upon the public mind will support this statement.

The increased amount of financial advertising published in the magazines is one very practical confirmation of it. Another is the avidity with which young men seek for and read books or pamphlets dealing with commercial or monetary matters.

Still another can be discerned in the character of the articles published in the magazines and the Sunday supplements of the newspapers. Commercial charts, diagrams, and statistics that editors would formerly decline are now prominently placed and eagerly read. The opinions of students are in greater demand. In London, Sir George Paish, the editor of the *Statist*, an economic journal, was appointed financial adviser to the British Exchequer and when he resigned another financial editor, Mr. Hartley Withers, was chosen to succeed him.

A recent editorial in *Science* furnished some statistics that tend to confirm the theory that the war stimulates rather than represses the desire for education.

According to this magazine, the Universities of Pittsburgh, California, and Columbia enrolled a thousand more students in 1914 than in 1913. The Universities of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Minnesota gained more than five hundred, while those of Cornell, Illinois, Nebraska, Cincinnati, and Michigan showed an increase of about three hundred.

This harmonizes with the statement of a school book publisher who told me that his business was always best in hard times because children for whom wage-producing work could not then be found were sent to school.

In an effort to verify the conclusions thus suggested, I wrote Mr. E. H. Anderson, director of the New York Public Library, as follows:

> I am now preparing an article for the WORLD'S WORK upon the psychological and intellectual effects of the war. From observation and hearsay I have been led to believe that public thought has been very much quickened with regard to economic subjects, and several of my friends in the publishing trade tell me that the demand for books that deal with political economy has greatly increased since the outbreak of the war. I am wondering whether the statistics of the New York Public Library afford any circumstantial confirmation of this belief. If so, I would be very glad to know it, and with your permission will quote, with credit to you, any facts in this connection that you may be able to give me.

Mr. Anderson's reply is most interesting and illuminating. He says:

> Immediately upon receipt of your letter I sent inquiries to such heads of departments and chiefs of divisions in this library as could give me information on the subject of your inquiry. There are no actual statistics available on the subject, but I have received this morning reports from the heads and chiefs referred to, which may be summarized as follows:
>
> You are right in your assumption that the war has caused a quickening of thought on economic subjects—especially along practical rather than academic lines. In the Economics and Documents division of our Reference Department the inquiries have noticeably increased for import and export trade figures of countries affected by the war, on price

ations of commodities and securities, and dustrial and agricultural products. Ear- ı the war period there was considerable ry as to comparative social data concern- ngland and the continental countries now ır—birth rates, illiteracy, etc. Recently has been a decline in such inquiries. All :ations for the information referred to seem ne either from business houses or econom-

the general information desk in our Refer- Department they report that the increase quiries of an economic nature is not so ed as in the Economics and Documents on, with the exception, however, of interest ıe commercial conditions and needs of ı America. In this direction the growth een very marked. In general, they report adening of the mental horizon, indicated creased interest in the history and govern- of the individual countries, a glimmering ıst of the problems of international law, ened realization of certain foreign authors, ome comparative study of the elements of and national culture.

e Technology division of our Reference rtment reports a marked increase in in- s and research concerning the manu- re of chemicals, especially as related to and explosives. Petroleum and its by- ıcts (benzol, phenol, gasolene, etc.) have ed much attention. Potash, especially ard to new fields of production, has been tigated. There has also been a steady nd for references on military and naval atus—artillery, submarines, torpedoes, nel, aeroplanes, etc. The binding, for ıce, of the latest book on explosives was off within a very brief period. In this on many writers for newspapers and zines, inventors, newly appointed em- es in munition factories, readers interested rying prices of materials used in warfare, been much in evidence since the war began ıot a day passes that we are not practically ıded of it.

our Circulation Department (the branch y system covering the Boroughs of Man- n, the Bronx, and Richmond), the experi- has been much the same as in the Reference rtment. Here there has been a notice- increase in calls for books on international treaties, conferences, etc.) and books on war generally, as well as books on the in- ual countries concerned. This seems to ıe case in all but one or two branches on wer East Side of Manhattan, where there s to be no special interest in books on the on political economy, or the countries affected, no reason being given for the exceptions.

The New York Public Library has about forty-four branches in the Boroughs of Manhattan, Richmond, and the Bronx. In its Reference Department for the year ended June 30, 1915, 2,260,719 books were consulted by 801,679 readers. From its circulation department 10,120,914 volumes were lent into the homes of the people. Mr. Anderson's letter, therefore, supplies about the most conclusive information obtainable in regard to the bent of the reading portion of the community in this part of the country.

To ascertain the tendency elsewhere, I addressed a similar letter to Mr. Henry E. Legler, librarian of the Chicago Public Library, whose reply is as follows:

As reflected in the demands upon the resources of the Chicago Public Library, the interest aroused by the European war finds expression along immediate practical rather than academic lines. While not reducible to statistics, the chief lines of inquiry have been less sociological than economic. Lines of inquiry have touched mainly upon trade conditions in South America, and in much lesser degree have had to do with European and Asiatic commerce. There has been, of course, a markedly increased demand for information on chemical dyes, on potash and phosphates, and the numerous articles of merchandise which have been affected by the dislocation of the customary trade channels. Marked interest is shown in the subject of international treaties, military service, national defense, and the general subject of preparedness for war. Many inquiries have come to the reference departments of the library on the subject of military training in the high schools and compulsory military training on the basis of European requirements.

While a year and a half ago the Civics Room, where much of the material applicable to this subject is housed, was required almost daily to furnish material bearing on the world peace propaganda, since the outbreak of hostilities this demand has almost ceased, in spite of the fact that this is the home of Miss Jane Addams and that her return from the European peace conference has brought the subject prominently before the public through newspaper exploitation. On the whole, the incidental problems of world relationship created by the war have not aroused general research into the printed records which libraries can furnish. The

inquiry has been specialized and prompted by practical application which the seeker for data has had in mind.

From these two letters, which are far more satisfying to the accurate mind than pages of "impressions" or casual observation, it would seem reasonable to assume that the war has induced a large increase in the desire for knowledge, but that this quest is as yet chiefly confined to the so-called practical or wealth-producing arts and sciences. Thus far, no great poet or poetry has been born of the war, although Lissauer and his "Hymn of Hate" are so classed by some.

The moralists have also been silenced, for this war, more than most, seems the negation of all morality and the *reductio ad absurdum* of dogmatic and "theologized" Christianity.

In its genesis, the struggle was inspired by a desire for commercial dominion and, in its progress, it has become a test of economic endurance.

It is quite logical, therefore, that it should bring commercial and economic subjects into the foreground and set people to thinking how they can repair the waste of the war while it lasts, profit by the commercial opportunities it offers, and pay the debts incurred when it is over.

Almost the only high moral questions at issue are those raised by the violation of Belgian neutrality and the sinking of the *Lusitania*. To these two events more than anything else is due the preponderant and world-wide sympathy with the Allies.

One intellectual by-product of the war is the increased interest in socialism which has been aroused.

It is just being discovered that under the cover of military law the belligerent nations are being completely socialized, at least in so far as their economic resources are concerned, and political socialism will naturally follow when the war is over.

In Germany, the national wealth and food supply are already commandeered by the Government and dispensed for the common good.

Of a somewhat similar condition in England, the London *Statist* says:

> We are limiting the profits which capitalists may make during the war. We are suspending all the rights and privileges acquired by the trade unions during the past century. And, in addition, we are taking to the hands of the Government the greater part of the whole trade of the country. We have given protection to the banks, the insurance companies, the Stock Exchange, the acceptors of bills, and so on. We have taken the wheat trade of India into our hands. We have taken the buying of food from Argentina also into our hands. In fact, we have adopted State Socialism to so large an extent that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that England at the present moment is practising Socialism. Does anybody seriously believe that this great experiment will not arouse ardent hopes and poignant fears, and that when the time comes for determining what is to be our future policy we shall have before us a period of serious disagreement?

In so far as it is possible during the continuance of the conflict to foresee its effect upon the minds and thought of men, the probability seems to be that it will be followed by a great extension in the sway and dominion of materialistic philosophy and political socialism.

In Europe, at least, this seems inevitable, for the economic exhaustion of the war will annihilate the barriers and distinctions of wealth and make the problem of bare existence a common one.

The confiscatory tax already laid on large incomes and inheritances will doubtless be increased and the incentive to accumulate great fortunes thereby reduced.

As to America, it is very doubtful whether prosperity can continue with the rest of the world in the condition of impoverished lassitude that will doubtless succeed the war if it lasts much longer.

While there seemed every reason to believe that the stimulus of war expenditure would increase profits and induce great speculation in this country, the recent decline in foreign exchange shows that the buying power of the world is being exhausted and that the people of the United States will shortly have only their own demands to supply.

When that time arrives, the ingrowing tendency of the American political mind will naturally reassert itself and the eternal effort to improve the condition of the masses at the expense of the classes will doubtless be resumed.

With the example of a socialized Europe before them, who can doubt what the majority will attempt?

If, as most Americans hope, democracy as represented by France and England shall triumph, it will be the triumph of a socialized democracy and we must prepare to face the consequences.

The hope of the world, and the American world in particular, is that universal education and the post-graduate course in economics which is a collateral development of the conflict will qualify the people to wield the increased power which the war will give them with intelligence and forbearance. In this hope and for this reason, those who

> Doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
> And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the Suns,

cannot fail to find great satisfaction in the quickening of intellectual activity that the war has induced, although they may admit some misgiving as they contemplate its intense materialism.

It is, however, a maxim of Spencerian philosophy that enlightened self-interest is the only basis of lasting morality, and in this thought consolation may be found while the new heaven and the new earth of the *post bellum* period are in the making.

CHINA'S FIGHTING BLOOD UP

HOW THE NATION, SHAMED BY ITS RECENT HUMILIATION BY JAPAN, IS RETALIATING WITH AN EFFECTIVE BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE GOODS AND, THROUGH POPULAR SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE "NATIONAL SALVATION FUND," PREPARING FOR ARMED DEFENSE

BY

WILLARD PRICE

ON MAY 7th of this year immense China was forced to accept infant Japan's ultimatum. Bitter humiliation swept China. "Self Conscious Disgrace Societies" were organized. Prominent Chinese undertook to perpetuate May 7th as "The Day of National Shame" and each year the rainbow flag is to be lowered on that day. The Peking Chinese Chamber of Commerce sent to all the provincial chambers throughout the Republic a stirring appeal entitled, "Never Forget the Nation's Disgrace!"

The Chinese do not seem likely to forget. The very success of the Japanese demands seems already to be spelling failure for Japan in China, for the humiliation of the Chinese is expressing itself in three icily pragmatic ways, namely—

A nation-wide boycott against Japanese goods, which has already cost Japan many million yen.

A nation-wide "National Salvation Fund Movement" for the raising of $50,000,000 (Mexican, equivalent to one half American dollar) from Chinese pocket-books, the money to be used to arm China against foreign aggression and to develop home industries which shall manufacture those lines of goods now supplied by Japan.

A nation-wide spirit of solidarity and a movement on the part of the Government itself to wipe out governmental corruption, reform expenditures, develop resources, and make China self-reliant among the nations of the world.

"Japan has given China just what was most needed—an impetus," one Chinese official said to me.

"Japan has already lost more through the boycott than she can ever gain through the success of her demands," said a Chinese merchant in Mukden.

I took his statement with a grain of salt. But after going down through China

and seeing what could be seen in every city and town, I discarded the salt. The merchant had come very close to the truth.

Take Hankow, for example. There are about two hundred Japanese shops in Hankow. The feeling was general among the shopkeepers that, with the exception of a few big firms such as the Mitsui Busen Yusen, the rest could hardly continue their business for another period of three months. Many Japanese, anticipating this outcome, were hastily disposing of their goods at any price, and were preparing to return to Japan.

In Chungking, Japanese signs advertising patent medicines and tooth powders had been painted over. Outside the city, burnings were held of Japanese goods, the Chamber of Commerce standing one half the loss and the individual merchant the other half.

Japanese shops were deserted in Hangchow. The "United Association for Advising the Nation to Use Native Goods," officered by the strong men of the city, held up to public ridicule any Chinese who betrayed the community by making a purchase in a Japanese store.

A pamphlet with a double meaning was being circulated throughout Wuchang. Read in the ordinary way, it ran as follows:

"Countrymen! Our country is becoming a second Korea! The hearts of the people! Take what is written to heart. Do you not answer?" and so on.

But if read from right to left instead of from top to bottom, these exclamations gave the following key and meaning to the whole document:

"Citizens — Don't — Buy — Japanese —Goods!"

The people here, and apparently in all the other cities up and down the Yangtze Valley, had settled down to a cool, calm business policy of buying home products and letting things from Japan alone.

Five Japanese firms in Hunan province had been forced to close their doors after incurring losses of $13,000 (Mexican) $9,000, $10,000, $6,000, and $10,000 respectively.

I saw a list of seventeen Japanese firms in Hunan, together with the losses they had incurred since the opening of the negotiations. The amounts ran all the way from $900 to $31,000.

"We are all thankful to Count Okuma for his successful diplomacy," caustically remarked one Japanese merchant.

Chinese employed by Japanese firms had in most cases resigned. Even the privilege of posting bills on walls of private properties was being denied to the Japanese. Some foreign firms, not Japanese, were finding it politic either to hold a public burning of their Japanese goods or else secretly to change the labels on the boxes in the endeavor to pass off Japanese goods as Western goods.

Violent meetings attended by thousands of Chinese were held in Shanghai. A "Society to Propagate the Use of National Goods" had been organized. A "Society for the Protection of Native Trade" had opened a "Show-House for Native Goods," to which Chinese manufacturers were invited to send exhibits. The newspapers in Shanghai were giving notice each day of home-made articles which might take the place of those bought from Japan.

It would be wearisome to cite all the forms in which the boycott has manifested itself. No wonder the *Asahi*, one of the most influential Japanese papers, exclaims:

"The affair is so serious that Japanese retailers are in a difficult position and failures are numerous. If this state of things lasts much longer Japan's trade will be ruined."

Will it last?

"Will the boycott be permanent?" I asked Judge Lobingier, a vacation passenger on the American-bound steamer on which this article is being written. Charles Sumner Lobingier is judge of the United States Court for China. He travels regularly throughout the length and breadth of the country, and he has unequalled opportunity to observe. He is in a position to judge impartially.

"My impression," he replied, "is that the boycott expresses no mere fleeting resentment because of a single episode, but is regarded by the Chinese of every class as their one effective weapon with which to protect their national independence and the integrity of their territory. So long as these are threatened I should

not be surprised to see the boycott continue. The Chinese people are united in the determination that their country shall not become a second Korea."

I quoted the statement of the Chinese merchant in Mukden and the judge affirmed, as a result of his own observation, that Japan had doubtless already lost more in trade than all that she had gained through her negotiations with China.

A "NATIONAL SALVATION FUND"

Japan has failed. The boycott is one sign of that failure. Another sign, no less important, is the sweeping popular movement on the part of the Chinese to raise a fund with which to "save China."

A certain Chinese wrote a letter to the newspapers suggesting that the people testify to their patriotism in a more practical way than speech-making and circular-distribution. There was instant response, an almost spontaneous public meeting was held, a "National Salvation Fund" was organized, and within a fortnight $250,000 (Mexican) had been contributed and was placed on deposit with the Bank of China.

The fund was opened to Chinese only. Money flowed in from all parts of China and from Chinese in other parts of the world. The league which was formed to direct the fund refused to accept any money, and all contributions were sent direct to the Bank of China.

A beggar came to the Bank with twenty-two coppers and four small cash, the result of his begging for three days. A 'rickshaw coolie contributed $30, his savings for the last four years. The school and college boys of Peking marched to a public meeting in the Central Public Gardens and each contributed a big silver dollar. The whole staff of the Bureau for Military Affairs subscribed liberally.

At a single meeting in Tientsin $163,000 was subscribed. At one meeting in Peking, $200,000. At one mass meeting held in Shanghai the subscriptions amounted to $660,000.

Proprietors of theatres handed over the receipts from special performances. Citizens realized upon their property and sent the money to the fund. Military, administrative, police, and other Government officers arranged to contribute one month's salary to the fund; their action resulted in a subscription of $10,000,000. The merchants of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai voluntarily agreed to a twenty per cent. increase in the freight charges on their own goods, the increase to be passed over by the shipping companies to the National Salvation Fund.

Thick and fast came the contributions. The Bank of China in Shanghai, the headquarters of the league, wired to the head office in Peking asking for six more officers to relieve the pressure of business. Even this help proved insufficient for the purpose, and the Bank of Communications, the other great bank of China, had to be asked to coöperate in handling the swiftly growing funds. When I left China, July 13th, more than $25,000,000 of the $50,000,000 sought had been assured.

CHINA PREPARING FOR DEFENSE

What will be done with the money? The aims of the league are three in number: first, the establishment of efficient arsenals; second, the raising of an army or the construction of a navy; third, the development of home industries.

Citizens, not Government officials, make up the league, and the Government has no word to say as to how the fund shall be spent. The Ministry of Finance has, however, given its recognition and approval to the movement.

The subscription list of this remarkable fund is to remain open for a year. If, at the end of that time the total collected is less than $50,000,000, the depositors shall be allowed to withdraw their deposits with interest at the rate of four per cent. If, however, the full amount is raised, the final disposal of the funds will be decided by a two-thirds vote of the depositors.

There is still a third sign of the defeat of Japan. It is the new spirit of solidarity that has come upon China, the settling of back-fence differences, the burying of little hatchets, so that a united China may grip the haft of the one Big Hatchet. As a result of this new nationalism, the people of China are offering to bear the burden of

a greater army and navy, and the Government of China has undertaken to purge itself of corruption and to reform its own expenditures.

When a people goes to such lengths of self-criticism and self-sacrifice, you may know that some acid experience has eaten clear to the roots of being. The Chinese are not superficial. Their emotions are not ephemeral. The shame of the Chinese may change the destiny of the Far East.

THE PEOPLE DEMANDING HEAVIER TAXES

From all parts of China is heard the cry of the people for heavier taxes so that a real army and a real navy may be built. One example out of many is the lengthy telegram addressed to the Government by 230 citizens of Szechuan province. One paragraph of the telegram follows:

"The Government should raise funds at once, by increasing all existing taxes, or improving them, and by imposing new ones, such as income tax, property tax, house tax, poll tax, etc. The people will practise rigid economy in their dress and food, and will cheerfully bear their burden. As soon as we are better off financially conscription in a modified form should be enforced. We have 200,000,000 male population. Even taking only one man out of twenty as fit for military service, we can raise an army of 10,000,000, of whom 1,000,000 should serve on active service, and the other 9,000,000 should be ordered to make contributions to support the army."

In response to public demand, the Ministry of the Navy now plans a naval college for Tientsin and a number of naval high schools to be organized at Nanking, Foochow, Hsien-shan, Chefoo, and other naval ports. The Ministry of War has equipped its Aviation School at Nanyuan with twelve biplanes and two monoplanes, and has undertaken to establish five more aviation stations at various points throughout the country. The President has dispatched an urgent telegram to the provinces, expressing dissatisfaction with the present method of training troops and outlining the discipline which must be enforced in the future.

These are but steps toward the greater action which must soon come. China has been historically peaceful. But now that the fire has touched her, we discover that she, too, like other nations, is made of inflammable stuff. There is but this difference: it is not the Chinese nature to blaze and die like a rocket. China is slow burning, hard to light, hard to extinguish. All the world may have to answer in one way or another before the fires of militarism which Japan has lit within the Chinese people shall be finally damped and cooled.

It is a dangerous thing to put the snakes of hate into the hearts of 400,000,000 people—especially into the long-harboring hearts of the Chinese.

The last significant proof of the depth of the experience through which China has passed is the apparent determination of the Government to bare its own sins and reform itself.

THE GOVERNMENT REFORMING ITSELF

President Yuan Shih Kai has done what few potentates have ever done before him. He has done what no potentate, however patriotic, would think of doing, except in the face of national ruin. He has appointed a board of critics whose special duty is to criticise him and his administration. The official name of this body is the "Board of Censors," and it consists of one Chief Censor and twelve others. It has been given authority to investigate every detail of the Government, to recommend changes, and to publish its findings in the public press, no matter how derogatory these findings may be to Government officials or to the President himself. This in "autocratic" China.

This remarkable body has already made its investigation. It has submitted its criticisms to the President in the form of a "Memorial on the Salvation of the Country," which has been duly made public in the newspapers of China. And here is what the President's own Board says about the President's administration:

"There are many superfluous organs and posts. From the President's office down to the smallest organ there are numberless persons drawing pay without rendering any service except recording their names.

. . . We hereby request that a special mandate be issued to abolish all unnecessary organs, offices, and posts, and to cancel the salaries of all who render no service to the Government. We also request that the step should begin from the President's office so that others may copy the example." Details follow as to just what the President may do to scour out his own office.

"The Administration should at once be reformed," conclude the Censors. "The people have already suffered enough."

Then the corruption of officials in all departments of the Government is ruthlessly revealed and denounced.

"The expenses of the Governor of Kwangtung are $260,000 per year. . . . Among the Ministries in Peking, those of the Interior and Communications have been especially flooded with superfluous officials. All the Ministries have made excuses for not reducing their staffs, seeking only their own interests without the least particle of love for their country."

The President is told that he has been deceived by those who handled the Domestic Loan. He is criticised for "the tendency to restore everything which is old, such as the compilation of the code of ceremony and music, and histories, and the adoption of examinations." His policy of appointing men of the old régime to official positions is questioned.

The Ministry of War is severely scrutinized. It is found that China's standing army of 600,000 costs $150,000,000, whereas Japan's standing army of 500,000 costs only $80,000,000.

"The troops recruited since the time of the Revolution . . . are not worthy of the name of soldiers and should all be disbanded."

The document concludes with straightforward, constructive suggestions regarding the building up of a fit army, the selection of competent officers, the spread of free education, and the immediate development of home industries.

This shame-compelled introspection on the part of China will do good. It has already done good. The Vice-Minister of the Interior and the Vice-Minister of Communications, both men appointed by the President, have been brought to trial, convicted, and dismissed from their posts on charges brought by the Board of Censors. Orders, previously mentioned in this article, have been issued for the reorganization of the army. New naval and aviation stations are being opened. The Ministry of Education has awakened as if from a long sleep. The Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, placed under an excellent official, Chow Tzu Chi, is laying out statesmanlike plans for the development of Chinese industry. Minor officials throughout the country are falling like leaves before the wind.

China has been given a new breath of life. And the giver of this precious boon is—Japan! It is Japan that has taught the Chinese people the valuable lesson of preferring home products and developing home industries. China always considered herself too poor to raise her own money. It is Japan that has brought China to realize the revolutionary fact that she can raise scores of millions of dollars without the help of a cent from any outside Power. It is Japan that is solidifying China. It is Japan that is causing remote provinces to ask for an increase in taxes. It is Japan that is scouring the Chinese Government free of corruption and waste. It is Japan that will raise up a fit army and navy for China, re-tune the national life, give impetus to universal education, and start the nation on a new industrial, commercial, and political career.

Japan is undoubtedly the greatest benefactor China has ever had. On that "Day of National Shame" China in humiliation bowed over the mirror of her own weakness, and then straightened up with a new thing in her heart. The new thing was the spirit of independence. And it is that new thing, born on the spiritual Independence Day of the Chinese people, May 7, 1915, that has already probably spelled the defeat of Japan's purposes.

HELPING FOREIGN MERCHANTS TO SELL AMERICAN GOODS

BY

WALTER F. WYMAN

The WORLD'S WORK *will publish every month an article dealing with the concrete problems of the increase in our export trade. The magazine is led to do this by the evident widespread interest shown all over the United States in the possibilities of export trade, and the specific interest in this subject shown by the readers of this magazine in the answers to a circular letter sent to a group of subscribers, most of whom are not directly connected with manufacturing or exporting, in all parts of the country.*—THE EDITORS.

THE problem of advertising and displaying one's goods in foreign lands often confuses the American manufacturer when he enters the export field. What principles shall guide him? Especially, how shall he do these things effectively and still keep his expenditures within the bounds of profitable returns?

The inquiries in the following letter from a large manufacturer of hosiery in Pennsylvania throw a light upon this important phase of foreign trade. He writes:

"We have made persistent efforts during the last few years to introduce our goods in foreign countries. We have advertised in a number of export papers. We have twice joined with other concerns in employing a joint export salesman. We have solicited orders by mail in a number of countries.

"Of course, we neither expected nor received any large volume of business the first year. The second year we did secure a pleasing number of orders. But we are a little disappointed that these orders have not been repeated in succeeding years. Unless we can create a class of buyers who will carry stocks of our goods regularly, and order them without constant pressure from us, the cost of getting foreign business will be so high that we shall have to stop our exporting efforts.

"We have received a number of requests for circulars and other advertising material as well as requests for advertising allowances in local papers, but have nothing in foreign languages which would be of service in the line of material and are unwilling to undertake additional advertising expense in foreign newspapers.

"Do you think that this has any bearing on our failure to secure 'repeat' orders?"

The evidence that the writer presents is in itself a proof that his efforts so far must have been very well planned, because (assuming that the quality of his goods is able to meet competition) he has accomplished the unusual in building up a good sized business without offering a dealer any special price concession or any assistance in selling the goods.

From the experiences of another hosiery manufacturer it has been proved that with the same attention that a manufacturer would be willing to give to domestic customers a higher percentage of profit can be secured from sales abroad, but to obtain this profit one must expect to work hard not only to give the dealer coöperation, but to secure his interest to the extent of coöperating with the manufacturer.

It will not take a great deal of analysis to show that the latter's foreign merchandising has really been along the lines of a high grade auction. In other words, he presented his goods, offered arguments for purchase, and regarded the sale when made as complete.

This leaves only the value of his goods as a reason why his customers should give him a second order.

How differently he manages his selling campaign for trade at home! Here he supplies the retail dealers with a most attractive assortment of material for display

ıeir counters and in their show win-
. He sends them handsome circulars
ibing the merits of his wares. He
not go so far as to pay the cost of
rtising in local newspapers, but he
supply the local merchant, free of
ge, advertising electrotypes and other
rtising service. And he employs a
of special representatives who call in
m at the local merchant's store and
erate with him in educating his clerks
e best way to present the goods to their
omers, in working out the most
tive window displays, and in devising
most compelling letters to use in
larizing his mailing lists.

suming that he is satisfied that this
nse is a good investment at home, is
: any reason to assume that it would
ve, at least in part, a good investment
there? Eliminating the expense of
sentatives who do not solicit orders
his plans for coöperation with the
gn dealers, is there any reason why he
ld not be willing to spend a reasonable
in order to provide dealers abroad
advertising material which will insure
re rapid sale of his merchandise?

ıis raises the further question: How
the expenditure within reasonable
s? One concern in Buffalo has an
llent way of forcing the departments
lved to estimate the situation by
ing a limit of 5 per cent. of expected
on the appropriation for sales assis-
e to foreign dealers. They insist that
: estimates should be rendered by
mber of each year so that they can be
ed on in the first week in January, and
· experience has proved to them that
are now getting more returns for
r cent. than they got in several of their
r years when their appropriation ran
igh as 12½ per cent.

owever, it is very hard to lay down
; which will automatically produce the
test economy.

ıke the use of advertisements, signs,
displays with English wording. A
: percentage of the domestic advertise-
ts can be used without change in
lish-speaking export territory, but
ı the use of retail prices in United
es currency, or catch phrases which are
purely local, eliminate certain of these from effective use in exporting.

Too much credit cannot be given the Buffalo firm for the manner in which they approached one phase of this difficult problem of expense. They found that a certain product would require a most expensive set of aids to advertising to make its introduction a certainty. Their extensive investigation showed the wisdom of attacking South America first, and in order to keep the year's expense within bounds they focused their attention on Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries, which enabled them to divide the expense between the American republics, Spain, Portugal, the Philippines, Porto Rico, and the various scattered Portuguese-speaking territories.

This required intensive work to secure results in some of the small markets, but laid the basis for a steady stream of profits on renewal orders, and by using correspondence and their regular English press matter in English-speaking countries they prepared for a similar campaign in these a year later, shifting the heavy expense at that time.

The experience of a manufacturer in Cincinnati, who was without export experience but who had an executive who considered common sense the one qualification of merchandising anywhere, is particularly worth citing because it exposes a common weakness in the methods of the great majority of our exporters and a way to correct this defect.

This concern, manufacturing a product of almost universal appeal, laid aside $2,000 to test export possibilities in South America. The first $25 was spent in postage and the purchase of a few books on South America. Then, with their fund left practically intact, they decided to test Peru as representing about the average possibility for securing orders.

Before spending a dollar they inquired into the competition they would have to meet, and particularly the methods used by competitors to sell their products to dealers and in turn to aid their dealers in disposing of the goods. They found that in every case they would be undersold by European competition, but to offset this

the competitors made only sporadic efforts at publicity in a local newspaper which would be of assistance to the dealer in disposing of stock.

Having thus discovered the logical point of attack, they spent $1,500 in "demonstrators" which could be used in a store window and, in one model, on a board counter. This kind of moving display was something entirely new for their goods, and as they used the remainder of their fund in natural colored reproductions of it, and advertised it in their correspondence, it was not surprising that they received a larger number of orders for it than they could fill. This firm figured that these displays saved the cost of the salesman's first trip, because when their man did visit Peru, two years later, he found himself as welcome as though he had made the acquaintance of the dealers before.

In 1912 a hosiery concern, after almost a dozen years' experience with freak methods of securing foreign business, decided that they would eliminate the expense of these unprofitable sporadic efforts, make one consistent effort to sell abroad, and on the result of that trial either adopt export trade as a part of their regular merchandising or drop it entirely.

They hired an export manager with experience in selling men's apparel, at a very high salary, for six months. They had no idea of retaining his services, but wished to have him, as a man of experience, establish a branch of their sales department which could carry out his ideas and learn from him correctness and details of solicitation and shipment.

At the end of the second month they launched a complete campaign in the Argentine, having secured a wholesale dealer willing to take their goods on outright purchase provided they would create a demand for them among retailers and consumers. Their plan included the making up of a retail assortment which included display material and an attractive booklet (both in Spanish), and, with the coöperation of their wholesale distributor, the circularization of a list of people who used goods like theirs. They published an introductory series of full page advertisements in newspapers in Buenos Aires, Santa Fé, Mendoza, and Rosario, including the names of retail distributors from whom their goods could be bought. This advertising was purely introductory and not continued. In form it was an announcement of their product, its advantages, and where it could be purchased.

Based on this advertising and on the circularization of consumers, they found no difficulty in disposing of their retail assortments at a pleasing profit or in interesting retail dealers to display their goods in windows, shelves, and racks, the rack being a premium with the assortment.

The plan involved the shipment of assortments packed ready for distribution, with all the advertising matter for mailing to possible purchasers.

They were careful to provide for follow-up work, thereby letting the retail dealers understand that they expected repeat orders and that they were prepared to aid in securing these by helping to increase the dealers' sales. To bring these increased sales about more quickly, they had a second assortment made up, chiefly of "specialties." They again used the newspapers for a single insertion, offering customers a special assortment of goods of a value of one dollar in gold, which gave the dealer a substantial profit and a specific reason for obtaining more goods.

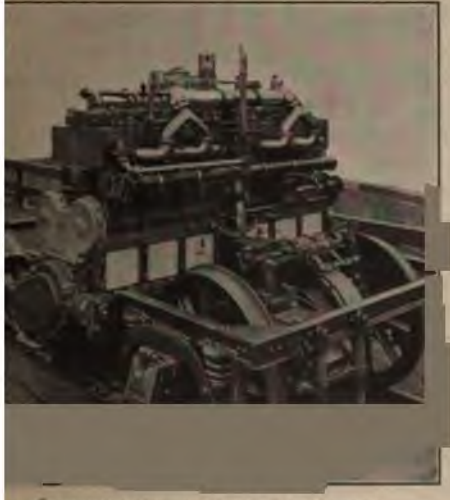
This American manufacturer would be perfectly free to admit that he regards his coöperation with the local dealers as the most important part of his export endeavor, for he found that the auction process of selling was inexpensive only in the amount expended and was most expensive in proportion to results secured. His entire export efforts are now along similar lines. Not that he always appoints agents; on the contrary, he often sells direct to retail merchants (in which case he substitutes a campaign of direct mail work for the newspaper advertising); but the principle of aiding his dealers in the disposal of his hosiery is always the keynote.

This principle of coöperation with local dealers is given a leading place in the export sales tactics of the successful American manufacturers of such diverse products as agricultural machinery, fancy hat bands, sewing machines, and cap pistols.

MAN AND HIS MACHINES

RAILROAD MOTOR CARS

THE makers of a new model of the gasolene motor railroad cars that are commonly used for passenger on branch lines in the West claim a large reduction in average cost of rs, gained chiefly through a "fool " design of engine, the strengthening al parts, and improvements in the n and gears. The engine is of the linder type, cast integrally, and is ted on a steel frame. The car seats ople.



A 6-CYLINDER RAILROAD MOTOR
n a new model of the gasolene passenger cars re in service on many branch lines in the West

A PRACTICAL "AEROPHONE"

A TELEPHONE equipment, called the aerophone, enables the pilot of an aeroplane and his officer or passenger to communicate with each other without interference from the rush of wind and the roar of the engine and propeller. To leave the pilot and passenger as little incumbered as possible, chest transmitters and double-head telephone receivers are used. The receivers are held against the ears by a spring head band, excluding practically all disturbing noises.

THE "AEROPHONE" AS IT IS WORN
The photograph has been retouched to show how the chest transmitter is strapped under the coat

ROLLING RAILS INTO PLACE
In the hold of a vessel by the use of a "rail box" in which rest the lower end of a "nest" of rails

LOADING RAILS
Through a narrow hatch with the help of a rolling *"rail box"* or shoe

The special transmitters are provided with soft rubber caps, and are strapped to the chest at a point below the collarbone and above the third rib. In speaking, the chest muscles transmit the voice vibrations to the transmitter. The receivers and transmitters are connected by cords which terminate in a small plug which can be inserted in a jack mounted in the framework of the aeroplane. One of these jacks is provided for each occupant.

LOADING RAILS INTO SHIPS

SPECIALLY constructed apparatus is used by one of the great steel companies for loading rails into the holds of vessels for shipment on the Great Lakes. The rails come from the mill loaded on cars in sets of from nine to fourteen, depending upon their size. In loading from cars to vessels, a "rail box," which is suspended by a cable 26 inches long from a yoke attached to the main hoist hook, is placed over one end of the nest of rails. The main hoist hook is then lowered until the yoke is within a few inches of the rails, and a chain about 7 feet long is looped around them. In

MECHANICAL STOKING
By which coal is delivered from wagon to fire without manual labor

hoisting, the ends of the rails encircled by the short chain are raised first so that when they are entirely free of the car they are in a nearly vertical position, with the lower ends resting in the rail box. The nest of rails is next swung over the open hatch of the vessel and lowered until the rail box touches the floor of the hold. Then, as the lowering of the nest continues the rail box, which is provided with rollers, runs along until the nest of rails assumes a horizontal position in the hold, when the rail box is removed and the chain sling unhooked and returned to the car for another load. The mechanism is under the control of one man, and a pair of such machines will load from 125 to 175 tons of rails an hour.

A NEW TYPE OF GASOLENE TRACTOR

That can be guided from the seat of any ordinary farm implement and that can be adjusted to travel between rows of different widths

MECHANICAL FEEDING OF BOILERS

BY MEANS of an elevator which is used to convey coal from the storage pits under the sidewalk to the mouths of the mechanical stokers in the boiler room of an office building in Chicago, coal is delivered into the storage pits and thence under the boilers without once being lifted by hand.

The elevator, operated by an electric motor, travels along in the space between the front of the boilers and the inner wall of the coal pits, taking coal from the six openings located in the trench. The coal is served through these openings to the boot of the elevator by mechanical feeders of the plunger type, the operation of which is under the control of the elevator operator. From the top of the elevator, the coal is discharged into a 6-ton scale hopper having an automatic recording beam. When this is filled the operator runs the elevator along the front of the boilers, feeding to the mechanical stokers the amount of coal each requires.

A GASOLENE "MULE"

THIS little farm tractor, which may be attached to any of the standard farming implements ordinarily drawn by a team of horses, secures its traction power from an endless shoe or "crawler," which, gripping the ground, drives the outfit along at a considerable speed. This "crawler" is made up of a number of special alloy metal boards clamping together somewhat like chain links.

In using the gasolene "mules" to draw an agricultural implement, the operator sits on the seat of the latter, just as though horses were doing the pulling. The steering post is sufficiently long to extend back over the implement being drawn, so that the steering wheel and clutches are in position to be easily handled.

An unusual device in this tractor is the mounting of the two supporting wheels. By simply loosening four bolts these wheels may be set at any width from $3\frac{3}{4}$ feet to $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet, making it possible to operate in rows of different widths.

A HYDRAULIC GIANT WASHING DOWN GOLDSMITH HILL, IN PORTLAND

To fill the "sheerboard" forms shown in the small picture below and thereby make the terraces shown at the bottom of the page

A HILL SLUICED TO MAKE RESIDENTIAL TERRACES

IN Portland, Ore., a steep hillside, useless in its original contour for building purposes, has been sluiced down into a terraced residential section of 65 acres.

The terraces were built by the method known as sheerboard construction. Wooden forms were erected, soil was sluiced down into them from above, the water, after depositing its load of soil, being drawn off through spillways, which consisted merely of flumes running down the slope through the sheerboards. By this method the mass of the embankment was continually drained as the fill was deposited. When the fill was complete it was as compact and as though it were in the original bank, ready to be seeded with grass.

HOW THE DIRT WAS CAUGHT

PARTIALLY COMPLETED TERRACE MADE BY SLUICING

After the sheerboard forms were filled with dirt, the forms were removed and the terraces seeded to lawn

he War on the Mississippi

May 1915 25 Cents

THE WORLD'S WORK

Joffre

Strategy from Ostend to Constantinople

University APR 29 1915 Library

"How would you like to hear this record – Loud, Soft, or Subdued?"

The Victor system of changeable needles enables you to meet every acoustic conditic

It gives you perfect control of the tone volume and enables you adapt every record to the acoustic limitations of any room.

The different kinds of Victor Needles give you different and disti gradations of tone. Without this changeable needle system, it wo be necessary to have several instruments, each with a different tone, give such variation.

You can use the full-tone needle, the half-tone needle, or the fi needle, to suit the individual beauty of each record to its particu acoustic surroundings.

You choose the volume of tone and play each record as loud soft as *you* personally wish to hear it, without interfering in any w with the artist's interpretation.

Go to any Victor dealer's and hear your favorite mu played with the different needles and you will fully app ciate the infinite variety of charm afforded by the Vic system of tone control.

There are Victors and Victrolas in great variety styles from $10 to $250.

Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J., U. S. A.
Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal, Canadian Distributors

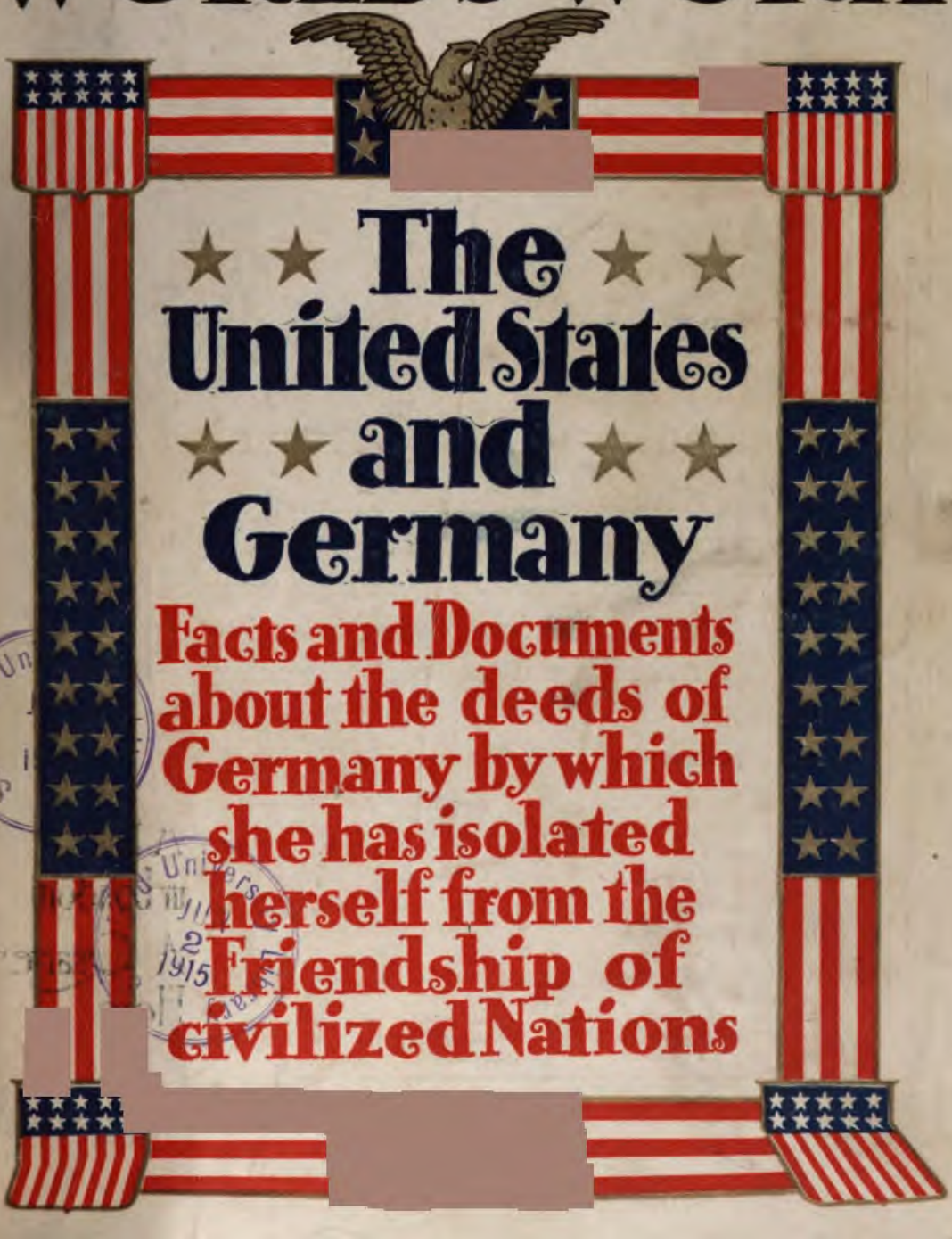
New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month

ow fast can we make War Supplies

June 1915

THE WORLD'S WORK

25 Cents



The United States and Germany

Facts and Documents about the deeds of Germany by which she has isolated herself from the Friendship of civilized Nations

Victor Record of "I Hear You Calling Me" sung by McCormack

McCormack

© James & Bushnell

Both are McCormack

The Victor Record of McCormack's voice is just as truly McCormack as McCormack himself.

Whether you hear the great Irish tenor on the Victrola or on the concert stage, it is all the same.

The same natural voice of surpassing beauty, the same distinctness of enunciation—the same McCormack.

The proof is in the hearing. Any Victor dealer in any city in the world will gladly play for you any of the eighty-nine McCormack records, or Victor Records by any other of the world's greatest artists.

There are Victors and Victrolas in great variety of styles from $10 to $250.

Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J., U. S. A.

Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal, Canadian Distributors

Always use Victor Machines with Victor Records and Victor Needles—*the combination.* There is no other way to get the unequaled Victor tone.

***New* Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month**

Summer Strength and Satisfaction

come from the gradual release of the body from the heavy Winter foods that fog the brain and clog the liver. This happy release comes through fresh fruits, green vegetables and well cooked cereals. Nothing in the whole wide range of Nature's bounty is so deliciously wholesome and strengthening as

SHREDDED WHEAT BISCUIT
with Strawberries

In this dish you have all the body-building elements in the whole wheat grain steam-cooked, shredded and baked, combined with the most luscious product of the American garden—a combination that gives a mental buoyancy and muscular vim that make you fit for the day's work. A toothsome treat beyond compare.

It is the shredding process that put the "eat" in whole wheat.

For breakfast heat one or more Biscuits in the oven to restore crispness and serve with milk or cream. Deliciously nourishing and wholesome for any meal in combination with berries or fresh fruits of all kinds. Prepare the berries as for ordinary serving and pour them over the Biscuit, adding milk or cream and sugar.

Made only by

The Shredded Wheat Company, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

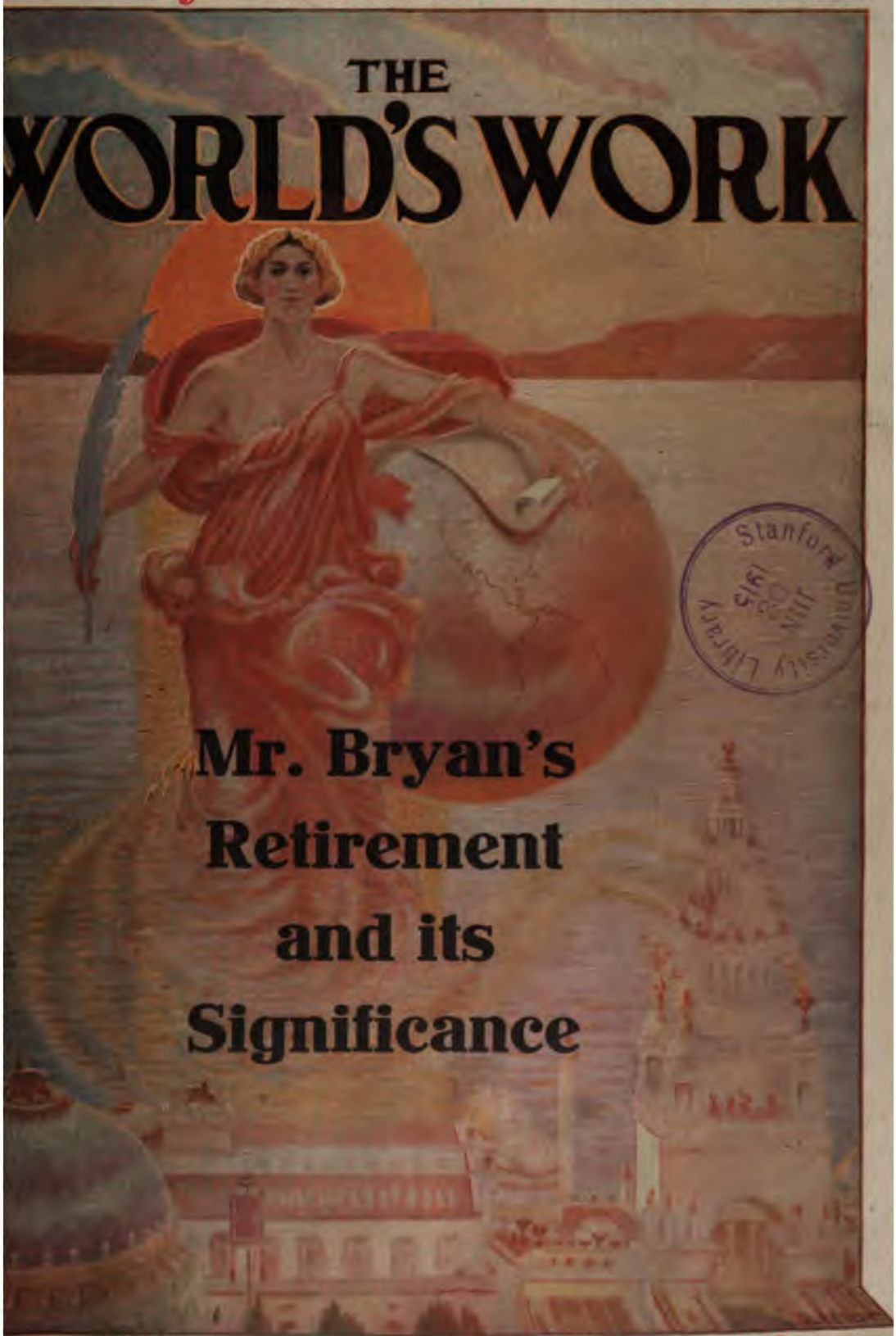
PALL MALL

FAMOUS CIGARETTES

A Shilling
in London
A Qua
Here

ermany—United States—Mexico

THE WORLD'S WORK



Mr. Bryan's Retirement and its Significance

Stanford University Library

he Panama-Pacific Exposition

The Victrola is the life of the summer home

Wherever you go for the summer, you'll be glad of the companionship of the Victrola.

It brings to you the world's greatest bands and instrumentalists, the most famous opera stars, the popular comedians of the day, to charm and cheer you with their music and mirth; or it becomes at will the best of dance orchestras to furnish the music for the newest dances.

Always, everywhere, the Victrola is a constant delight.

Any Victor dealer will gladly play your favorite music for you and demonstrate the various styles of the Victor and Victrola—$10 to $250.

Visit the Victor Temple of Music
Palace of Liberal Arts
Panama-Pacific International
Exposition, San Francisco, Cal.

Victor Talking Machine Co.
Camden, N. J., U. S. A.
Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal, Canadian Distributors

Always use Victor Machines with Victor Records and Victor Needles—*the combination*. There is no other way to get the unequaled Victor tone.

New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month

The War Chiefs of the U.S. Nav

August 1915 25 Cents

THE WORLD'S WORK

Stanford University Library

Victor Record of "Humoresque" played by Mischa Elman

Mischa Elman

© Mishkin

Both are Mischa Elman

The Victor Record by Elman is just as truly Elman as Elman himself.

His mastery of the violin combined with his wonderful individual characteristics, make Mischa Elman's playing a thing of beauty.

And on the Victrola it is a joy forever—it is Mischa Elman true to life, just as though he was ever present in your home.

The proof is in the hearing. Any Victor dealer in any city in the world will gladly play for you any of the thirty-eight Elman records, or Victor Records by any other of the world's greatest artists.

There are Victors and Victrolas in great variety of styles from $10 to $250.

Victor Talking Machine Co.
Camden, N. J., U. S. A.
Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal
Canadian Distributors

Always use Victor Machines with Victor Records and Victor Needles—*the combination.* There is no other way to get the unequaled Victor tone.

New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month

Your Wife's Vacation

Spending three or four weeks in the country is a wonderful vacation for you—but it is not a vacation for your wife if she has to cook meals in a bungalow or Summer home. A kitchen is a kitchen whether in the mountains, on the seashore or in the city. Our kitchen is your kitchen when you know

Shredded Wheat

and the many delicious dishes that may be made with it without any kitchen worry or knowledge of cooking. We do the baking for you in our two million dollar kitchen, the cleanest, finest, most hygienic food factory in the world.

Shredded Wheat is real whole wheat bread, all the rich, body-building, muscle-making elements in the whole wheat grain steam-cooked, shredded and baked in crisp, brown, tasty little loaves. So easy to prepare a deliciously wholesome and nourishing meal in a jiffy by crisping a few of these Biscuits in the oven and serving with berries or other fresh fruits and cream.

Made only by

The Shredded Wheat Company, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

"Never blows so red
The Rose as where some buried Caesar bled"
—OMAR

OMAR
TURKISH BLEND
CIGARETTES

It's a far cry from the amorous skies of Smyrna to the sunny slopes of Virginia—yet OMAR the Exquisite draws its mellow richness from the treasure-chests of both. Their choicest, rarest tobaccos, in incomparable harmony, unite to make OMAR the *Perfect* Turkish Blend—the cigarette that sparkles with the mingled sunshine of East and West.

OMAR is the ultra-climax of cigarette deliciousness. If you have been an "all-Turkish" smoker, you'll find OMAR far richer in snappy relish. And as for other blended cigarettes—not one can compare with OMAR in its smooth flavor and aromatic fragrance.

20 for 15c

Advt THE AMERICAN TOBACCO CO

THE COUNTRY LIFE PRESS, GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK

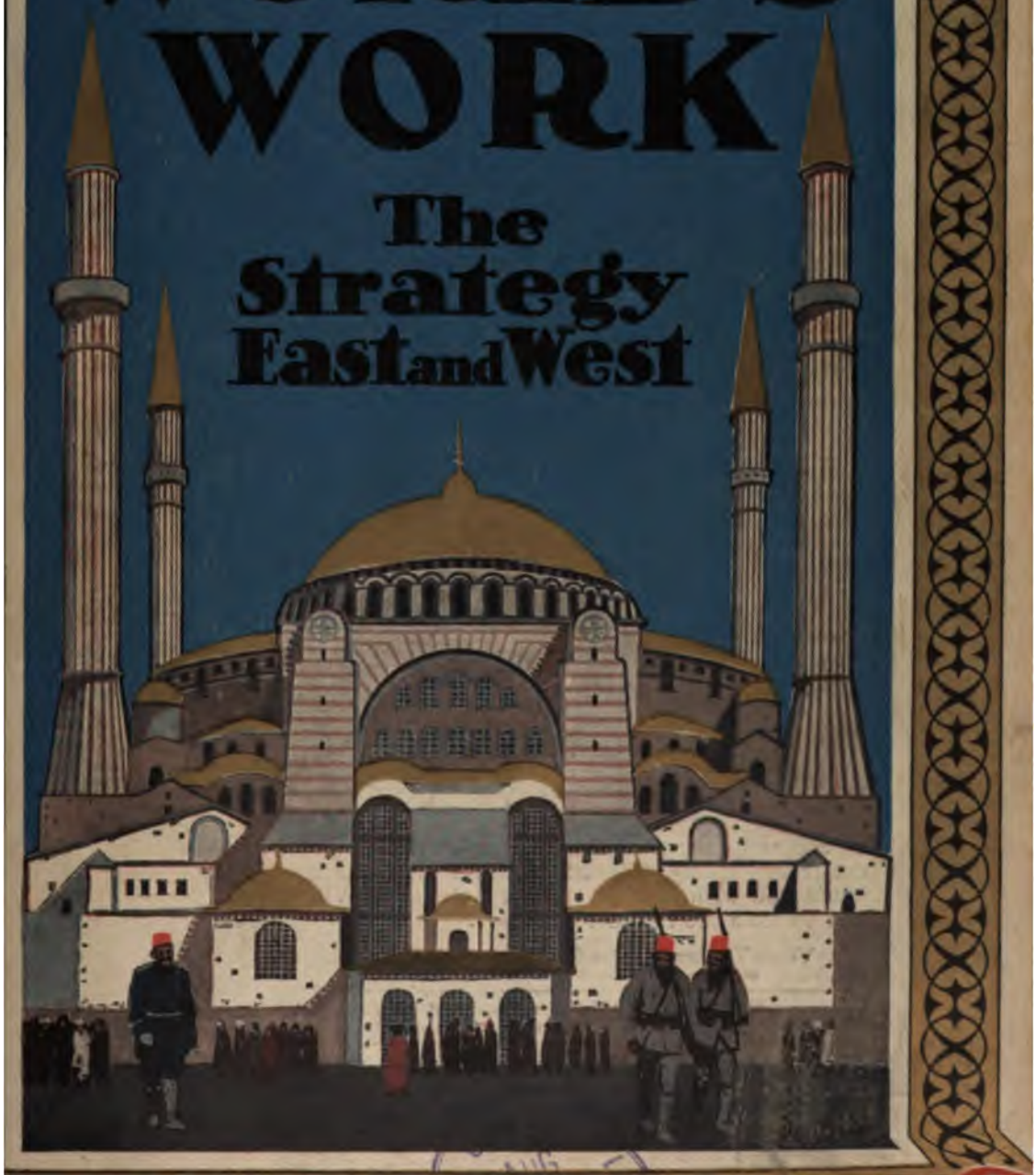
hy the U.S. must Finance the War

September 1915

THE WORLD'S WORK

25 Cents

The Strategy East and West



Victrola

Three new styles

The latest Victor achievement

Victrola XVIII, $300
Matched mahogany cabinet with paneled moulding, swell front and sides.

Victrola XVIII	$300
Victrola XVIII electric	$350
Victrola XVI electric	$250

See and hear these new Victrolas. Any Victor dealer will gladly demonstrate them and play any music you wish to hear. Other styles of the Victor and Victrola $10 to $250.

Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J., U. S. A.
Berliner Gramophone Co., Montreal, Canadian Distributors

Always use Victor Machines with Victor Records and Victor Needles—*the combination.* There is no other way to get the unequaled Victor tone.

New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers on the 28th of each month

For "Tire Troubles"

Getting tired from rational work or play means healthful, restful sleep, good digestion, strong muscles and clear brain—an increased capacity for doing the work of the day. For the "tire troubles" of Summer when the problems of housekeeping become more vexatious and the appetite more finicky, serve

Shredded Wheat

If you serve it right you will never tire of it—no domestic punctures or blow-outs—just easy running over smooth roads to Health and Happiness.

A food for the outdoor man or the indoor man, for the worker with hand or brain, for the woman who seeks relief from household care.

Shredded Wheat is ready-cooked and ready-to-serve. Try one or more of these delicious little loaves of baked wheat for breakfast with milk or cream. Serve them for supper with luscious, ripe berries or other fruits.

The Shredded Wheat Company, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

COLGATE'S
SHAVING STICK

Consider it

When you need a new shaving stick ask to see Colgate's —the Magic Wand of Shaving.

Notice how large it is—that means economy. The pure, wholesome whiteness of the soap and the tin-foil finger-grip mean shaving comfort.

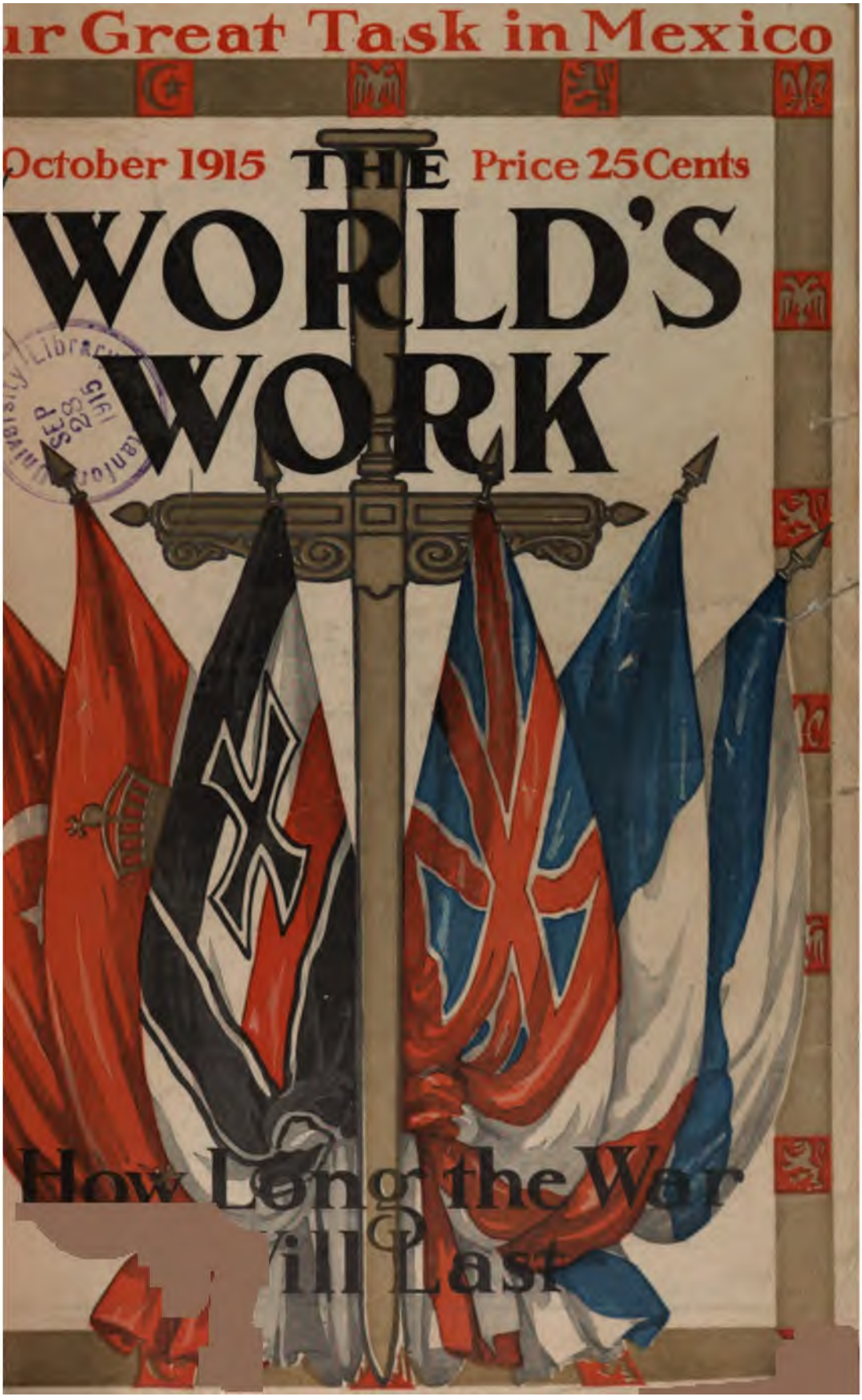
And the nickeled box (the original one) with its screw top keeps the soap clean and fresh. When you reach the last half inch or so of your stick, wet it and stick it on the new one and so use every bit—no waste.

The same comfort and economy are found also in Colgate's Perfected Shaving Cream and Rapid-Shave Powder. With any one of Colgate's you get a plentiful, soothing lather—*no mussy "rubbing in" with the fingers.*

A trial size of any one sent for 4c in stamps

COLGATE & CO., Dept. T, 199 Fulton Street, New York

Makers of Cashmere Bouquet Soap—luxurious, lasting, refined


ur Great Task in Mexico
October 1915
THE
Price 25 Cents
WORLD'S
WORK
How Long the War
ill Last

© MISHKIN

38 West 59th. St.,
N.Y. April 22/15.

Victor Talking Machine Co.
Camden, New Jersey

Gentlemen:--

I would like to express my delight at renewing my contract with the Victor Talking Machine Company for ten years more.

During my extensive travels I have had such a vivid illustration of the great work you are doing for the world that it is with the deepest feeling that I say I'm proud to be a part of such a great work, and that I may long enjoy the privilege is the earnest wish of

Yours very sincerely,

Alma Gluck

A Youngster at Fifty

A man is as old as he feels—and whether he feels old at fifty or young at sixty depends upon the food he eats, the exercise he takes and the habits that govern his social intercourse and business activity. To keep the body young and active and the mind alert and bouyant, cut out heavy, high proteid foods and eat Shredded Wheat with fruits and vegetables.

Shredded Wheat

contains all the body-building material in the whole wheat grain made digestible by steam-cooking, shredding and baking. It represents the last word in scientific preparation of the whole wheat grain for the human stomach. It contains everything needed for the building of the perfect human body—a food for youngsters and grown-ups.

Shredded Wheat is ready-cooked and ready-to-serve. Try one or more of the delicious little loaves of baked wheat for breakfast with milk or cream. Serve for lunch or supper with sliced bananas, peaches, berries or other fruits.

The Shredded Wheat Company, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

illiams'
Shaving Soap

A Signal Success

From the days of the woode
frigate to the modern super-dread
nought this one word

Williams'

has successfully held its place a
the keyword in the shaver's code

The Holder-Top Stick—"Yo
hold the Holder and the Holde
holds the Stick"—is proving
signal success throughout th
ranks of men who shave.

Four other forms of the sam
good quality: Williams' Shavin
Stick in hinged-top, nickele
box, Williams' Shaving Powde
Williams' Shaving Cream an
Williams' Liquid Shaving Soa

A sample of any kind sent f
4 cents in stamps.

Address
The J. B. WILLIAM
COMPANY
Dept. A
Glastonbury, Conn.

THE COUNTRY LIFE PRESS, GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK

DATE DUE

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004